Traditional and Emerging Patterns in the Social Organization of a Large Estate in the Cauca Valley, Colombia, South America.

J. Jairo Gomez-angel
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING PATTERNS IN THE
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A LARGE ESTATE IN THE
CAUCA VALLEY, COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA.

THE LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY AND
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COL., PH.D., 1979
TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING PATTERNS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A LARGE ESTATE IN THE CAUCA VALLEY, COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

J. Jairo Gomez-Angel
B.A. University of Florida, 1973
M.A. University of Florida, 1974
August, 1979
DEDICATION:

To all those who have helped me achieve my goals while visiting in the United States.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The contributions of many people come to my mind now in writing these paragraphs. They made it possible for me to complete my formal graduate training. To each of them I would like to express my gratitude.

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Doctor Edward Gassie, professor and friend introduced me, through his classes, together with Doctor Bruce Flint, the importance and value of sociological research in applied sociology. This was especially helpful in the study of sources of scientific knowledge and its application in programs of rural development.

I must also recognize the constant encouragement given to me by my mother, Mrs. Leticia Angel de Gomez, my brothers and close relatives. They consistently supported and applauded my decision to do post-graduate work in sociology.
The author, being the first born in the family, was the last one in doing graduate work.

I must thank His Excellency, The Most Reverend Joseph V. Sullivan S.T.D., Bishop of Baton Rouge for his understanding and priestly support. He has made me feel at home in the diocese, has manifested interested in my academic work and cared closely for my personal needs as a priest and as a student at the University. Special thanks go to Sammie Blackard, a second father to me, in Baton Rouge. His home has been my folks' home. His support and kindness will never be forgotten.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I - SUBJECT OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting of the Study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II - LITERATURE ON THE NATURE AND</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LARGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTATE SITUATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Literature on the Nature of the System</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Based upon Large Estates</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Characteristics and Consequences</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the System Based on Large Estates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III - APPROACH AND SOURCES OF DATA.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observation</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Procedure</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER IV - LEVELS OF LIVING AMONG THE LABORERS OF THE LARGE ESTATE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operationalization of Levels of Living</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levels of Living of the Households in the Large Estate</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment of the Levels of Living Under Study</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER V - THE FAMILY OF THE LABORER IN THE LARGE ESTATE</th>
<th>167</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Family in the Traditional Large Estate</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Families</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Roles and the Large Estate</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER VI - LABOR RELATIONS IN THE LARGE ESTATE.</th>
<th>205</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS</th>
<th>233</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levels of Living</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Laborers' Family</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Relationships in the Large Estate</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Types of Housing Found in a Sample of Large Estate Laborers Residing in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and the Village of San Antonio, February, 1977</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number of Dwelling, Families, and Number of Children per Dwelling in the Village of San Antonio, May, 1977</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Housing Tenure in Sample of 495 Households of Laborers of the Large Estate Residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera and the Village of San Antonio, February, 1977</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Condition of the Dwellings of the Laborers of the Large Estate as Perceived by the Respondents</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Loans Granted to Laborers of the Large Estate by the Housing Committee of the Ingenio in 1977</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Utilities and Disposal Facilities in a</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Furnishings in the Dwellings of a</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Appliances in Residences of 495</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers of the Large Estate in February, 1977.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Number of Daily Meals Taken by</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers of the Large Estate in A Sample of 495 Households in February, 1977.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Food Consumed Most Often by a Sample of 495 Laborers of the Large Estate and Their Families, February, 1977.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Food Expenditures per Week Among Laborers of the Large Estate in a Sample of 495 Households</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Respondents Perception of the Adequacy of Their Diet Among 495 Laborers' Families, Inter-Town Survey of February, 1977</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sources of Assistance Sought in Cases of Illness, Among 495 Laborers of the Large Estate</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Leisure and Reading Practices Among Laborers of the Large Estate in 1977</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Frequency of Reading Newspapers and Magazines</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Source of Income for 2,926 Persons, Members of the Laborers' Families</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Birthplace of the Laborer of the Large Estate According to a Sample of 2,926 Individuals in February, 1977</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Years of work on the Large Estate of the Universe of Laborers with a Family, Residents in San Antonio</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Number of Children by Households, in the Universe of Laborers' of the Large Estate Residents in San Antonio, 1978</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Family Composition in a Sample of 495 Households of Laborers of the Large Estate Residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera and San Antonio, February, 1977</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Marital Status of the Universe of Laborers in the Large Estate Residents in San Antonio</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Percent Distribution of Workers in Sugar Cane Ingenios</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. South of the Cauca River Valley Where the Large Estate is Located.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Plots Division for Housing Development for Laborers, in San Antonio.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Colombia: Political Division.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. South of the Cauca Valley--Neighboring Towns Where Laborers Live.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Departamento of the Cauca Valley</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Model of a Standard House for Laborers' Families</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Order Lists for Groceries Purchased by Eight Families of Laborers of Central Castilla Ltda.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Weekly Expenditures of Eight Families of Laborers in the Large Estate as They Appeared in Groceries Order Lists of January, 1977, in the Workers of the Ingenio Cooperative.</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Laborer Working in the Fields ..................... 208
ABSTRACT

The social organization in a contemporary large estate in the Cauca Valley in Colombia is analyzed in this study. Large estates are owned by a few, while the bulk of the population are agricultural, landless people, working on a land they do not own. In the specific large estate under analysis, the bulk of the agricultural population depends on the large estate entirely for a living. They exhibit many of the social characteristics and consequences of the large estate.

It is the interest of the writer to apply T. Lynn Smith's analysis of the large estate to a specific place in the Cauca Valley where the estate tradition goes back to the year 1500. The writer wants to ascertain whether or not the characteristics of the large estate can be found in this particular large estate. In other words, to discover to what extent those social characteristics and social effects are found in the large estate under analysis and also what emerging, non-traditional patterns have been found in the large estate under analysis.

The findings of the study were done on levels of living, family structure and labor relationships.

Both traditional and emerging patterns have been found within the three aspects of rural social organization. Levels of living of laborers in the large estate prove to
be at the bottom of the estate ladder. Family structure among laborers tend to be loose and unstable. Data shows the population of laborers to be, generally speaking, a family-less people. Labor relationships are established under the order-obey relationship. Emerging patterns have been found within the levels of living, family roles and family relationships. Labor relations are set on a written contract basis, impersonal, in a bureaucratic way. The contract can be terminated by any of the contracting parties, at any time. Traditional features of the large estate influence the laborer's household to the extent of making it a poor, unstable, and routine oriented family. Actions from the top of the enterprise, and from the Sindicato, or laborers union that is the regular channel adopted to ventilate aspirations and needs, brought about some changes. Linkages with external systems such as the Colombian Labor Code have made changes happen. Benefits beyond the requirements of the law have been the result of collective action between the management and the Sindicato.
CHAPTER I

SUBJECT OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This is a study of the social organization of a large estate in the Valle del Cauca, Colombia, South America. Large estates are owned by a few, while the bulk of the agricultural population are landless, working on the land they do not own. The bulk of the agricultural-pastoral work is therefore done by laborers, renters, or squatters. (Smith, 1953, 1967, 1970, 1972, 1974).

In the specific situation under analysis here, the population depends on the large estate entirely for its living and therefore, would exhibit many of the social characteristics and consequences of the structure of the large estate.

The owners of the large estate do not live on it. They have a residence where they can stay when they go for a visit. The laborers of the large estate live mainly in the towns of Florida, Pradera, and Candelaria, and in the village of San Antonio de los Caballeros. In this village, 85 per cent of the population work for the large estate under study. This labor force represents about 15 per cent of the total labor force working for the agro-industrial enterprise under analysis.
By studying the population of San Antonio de los Caballeros one could find a portrait of the social effects of the large estate on its laborers and the other people who work for it.

In San Antonio de los Caballeros most of the people who work on the large estate are sugar cane cutters, or people doing other kinds of work on the fields, such as carrying 'cane seed,' fixing fences, digging ditches, repairing roads, lifting the cane from the fields, cleaning up fields from weeds and doing other maintenance work. Very few people of San Antonio, working in the large estate, work in the factory, or in driving buses, or trucks. Most of those who work in the latter activities, live in the neighboring towns to the large estate but not in San Antonio de los Caballeros.

It is the interest of the present writer to apply Smith's analysis--see review of literature--of the large estate to a specific case, to ascertain whether or not the characteristics of the large estate can be found in this particular large estate. In other words, to discover to what extent those social characteristic and social effects are found in the large estate under analysis and also what emerging non-traditional patterns exist in a large estate as modern as the one under analysis.

The large estate under study here is an agro-industrial enterprise established in 1927, and then extensively cultivated in rice. In 1945, it was transformed into a sugar cane ingenio, today one of the largest in Colombia (Jaime H.
Caicedo, 1965). The ingenio has a labor force of over 4,500 workers laboring in the fields and in the mill proper. The enterprise owns the majority of the land, planted in cane, and owns also the mill. The ownership today is in the hands of a corporation integrated of descendants of the founder of the ingenio. In 1977, the ingenio reorganized as a corporation or Sociedad Anonima.

Setting of the Study

Introduction

The temporal and spatial environment of the large estate selected for this study is presented here. There is no doubt that geography, history and people play very important roles in the functioning of rural societies. The description of the setting provides a greater understanding of situations and changes which people and places go through across the years.

In the large estate under analysis, a history of centuries is connected with the situation, and influences of ethnic groups and their cultures. Geography has been a significant factor in explaining the development of the larger estate and its implications in the lives of the laborers. The place of residence and location of work for a rural society that settled as a self-sufficient agricultural society sixty or sixty-five years ago has changed enormously. The village, at one time a majority of self
FIGURE 1

SOUTH OF THE CAUCA RIVER VALLEY WHERE THE LARGE ESTATE IS LOCATED
sufficient farmers, became a laborers' village. The small plots of property and self-sufficient farms turned into lands added to large estates, one of which is the object of this study, and one of the largest cultivated estates. The Cauca Valley laborers have increased in numbers by the time the large estate has added new lands, rented or owned, to the enterprise.

Central Castilla was a cattle farm in 1927 when Dr. Hernando Caicedo purchased it. Its name was La Abelina. The owner planted rice and, later on, cane. In 1945, Castilla was a Trapiche, a producer of brown-sugar candy or panela, that developed into a large estate cultivated in cane, with a mill to produce sugar. Owned by descendants of the founder of the ingenio, the enterprise currently employs about 4,500 persons. Approximately 3,200 of these are laborers working in the fields, hired hands, and landless people. There are about 485 workers in the mill, and about 315 employees responsible for management (FES, 1976: 261). Castilla in 1974 was one of the 21 ingenios reported in the survey of ingenios in the Cauca Valley. Labor in the fields is up to this time an indispensable job in the large estate. While the number of other workers decreased due to the advancement of modernization, the numbers of laborers increased due to the growth of the large estate (FES, 1976).
Large Estates in the Cauca Valley

The large estate that is the subject of this dissertation is located in an area which has a long history. Since Spanish conquest, the conquistadores distributed land ownership among those who participated in the discoveries of new land and conquests in the Cauca Valley. Every expedition, and every contract between the King and the conquistador was arranged through agreements called capitulaciones. By such capitulaciones, tracts of land were claimed by the conquistadores who distributed part of them to their officers, and later on organized encomiendas. In the latter, groups of Indians were entrusted to the landlord in the 1500's when Sebastian de Belalcazer was granted the province of Popayan (Smith, 1967). This was the beginning of the large estate situation.

Later, the Cabildos or town councils further organized the distribution of land. Land was given to erect public buildings, plazas, for commercial purposes and for the benefit of the town. The rent of the land in this case went to the town treasury to be used in community projects.

In 1637, Spanish officers had taked the land that belonged to the Indians and these had fled to the mountains, or had been forced to work for the new settlers. This situation caused the codification of the Laws of the Kingdom of Indies in their final form regarding the ways ownership of land should be interpreted. The Cauca Valley became an area of
large estates and landless people. In 1960, four centuries later, there were 69,000 agricultural families in the departamento of the Cauca Valley. Of them, 43,000 families or 62 per cent of its total number were laborers (censo agropecurio del Valle, in Gomez-Angel, 1974).

The situation of large estates in the south of the Cauca Valley brought with it the absentee landlordship. The landlords live in the larger towns and go to the landholding or the farm for periodic visits. The phenomenon has contributed to the institutionalization of a new type of agricultural people, the mayordomo, the administrator, and the overseer with whom owners and laborers dealt. Cattle raising was for a while the function of many landholdings. In recent years, agriculture, and monoculture has been customary as the main function of the large estates. Central Castilla had an area of about 14,000 hectares\(^1\) dedicated to the culture of cane for the production of sugar (FES, 1976).

The laborers of the large estate do not live on it. They live mainly in the neighboring towns of Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and the village of San Antonio. Laborers of the large estate commute from their homes to the fields everyday. Due partly to the closeness of the village to the ingenio, and the other large estates, the village has practically become a laborer's village in the last twenty years. Its evolution is described next.
The Village of San Antonio de Los Caballeros

On the other side of the main entrance to the large estate and separated by a public paved road, the traveler can see the village of San Antonio, called El Chicharro when its first settlers arrived. Those who have studied the plantation society in both the south of the United States and Latin America might think that they had discovered a plantation village. It is not. The village has a story independent from the large estate structure. It has grown with it, but it was founded before the large estate under study, the largest in geographic area in the valley, developed. In the plantation societies, the plantation village is part of the plantation. It owns the land and the dwellings, houses, and cabins. Life on the plantation is patterned by the plans, activities and decisions originated by the landlord's authority. The Church itself, Chapel, school and chaplain and the faithful, all are part of the 'casa grande' and the great family of the plantation. Refurbishing of buildings and maintenance of buildings, whatever they might be churches, hospitals, schools and stores, and the conservation of roads, and their development, depend also on the financial support of the plantation and the decision of the plantation owner. Nobody living on a plantation village is alien to the plantation. He or she belongs to it. Activities in the fields and around the casa grande are not only the occupation of the villagers, but their lives.
The village of San Antonio is not a plantation village. Central Castilla is not a plantation. It is a large estate, even though it shows some similarities to the plantation ecology, such as being cultivated in one intensive crop and having hundreds of hired hands working in the fields on an order-obey basis. The village is inhabited now by many laborers working on the large estate. About 85 percent of the working people of the village depend on the large estate for a living. The rest of the population works in neighboring large estates doing field work or have their own private business, such as stores, cafes, and bars.

The development of the large estate into an agro-industrial enterprise brought changes to the village. The large estate management, conscious of the needs of many of its laborers and their families living in the village has either initiated, promoted, or maintained programs aimed toward the welfare, and support of laborers and the rest of the population. The present writer, through conversations and exchange of letters with residents in the village for more than 30 years, has gathered valuable information about the village's history. On this basis, it is valid to state that no step of physical growth of the village or improvement in services has been made without significant cooperation and participation of owners and management of the large estate. The first recorded contribution of the large estate to its neighbors was the programming of effective action to
make the village a place where families could live safely. Before 1945, the village had been a place where bars, gambling and prostitution absorbed the money and the time of local people, and visitors from neighboring cities and towns. In those days, it was said to me, the village was a hamlet and had about 1,000 people. There was no running water, no sewage system, no electricity, no resident priest, no resident civil officials, no police, no streets or sidewalks, nor the many houses built by laborers on the large estate through the ingenio's professional assistance in the last ten years. One of the many correspondents wrote: "The ingenio has influenced the social and physical organization of the village through different and efficient services offered ceaselessly in many ways throughout the years. . . . The village could not be what it is today (1978) without the support of Central Castilla."

The ingenio has been an effective partner working together with neighbors and the municipal and departamento's civil government to satisfy basic local needs of the population.

In 1956, the village began to develop its project of running water. Committees were organized. People utilized the Parraga river as a source of water. The municipality of Florida, to which the village is incorporated, donated the old water pipes the town of Florida had been using for years; they were 950 m. of galvanized pipes of 5 inches
FIGURE 2
PLOTS DIVISION FOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
FOR LABORERS, IN SAN ANTONIO
in diameter (2,850 feet long). Castilla, at its own cost, installed it. The large estate provided free transportation on Sundays to village neighbors to go in groups, mingas, to the town of Florida to remove the pipes from the ground and to bring them to the village. An artesian well replaced the traditional source of water. The departamento's civil government drilled the artesian well. Castilla built the pump house and assumed the responsibility for the provision of oil and maintenance. By the end of 1958, there was running water from the well and a tank, donated by the large estate owners to store 25,000 gallons of water. The junta de Accion Comunal or the local civil action committee developed the running water services to other places in the village with the cooperation of the departamento's government. Eternit pipes of 3 inches were then installed.

To supply electricity to the village, Castilla loaned 75,000 Colombian pesos about $20,000 dollars in those days. The municipio, county-like administrative political subdivision of Florida, the ingenio and beneficiaries absorbed the debt. Castilla got paid the loan through refunds made on their municipal taxes. The electric service began operating on November 27, 1962. On the facade of the village Catholic Church there is a plaque to commemorate the day the village enjoyed electricity for the first time, and to express appreciation to those who worked for that public utility.

The sewage system of the village was made possible
through cooperation with neighbors, the departamento's government and the large estate. Neighbors dug the ditches, the government paid the professional work, and Castilla donated the materials. The telephone service was installed with the cooperation of the parish priest who promoted the project and completed it, with the cooperation of the government and villagers on November 11, 1975.

Castilla has built and maintained elementary schools for the employees and workers' children. In 1976 an ambitious project was solemnly inaugurated on March 25. It was a new educational and recreational center for 600 children of the village, laborers' children or not, to provide them with elementary school, and their parents with short courses in home economics, child care, and human relations. There is also a place for recreational activities. The village has two other elementary schools; one directed by the catholic parish and the other by the municipal government. There is also a secondary school called Colegio Regional where students from San Antonio, Candelaria, Florida and Pradera can finish their secondary education and be able to enroll in one of the neighboring colleges or universities. The Colegio Regional was initiated through cooperation of the large estate, and has had its patronage. As a village, or incorporated area (corregimiento) of Florida, San Antonio has a health center to provide first aid services and facilities for medical assistance to the villagers. There
is also a police officer, inspector and two policemen to keep law and order. The police inspector position was created in 1923, when the hamlet became a corregimiento.

The great majority of the people profess themselves Catholic. The Catholic Church, the only one in the village, and the subsistence of the Parish priest have the patronage of the large estate. It is a commitment made formal through celebration of the several Convenciones Colectivas de Trabajo which take place between the laborers and the ingenio every two years.

Tracts of land have been purchased in San Antonio by the ingenio, for sale to their laborers wanting to build a home in the village. Those who have been in the ingenio for more than three years can apply. Those tracts of land were bought from old residents in the place, owners of self-sufficient farms in the San Antonio area. The housing project of San Antonio, and the new development, Barrio Hernando Caicedo are neighborhoods built by laborers of the large estate in a significant number with the financial assistance of the large estate. Benjamin Zabala's property became what is La Buguena today; Manuel Santos Escobar's land is where the cemetery, donated to the parish by the ingenio, is located. Escolastica's Zabala farm became land where the Barrio Narino developed, and where the parochial school functions. Mrs. Zabala's residence is actually the school building after it had undergone some improvements and
adaptations. The parochial school started in September, 1965.

Neighbors of San Antonio can use several facilities and conveniences existent in the localities of their civil rank. It has a post office branch located in a general store, by the main street, an unpaved road. The store's owner is the postmaster. Surface and air mail services are available Monday through Saturday. There are no banking facilities, nor hotels in the place. There are two restaurants on the road to Candelaria and Florida. One movie room offers entertainment about twice a month to the villagers. It is a service of the ingenio also. The movie room is utilized by the parish, and projects 16mm movies from several American agencies. Usually the movies are on Saturday nights, at 8 o'clock.

There are no permanent dental services, nor medical care. A nurse takes care of first aid at the small health center, open on an irregular schedule. There is one barber shop, and several general stores, three billiard saloons, one bakery, two workshops to repair doors, gates, bicycles, trucks, buses, and cars.

The locality of San Antonio has about 2,500 people. The village is located at about 3,000 feet above sea level. The climate is hot (about 85-95°F throughout the year) between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. Early in the morning and late in the afternoon the temperature drops about 5-7 degrees,
especially during the rainy season. San Antonio is tierra caliente. Partly because of its climatic conditions, it attracts people from similar areas living in the north and south of the departamento. The majority of the inhabitants are mestizos and mulatos, a mixture of Caucasian-Indian and Black people, also called three-ethnic. San Antonio has the lowest number of Caucasians in the whole area composed of Candelaria, Florida, Palmira, and Pradera. The villagers, as a rule, do not show definite attachment to the area, due in part to their transient nature or because of recent arrival. Those who have been residents for more than five years, or belong to families who were the early settlers are the ones who participate most in civil, political, religious and social activities. About 300 laborers of the ingenio reside in San Antonio, either by themselves or with their families as it will be shown in the body of this dissertation.

The structure of the large estate in its social organization, no doubt, affects the social organization of the villagers in characteristic ways.

How the Village Grew

The birth of the village goes back to the early 1920's when people settled in El Chicharro and occupied lordless lands. Those who wanted land for a farm paid 2,000 Colombian pesos per 20 plazas. Those who wanted to build a
house paid $0.50 for a square meter. With a few houses and multiple problems about land ownership rights and land surveys, a police officer was assigned to the new locality. In 1923, he became a corregidor, or police inspector with the right to settle differences and solve conflicts among neighbors. It was Florida's city council of those years that promoted the appointment of a corregidor for the hamlet, later on called San Antonio de los Caballeros.

The first settlers devoted their land to agriculture and cattle. They fell trees and cleared lands of small trees and bushes, and planted corn and red beans. Their activities became so prosperous that residents of other places visited the village with the purpose of buying its produce, weekly brought to the marketplace for sale. Beans, corn, cacao, plantains, yucca, fruits and vegetables were produced on the self-subsistence farms. The owners had also cows, horses and pigs for small business and domestic use. Coffee and vegetables were cultivated. In 1975, the writer visited three places in the village which could still be classified as self-subsistent farms. The Barona brothers, Iginio, Manuelito, Rafael and Roque; Manuel Santos Escobar, and Efigenia Escobar who donated the land where the Catholic Church and part of the rectory are built; Feliciano, and Proviliano Escobar, Lucio Ledesma and Juan de Dios Zabala were early settlers of the place. Efigema Escobar, still living in the village, and an outstanding civil leader, also
owned lands which she later sold. People of the place seemed to have more than enough to make a living.

By 1948, due partly to the phenomenon called La violencia, and also to partisan influences of some people in Florida, the marketplace in San Antonio was closed. People had to go to Florida for selling their produce and do the weekly mercado. The Japanese started spraying their crops of soybeans, cotton, sorghum, maize and beans by using crop-dusting airplanes. Some other large estates started doing the same. People who moved to the village began to vandalize their neighbors' crops. More people came to work in several other large estates older than Castilla, namely Maria Luisa and La Industria, and several Trapiches, such as Castilla, El Trebol, Guayabo Negro, Palestina and Sincerin. Canteens and bars proliferated in the place. Some early settlers began to feel the pressure of the aforementioned changes and decided to sell their lands and start another business such as galpones or baked brick and tile production. Some others left. Castilla began to buy some of the pieces of property available for purchase. Those tracts of land are the ones that at the present time are for sale to laborers of the ingenio, below commercial prices. Those who sold their lands in 1955-1960 received $100 Colombian pesos a square meter (Nine square feet for approximately $4.00 in the United States currency).
The village, of predominately self-sufficient agricultural people then, started to experience the effects of the growing large estate. Almost an entire community of wage laborers developed, directly dependent on work on the large estate. Labor there became plentiful and both estate and village attracted more people than before. The newcomers were people who worked for lower wages. In spite of this, migration to the village continued. The wages, being low for the subsistence of a family, were higher in Castilla than the ones paid by other neighboring large estates.

The work on the large estate demanded adjustments on the part of the laborer. His family had been living spatially and culturally integrated to his labor in Cauca, Choco, and Narino. The new way of work created separation from the traditional settlement of the rural family. Division of labor, distribution of authority in the family, absenteeism of the laborer from his family, divorce of wife and children from farm activities, produced a cultural shock in the laborer and his family. The consequences of those damages will be described where the laborer's family in the large estate situation is analyzed.

The laborer also altered his patterns of consumption. He would buy what was available to him at the stores. New types of social relationships and values developed, evidenced by a wider range of purchased products. Instead of consuming what he had produced, the laborer faced a new pattern of
FIGURE 3

COLOMBIA: POLITICAL DIVISION

DIVISION POLITICA
POBLACION

POLITICAL DIVISION
POPULATION

Estimación de la población en 5 de julio de 1954 para las principales ciudades

Population estimated on July 5th, 1954

For the principal cities.
consumer sovereignty by receiving the wage payment which he would spend in the stores.

**Significance of the Study**

The Departamento del Valle del Cauca, as a whole, is one of the most cultivated and mechanized agricultural sections of Colombia. Its rural areas are dominated by the system based upon large estates (Flora, 1971; Berry, 1972; Gomez-Angel, 1974; Fals-Borda, 1975). The analysis of a specific case of a large estate and its social characteristics and effects upon rural life would contribute to understanding the system under which live the bulk of the agricultured population of the Valle, and included Colombia.

A case study like the one proposed here might be useful to the study of Colombian rural society as well as of other agrarian societies around the world. According to Smith (1974), many observations about rural life have been fruits of speculative inferences and not frequently the result of objective analysis and empirical research.

This study is an attempt to emphasize the importance of the study of the large estate and its implications in rural societies. A thorough knowledge of this situation, for example, should be a requisite every time formulas to implement rural programs are offered, such as agrarian reforms (Beckford, 1972; Berger, 1975; Copp, 1971; Rogers and Burdge, 1972; Smith, 1965; and Willems, 1963).
FIGURE 4
SOUTH OF THE CAUCA VALLEY--NEIGHBORING TOWNS WHERE LABORERS LIVE
The significance of this study is highlighted by the fairly unique history of the large estate under analysis. It evolved from a pastoral to an agro-industrial enterprise which is highly modernized. The changes in the type of production of the large estate may offer valuable sources of material throughout the evolution of the patterns of the large estate, and provide a tool to detect the changes that the large estate is going through in modern times.

This case study can be of little or no relevance to countries where the large estate is absent or is not a prevalent rural social phenomenon. However, in many areas of the contemporary world, such as the Southern United States and countries south of the Rio Grande, analysis of the social and cultural patterns of the large estate is crucial.

It is apparent to any observer that in Latin American countries, influenced by the British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spanish heritages, the large estate situation, its characteristics and social effects, cover like an umbrella many cultural and socio-economic trends of its rural population (Berry, 1975; Dean, 1976; Galjart, 1972; Guerra y Sanchez, 1944; Havens and Flinn, 1970; Moreno Fraginals, 1977). The rural institution of the large estate seems, indeed, to have influenced, in its multiple historical forms, the social order and many aspects of societies of the western hemisphere from its discovery by Europeans to its present time (Flora, 1971; Halper, 1975; Parra-Sandoval, 1966).
FIGURE 5
DEPARTAMENTO OF THE CAUCA VALLEY
Conceptual Statement of the Problem

In specific terms this endeavor involves the conceptual delineation and empirical investigation of selected social characteristics of the large estate situation in a particular case, and its social effects as they have been presented in the review of the literature.

Although there are influences other than the factors found in the large estate operating upon every aspect of rural life, the author's contention is that the research covers an almost unique case of the large estate situation as representing one of the factors that is most responsible for the type of life in the agrarian society of San Antonio de los Caballeros, and, generally speaking, in any society where the large estate structure prevails.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1One acre equals 0.40 hectares.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE ON THE NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE LARGE ESTATE SITUATION

This chapter is a review of the literature which is relevant to this study. Since this is a case study of a large estate, the works reviewed here are those in which we find important contributions regarding: (1) the nature of the land system based upon large estates, and (2) the social characteristics and consequences of such a system.

The Literature on the Nature of the System Based upon Large Estates

largely in the context of his life-long study of the relations between the agricultural population and the land. Man-land relations, Smith maintains, are part of rural social organization and include: (1) the manner in which the agricultural people settle on the land; (2) the way in which land is divided and the boundaries on the land are identified for purposes of surveying and recording; (3) the legal relationship between the agriculturalist and the land; (4) size of holdings and size of farms; and (5) the ways of farming, or the ways agricultural people have employed, throughout recorded history, tools and techniques in tilling the soil and exploiting it.

Smith (1973, 1974) contends that of those relationships of man to the land, the distribution and control of the land, or the size of holdings and farms, is probably the most important single determinant "of all the factors involved in the advancement and well being of the agricultural population" (1974: 8).

In observing the ways land holdings are categorized according to size, Smith (1953, 1970, 1974) points out the difficulties which exist everywhere, and especially in Latin American countries, in making a distinction between the holding and the farm. These distinctions, Smith contends, are necessary to describe accurately the situations and needs of a given country and to understand how different land systems affect the welfare of the people who make a
living exclusively from agriculture-related enterprises. These distinctions are related also to the origins and transformations in the various types of social institutions, that characterize some nations and regions of the world.

Several factors, besides size, should contribute to elaborate the definition of what is a holding and what is a farm. It varies according to irrigation, location, and productivity. Consequently, an agricultural unit, or farm, cannot be defined solely by its size. Smith (1974) notes that in some places like in the midwestern part of the United States, the farm and the holding are practically one and the same. In some other places, such as Great Britain, holdings have been as large or larger than farms which in the United States would be included in the category of the so-called family-sized farm. In Latin America, the varying sizes of the holdings and the farms have given origin to different names such as estancia, fazenda, hacienda, finca, latifundio, minifundio, rancho, and plantation.

According to Smith (1953), a meaningful distinction between land holdings is one that separates the farming unit in which the farm operator and the members of his family supply the capital, perform the managerial functions, and themselves supply the greater part of the manual labor required for the farm tasks, from the one in which the labor supplied by the operator and his family is only incidental, operations are greater than a single-family scale and a
force of laborers is maintained to perform the manual labor on the farm. Based on this type of distinction, Smith has classified landholdings into three general categories: (1) *minifundia*, (2) family-sized farms, and (3) large holdings. Of these categories, the interest of the present study is the latter one.

In his studies in North and South America, Smith describes the large holding or large estate as a situation in which the majority of the land is owned by a few, while the majority of the agricultural population working on that land are landless people, forced to work as laborers to earn a meager living. Instances of large holdings in the history of the United States are given by Smith (1953): the bonanza farms of the northwest, the estates of the Hudson, the plantations of the South, and the western ranch. As early as 1730, reports exist of plans for plantations dedicated to sugar cane and tobacco in Mississippi. These plans contained provisions for the settlement of 325 white families and 19,000 blacks (E.J. Forstall, in Smith, 1953).

Beckford (1972), Freyre (1946), Smith (1953, 1970, 1976), Whetten (1948), Wolf and Hansen (1972), among others, have also given examples of the establishment of *fazendas*, *haciendas*, *estancias* and *ranchos*, *engenhos* and *usinas* in Latin America, some dating as far back as the XVI Century. All such systems have this in common: a minority holds the ownership of more than sixty percent of the agricultural
land (Fals-Borda, 1975; Wolf and Hansen, 1972) while more than sixty percent of agricultural people are laborers. These laborers do not own the land, but work on it largely because of the ways the land has been distributed in those countries of the South of the Rio Grande.

Social Characteristics and Consequences of the System Based on Large Estates

In relation to the concentration of ownership, control, and management of the land, Smith (1953, 1957), and Smith and Zopf (1970) summarize the various characteristics, consistently observed in cross-cultural and longitudinal research by sociologists over the past seventy years, of the situation where the large estate has been dominant (Bertrand, 1972).

These characteristics have effects which are clearly seen in the multitude of social problems that have originated wherever a very small elite exploits the mass of the agricultural population. Smith contends that in systems based on large estates very few are the opportunities for the majority of the agricultural society to "develop the psychosocial equipment that makes for ingenuity, efficiency, and relatively high levels of living" (Smith-Zopf, 1970:194). A larger society is also formed, in which lower-class characteristics prevail, as exemplified by the peones and sharecroppers and tenants, where the large estate dominates together with the
tiny plots of land which are insufficient to satisfy the needs of a middle-class family. This such social system has been described by: Fals-Borda, (1955); Brunner, (1927); Galpin, (1917); Goldschmidt, (1947); Havens, and Romeaux, (1965); Sitterson, (1953); Smailes, (1965); Steward, (1956); Taylor, (1955); Veblen, (1923); Willems, E., (1947); Wolf, (1972).

In contrast with this situation is the type of agricultural society in which those who work on the land, own it, and operate it, have the opportunities to invest money, and develop labor; managerial skills and techniques. Such a system results in a middle-class farmer and a middle-class family farm.

"In a long measure, the development of civilization consists of the 'natural history' of two sharply contrasting systems of rural social organization. The raison d'etre of the first, or the factor principally responsible for determining the form, the structure, the power, and the other fundamental features of the system is the large landed estate. This immense and agricultural and pastoral entity, known by so many names such as hacienda, estancia, fundo, fazenda, plantation, latifundium, cortijo, and so on, was the principal one in ancient times, and it still persists in many parts of the earth.

The central core of the second rural social system is the family-sized farm, the unit which has proved extraordinarily
successful during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in western Europe, in the United States and Canada, and in some other countries, with respect to the quantity and efficiency of agricultural production and above all in the development of the capacities and abilities of the masses of the rural population and the high levels of living in the societies involved. (Smith, 1967:11).

A Colombian, largely quoted by Smith, Salvador Camacho Roldan (1897), also analyzed the admirable social conditions of the American middle-class farmer and the causes that led to their relatively high levels of living. His words were translated by Smith (1967:12-13). They relate to the conditions of agricultural people in America in 1880. Then, of nine million people who cultivated the soil, nearly five million were landowners; and those who had been slaves, through efforts and sure actions, peaceful but victorious, also became landowners.

"Of all the grandeurs that I had the opportunity to see during my rapid trip through the heart of that country (The United States) none appeared to me so great as this social fact, because the independence, the liberty, and the equality of men does not consist in mere words written as a promise in the political constitutions, but in true and tangible acts which place men on the road to redemption. How can anyone consider as a free man the one for whom his subsistence and that of his family is dependent upon the
will of a landlord? Can there ever be equality between a wage hand and his patron? More fearful than the tyranny of men is the tyranny of things, and the result of the functioning of an institution suffices for the understanding of the difference which should exist between people who have their historical point of departure in the feudal control of the land and those who have sought to establish themselves by means of an equitable distribution of this primary basis of production in proportion to its occupant's capacity to work.

... "Moreover, one cannot deny that the concentration of the ownership of the land in a few hands is an instrument for concentrating wealth among the smallest number of producers; this leads to the development of luxury, of artificial pleasures, and of vices among the few and the degradation of the others, all of which results in the creation of useless riches, since they are not employed in the satisfaction of true necessities. As between better production and better distribution of the riches, the moralist and even the economist always favor the latter. For my own part, in summary, I believe the principal problem of modern societies consists in seeking, through natural means, the elimination of unjust institutions and better distribution among the producers of the values created by production."

Smith's framework for the sociological study of the system based on large holdings is used here as the outline
for integrating the literature on the social consequences of such a system. The appropriate literature is discussed under each of the consequences, presented by Smith, of the system of large estates.

High Degree of Social Stratification

Where the large estate dominates the land, society appears divided into two widely-separated classes. (Smith, 1953, 1957, 1967). At one end of the so-called social scale is a small class composed of the elite, the landowners of the large estate, enjoying all of the administrative, economic and political power. They have the opportunities and means to acquire what is offered to those who enjoy a high level of living. At the other end of the scale, separated by a huge hiatus, is the mass of laborers, landless agricultural people. They are poorly trained, uneducated, badly housed, ill clothed, unstable in their family life, inadequately fed. In such a society one may also find a very small group that is capable of carrying out the three economic functions that contribute to the growth of a rural-middle class, namely: (1) To invest money in land, equipment and operating expenses; (2) To perform the majority of the labor required on the farm; and (3) perhaps the most important, to manage the farm, making all the decisions about its operation.

Goldschmidt (1947), in his study on three communities in the San Joaquin Valley in California, reports on the
striking social stratification in Arwin, a community where the large estate prevailed on the middle-sized farm. There, a wide social hiatus was found between the farm laborer on the one hand and the owner-operator and white collar worker on the other. These two groups constituted two separate worlds.

Whetten (1948) writing on social conditions in Mexico, described the social effects of the wide division of agricultural people within two classes: the landowners of the large estate, and the laborers. The latter were of two general types: a) the resident peon, and b) the non-resident peon or _peon alquilado_ (hired hand). The resident peon lived on the farm. His social conditions were similar to those of serfs. The resident peon was bound to the hacienda through a system of advanced payments that, because of low wages, he was almost never able to repay. The large estate landowners, who exercised monopoly prior to 1910, had the necessary power to keep agricultural wages comparatively stable for more than fifty years at the same time that the cost of living was steadily rising" . . . This could mean only increasing misery and degradation for a large proportion of the rural population which made up the landless masses (ibid.:106)."

Nelson (1950) describes how land-tenure relationships affected the rural class in Cuba. Wage laborers and squatters were at the bottom of the social ladder. The latter were
called *precaristas*, or unauthorized settlers on land which belonged to others. Even the size of the farm was a determinant of social status. Given the wide disparity in land distribution in Cuba, there was no way, within that structure, to have a significantly large middle-class in comparison with the number of people who constituted the lower class. Those facts made Nelson aware of the political implications that the situation could have for the future of Cuban society.

While doing research on the plantation system, Beckford (1972) presented an analysis of the rigid system of social stratification inherent in the plantation around the world, with managers at the top, culturally different unskilled laborers at the bottom, and where there was virtually no mobility in either direction within this system of stratification. Every aspect of life on the plantation, Beckford ascertained, reflects its social structure.

In studying plantations in Northern Brazil in the 1950's, Hutchinson (1955) reached the conclusion that a type of agriculture brings with it a distinct socio-economic pattern to the environment where it has been established. Such has been the case with the sugar cane plantation in the British, French, Portuguese and Spanish colonies. In those colonial societies, diverse socio-economic patterns appear marked by certain characteristic traits. One of the traits is the concentration of economic, political and social power in the hands of very few families or corporations, and the existence
of a weak, divided and amorphous mass of people for which the system did not provide economic motivations. The same observations have been made by Wagley (1960).

Smith (1944, 1967, 1970), who visited Colombia in the early 1940's and thereafter, could observe the ill effects of a high degree of social stratification in rural life. The bulk of the population is deprived of all opportunities of acquiring and exercising managerial and proprietorial functions. They do not receive from their landlords a larger share of the product than the rewards given to their utilized toil. In a later work, Smith (1976), poignantly presented how those same social conditions still characterize much of rural Latin America in the middle 1970's, where an elite landowning class may live in fantastic luxury, while great numbers of agricultural people lack the rights to the soil.

Research on social conditions in Colombia shows that a high degree of social stratification exists in the rural areas of that country (Flora, 1971; Berry and Urrutia, 1976; Smith, 1974). With about ten percent of agricultural families exploiting seventy-five percent of the land, and with ownership appearing to be somewhat more concentrated than its operation, it is to be expected that such a wide class gap would exist.

The situation was also briefly described by Thiesenhusen and Brown (1970). They found the jobs scarce in any other places but on the large farms and plantations. Laborers
have no chance of acquiring a tract of land of their own. The laborer's work is largely unorganized.

**Little Vertical Social Mobility**

According to Smith (1953), another characteristic of the large estate situation and its different forms, such as the *estancia*, the *hacienda* and the plantation, concerns vertical mobility. Having a dominant social class, the elite, socially far away from the lower class or the laborers, there is practically no way to move from one status to another in the social ladder (Smith and Zopf, 1970:177). It would be extremely unusual if an individual could move through the vast distance that separates the lower from the upper class in the large estate society. Such vertical movement is difficult not only upwards, but also downwards; positions in the large estate society are usually ascribed to individuals because of obligations of kinship rather than on the basis of competency and merit. Incompetent people or slightly competent, when being part of the elite in the rural society, remain in the elite without descending to the levels socially and economically fitting for their abilities and capabilities (Smith, 1967).

This is a pervasive characteristic of societies that are based on the system of large estates. It explains why the opportunities that would be created by training, experience, and efforts to better one's own standing and that of one's family, fade away for the agricultural laborer,
causing frustrations, fatalism, the philosophy of the limited
good (Foster, 1955), and very little social circulation
within society (Smith, 1967a).

Goldschmidt (1947), in analyzing vertical mobility,
found evidence of social and economic advancements in the
social class ladder in the rural society of the San Joaquin
Valley, California. That shifting, however, was influenced
by several factors. For farmers, Goldschmidt found, size
and tenure were important requisites for advancement. The
prevailing attitude was that a person could not profit from
a farm of less than forty acres. In addition, "in order to
advance to farmer status or in that status, some private
source of capital was necessary, and also, as one person
stated, a few 'breaks.' Another requisite was previous
entrepreneurial experience." (Ibid.:160). Aggressiveness
and ability to work very hard had been among the conditions
necessary to climb the socio-economic ladder, but these
conditions have not characterized the laborers' masses at
all. Goldschmidt found, therefore, that some other factor,
besides the conditions of the laborer itself, was present
in the reported cases in which some laborers appeared moving
to the farmer status.

Order-Obey Personal Relations, or the Domination-Subordination
Pattern

The terms on the heading refer to a complex of charac-
teristics that describe the relationships between landowner
and laborer in the large estate society. Smith and Zopf (1970), have noted that wherever the large estate has been dominant, personal relationships on the holding are strikingly different from the patterns that exist in the family-sized farm in which capital, labor, and management of the enterprise is the responsibility of the members of the family (Smith, 1953, 1963, 1970a, 1970b, 1972). Whether it is a plantation, or an hacienda, estancia, a rancho, the order-obey pattern, or domination-subordination types of relations are the general rule, not only in the fields, but also in domestic relationships. In many cases, the work of the laborer or his family is extended also to the Casa Grande, or la casa de la hacienda (the landowner's house or mansion).

In the large estate system, the different expressions of authoritarian leadership prevail over more lucrative forms of leadership. This authoritarian relationship is maintained by the landlord and his representatives, and even among the workers that have been given some authority. Unequal relationships are supported by attitudes expected to be held by, for example, both the overseer and the laborer. The caciquism type of leadership is the one that is evident on the large holding, instead of the shared responsibilities and power that are visible among the members of a family on family-sized farm enterprises. In the caciquism type of human relationships, masses of laborers do not participate in the operation of the estate. On the contrary, laborers
many times have developed, through experience on their job, such a poor image of themselves, that they think of themselves as an inferior class of people in the wider society. This condition, Smith (1967, 1970, 1972) contends, is found throughout Latin American countries where the inferior condition of the laborer and sharecropper is engraved in the cultures of the continent, (also Berger, 1972; Guerra y Sanchez, 1944; Mintz, 1974).

Variations have taken place within the order-obey pattern. In the last century when slavery was fully institutionalized, the relations were of the master and slave type. With slavery now abolished, new forms, similar to those existent before, have arisen. They are the patron-laborer, and the landlord-servant, the hacendado-peon relationships. An obvious effect of this situation is that cooperation will be difficult to understand, as well as the concept of equality within a democratic society. (Smith, 1974).

Reports of the domination-subordination pattern of relationships found by Smith and Zopf (1970) in the large estate, also are given by Branner (1924) in his historical analysis of the plantation system of the southern United States. In 1920-21, he found that 213 plantations out of 215 reported supervision of the employees, 68 per cent of the surveyed plantations estimated as 'close', the type of supervision which prevailed on the estate. The historical
data also contained some indications of the type of supervision that Branner classified as a characteristic of the large estate system: 1) the existence of a bell-system or the regulation by the landlord of the time of rest and the time of work for the workers; 2) the control of working conditions by the management; 3) the administration system, that determined the work implements to be used as well as the tasks to be performed, the chores, responsibilities of the laborers, and the section of the plantation where the day's labor was to be done; 4) the manager's presence that, together with the traits already listed, was an indispensable part of labor conditions as well as the presence of the 'overseer' the 'gang leader,' or the 'head' of the group, who was ordinarily one of the laborers.

Given this close supervision in the large estate, it is no wonder that it is the existence of either one of those two forms of rural social organization, the large estate, or the family-sized farm, that seems to have shaped the "... opportunities, activities, aspirations, accomplishments... and social interactions, and so on, of the people who live in the rural areas." (Smith, 1967:15).

Taylor and others (1955) in observing the grower-worker relationships in agriculture in the United States discovered that operators on the farms did not usually work side by side with their hired hands. It seemed to him that grower-worker relationships had been romanticized in the past when
it was maintained that hired hands or laborers had good personal relationships with the landlord. On the contrary, those relationships were found by him to be as de-personalized as they are in most non-agricultural industries. Furthermore, in commercial production of certain crops, especially when harvesting demanded a great number of seasonal workers, an even greater degree of impersonality characterized the relationships between growers and workers. This inequality of relationships between landlord and laborers in the large estate shows its effects, for example, upon organized labor. Agricultural laborers are generally found in a less favorable bargaining position with their actual or prospective employers than are the industrial workers (Taylor, 1955). Hired agricultural workers have not reached the position to exercise political pressure to secure the protective legislation achieved by industrialized workers.

Quoting Harry Schwartz, Taylor did not foresee any changes in this picture in the near future, only the maintenance of prosperity for non-farm occupations and the increasing pressure to escape from agricultural labor to seek better opportunities in the industrial sector.

Wolf and Hansen (1972) attempted to define the kind of interpersonal relationships in which most of Latin Americans have lived under the plantation society and other types of the large estates. Observing the human side of the enclave economy of those agricultural organizations, they found
several features and social effects common to them, throughout their evolution, in Freyre's description of the Noruega Plantation in Pernambuco, Brazil, in the middle of the XVI century, where a minority of white and light-skinned mulatoes dominated patriarchally and poligamously from their casas de hacienda. (1946).

Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, but the relationships of dominance and dependence continued under diverse forms. These forms and their social effects on the agricultural masses were analyzed in detail in Beckford's work (1972) on the phenomenon of persistent poverty in the plantation economies around the world.

Among the factors that effect the persistence of poverty in the plantation economy—that is essentially linked to the large estate—Beckford searched for those factors that led to underdevelopment in the nations of the third world. It is Beckford's argument that persistent poverty "derives from the institutional environment, the nature of economic, social and political organization." (Ibid.:215) For Beckford, development means more than just material welfare as measured by higher incomes; it means social welfare in general; and in this, ... an important and neglected aspect is genuine independence. This would not only be constitutional, but also political, the capacity of the country to control its environment and its resources. That independence, emphasized by Beckford, cannot be attained by the laboring agricultural masses if such patron-peon
relationships that exist inherent in the large estate, persist (Berger, 1973, 1975; Bertrand, 1972; Smith, 1967, 1974).

Advancement for a society, Beckford maintains, is identified with independence instead of dependence. People, he believes, would prefer to be economically poor and free rather than to be in material comfort and be a slave. He reached this conclusion after he analyzed the plantation economy and plantation society in Africa, Asia, America and the United States.

The plantation, in Beckford's definition, is a large estate that has some characteristics that make it different from other types of large estates. When Beckford analyzed the plantation economy and the plantation society, he adopted O. W. Jones (1968:164) definition of plantation as "an economic unit producing agricultural commodities (field crops or horticultural products, but not livestock) for sale and employing a relatively large number of unskilled laborers whose activities are closely supervised. Plantations usually employ a year round labor crew of some size, and they usually specialize in the production of only one or two marketable products. They differ from other kinds of farms in which the factors of production, primarily management and labor, are combined."

The plantation, for Beckford, patterns the relationships of people to the land, and among people. It determines
not only how people shall live on the land, but also how to live with one another. Plantations control the lives of the people involved in its enterprise and set the relationships between owners and the mass of laborers.

Beckford writes, "... So far as concerns the plantation owner, the primum mobile is to extract as much labor services as possible out of the labor force available. This naturally leads to a pattern of exploitive authoritarian management organization which was at a peak on the slave plantation. Since the abolition of slavery, however... the modernization of plantations... has given rise... to more consultative patterns of management. Benevolence and paternalism have been a necessary part of the strategy of plantation owners to keep the plantations welded together." (Ibid.:54).

"... There is still the highly personal relationship based on mutual rights and obligations." (Hutchinson, in Beckford, p. 55)

Hutchinson (1957), in his study on the sugar cane planters in northern Brazil, has expounded on how the relationships between planters and laborers grew in a characteristic manner with the addition of the Africans to the scene. A tradition of paternalism and noblesse oblige toward their Negro-slaves was the general rule. In interpersonal relations this tradition subsisted during the time the engenho, or the family-owned plantation and its sugar mill,
prevailed.

The previously mentioned patterns changed somewhat when the plantation fell into the hands of large-scale corporations in a similar fashion to the process that occurred in Cuba and Puerto Rico (Moreno-Fraginals, 1945; Steward, 1947), and the owners became absentee landlords. Impersonal relationships then developed between administrators and laborers. Even so, relationships were, as Hutchinson observes, of such a type that "paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life . . . The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities that include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private-family run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run corporation plantation." (Ibid.:69)

M.G. Smith (in Beckford, 1972) found the relationships among laborers in a plantation society characterized by dissension and 'pregnant' with conflict. As part of a conflict society, relationships in the estate are the result of instability in the job without any confidence in the future. Tension and crises in the relationships between owners and laborers grow because of the changes in the larger society. Unsolved conflicts affect both entrepreneurs and hired hands delaying the pace of the changes that
are needed to overcome the influence of social instability upon the rural social organization.

As a main effect of the economic structure of the plantation, founded on the objectives of economic production and achievement motivation, Beckford (1972) found the personal relationships or social ethos of the plantation oriented by individualism. The result of this ethos is the denial of any efforts for meaningful cooperation among laborers. Cooperation is precisely the basis of the family-size farm, or the kind of rural enterprise where all the members of the family are involved in promoting a greater production and productivity rather than in developing divisions and inter-group clashes.

**Emphasis Upon Routine and Search for Progress**

While the operator on a family-sized farm is interested in the search for new and more efficient ways of performing the tasks on the farm and more efficient use of labor, Smith (1953, 1967a, 1967b, 1970, 1974) has discovered a strikingly different picture on the large estate. In the first case, the interest of the operator is how to improve the system. In the large estate situation, the laborers are tied to routine, standardization and repetition of tasks as essential conditions attached to their work. Innovations, if they happen, are to come from above. If they come from the laborer, those who supervise the performance of the tasks classify the innovation as 'bad' or
'impractical,' or 'undesirable.' This condition causes then a disdain for the laborer and his work (Smith, 1967). In those estates where self-sufficiency is not the major concern of the large proprietor and the one crop type of farming prevails, routine work is even more the order of the day. The effects of such a situation could not be more pernicious for the improvements of agricultural methods in a given rural society.

Effects of routine work on the large holding were verified widely by Smith in his study of Colombia (1967a). He saw how people, living in the XX century, still had on the large estates, the tools and techniques used by the Egyptians and Babylonians many centuries before Christ (Ibid.) Smith also observed how the repetition of simple tasks day after day under the supervisor's eye, created a good laborer. (Smith, 1974)

This is very similar to the situation described by Nelson (1950). In several farms which he visited in Cuba, he could not find any up-to-date methods of agriculture nor any participation of the laborers in decision-making processes, nor civil-action programs in the agricultural towns.

Wagley (1960) found in routine work one of the factors that prevented the emergence of a highly motivated population. In his trips to the Caribbean plantations, he discovered communities that he would classify as weak and
amorphous. Initiative was non-existent in developing any civic action programs. Since routinization and standardization characterize the poor agricultural laborer on the large estates, they carry negative connotation in most of the nations. Wolf and Hansen (1972) have found, for example, that the names by which laborers are known in Brazil, caboclos; in Peru, cholos; in Mexico, rancheros; in Puerto Rico, jibaros; in Cuba, guajiros; and in Colombia, montaneros, iguazos, lungos, connote rural folk with little access to the channels of school and literacy, polish and sophistication, power and wealth.

The effects of routine and standardized work on the large estate hurt so deeply the personalities of the masses of laborers, as to make Wolf (1972) argue that the tearing down of the great estates is but one side of a process of a necessary new social and economic order. What is to be kept in mind is that the laborers in new or reformed land systems must learn first to cope with the diversity of problems involved in operating a farm.

"... This is not a matter of this or that minor change or innovation, or introducing hybrid seed corn into communities that lacked such productive seed ... It involves the learning of new habits of action and thought, of adapting old habits to new demands, and of dealing with people in new ways, all steps as necessary as they are painful. Thus, we see again how the past determines the future. (Ibid.:150)."

Compulsory routine on the plantation society led Beckford (1972) to adopt Raymond Smith's classification of
the plantation situation as a total institution, where boundaries are well defined, and a marked internal hierarchical structure approaches that of an internal caste system. During the time of slavery in Brazil, for example, the slaves were put through a process known as 'seasoning,' in which they were taught compliance with the routine on the plantation.

As a result of the conditions in which the slaves worked, and later on, the peones, the large estate did not constitute a situation which promised much modernization of the farm. As Hutchinson (1968:88) notes: "... Starting with a rejection of nature as a viable partner, the rejection of innovation, the rejection of cooperation, and a rejection of long range planning, they add up to continued tradition and to a continued cycling of crisis."

Low Levels and Standards of Living

Smith (1967) contends that, generally speaking, the levels of living of the rural inhabitants in a system of large estates, either agricultural or pastoral, are very low. At about the same low level he finds the standards of living, that is, the level of living to which the population aspires. In systems of large estates the population cannot aspire to levels of living that have little possibility of ever being realized.

Smith (Ibid.) has found regularly throughout history that there has been a very close relationship between large
estates and subsistence economics: "... The production of this type of estate always has been slight in relation to the numbers of persons dependent upon it, and even in the cases probably not very numerous in which the landowners have not taken the lion's share of it for themselves, the average per person has remained very low. Neither the production per man-year, nor the manner in which it has been distributed has permitted an adequate quota per family." (1967:25).

This generalization was applicable to the southern plantations in the United States, in which owners of large holdings monopolized the most fertile lands and smaller farmers had to settle on the hilly and poor lands of the region. Since the large estate has low productivity, even where it is dedicated to a single crop, it frequently entails low levels of living for the peasant. Such a situation is also reflected in the levels of living in urban areas, where limited productivity or inequitable distribution of agricultural goods can affect nutrition and the satisfaction of other primary needs besides food.

The wide gap in the levels of living between landowner and laborers or peones is due in part to the low output per unit of labor, which is typical of the large estate. It is also due to the high degree to which land is wasted in the large estate. These generalizations concerning the effects of the large estate upon levels of living were
confirmed by Smith in his works on Tabio (1944), Colombia (1967), Brazil (1972) and the Race between Population and Food Supply in Latin America (1974).

Smith's conclusions have been consistent with the works of other researchers who have studied the effects of the large estate upon the levels of living of agricultural people throughout the world in the last forty years. (Bertrand, 1972).

One of those works was done in the southern United States in 1937. Dorothy Dickins (1937) published a comparative study of the levels of living of Blacks in the Mississippi Delta and the Red Hills of Mississippi. Despite the fact that the land of the Delta was much more fertile than the land on the Red Hills, the Blacks living on the latter area enjoyed higher levels of living than those who were located on the Delta region. The crucial distinction between the two areas is that in the Delta region the system of large estates predominated, while in the Red Hills one found primarily family-sized farms.

Brunner and Kolb (1933) in describing the importance of the agriculture in the United States and its relation to the way land was divided, dedicated part of their work to an analysis of the conditions of tenants. Tenants were found to have a lower standard of living than owner-operators. Tenants and laborers have in common the fact that they do not own the land on which they work.
Taylor (1955) noting the scientific and technological advances that have taken place after World War I in the United States, advances that have increased the levels and standards of living of contemporary societies, reported that hired farm laborers and their dependents have probably benefited the least. Whatever criteria might be used to measure levels of living (health, housing, education, income, participation in politics and power), the results have consistently shown that the lowest levels of living are found among the hired workers (see also Berry and Urrutia, 1976; Connell, 1977; Rogers and Burdge, 1972; Strickon and Greenfield, 1972). The peon's aspiration to climb the tenure ladder to attain the status of an operator seemed every day more difficult to achieve. Taylor relates low levels of living also to a culturally inherited low status that has not been determined exclusively by low income.

Goldschmidt (1947) discovered in the San Joaquin Valley a close relation between the large estate operated either by individuals or corporations and the levels of living of the population. The large estate created a demand for cheap labor. Goldschmidt found in Arwin, a rural society where the large estate dominated, poor community facilities compared to those of Wasco and Dinuba, as well as a lack of leadership among the members of the rural community. Social participation was limited to a small number of people, primarily to those who made up the middle group in the
society: operators of farms and their families, but not laborers. Even in some forms of recreation, such as dancing, and in school organizations and local clubs, there were very few laborers who were active.

Whetten (1948), in his Study of Mexico, compared the economic and social conditions of the Mexican peasant with those of serfs. The Mexican peon was bound to the hacienda through a system of advanced payments which, because of his low wages, he could never hope to repay. It is true that Whetten found laborers enjoying some privileges in some farms, such as the right to live in the hacienda, cultivate about half an acre of land, and on several occasions, an elementary school was available for the children. But even these privileges did not help the peon or ranchero and his family to raise their levels of living at the pace comparable to those of farm owner operators. It was reported, for example, that agricultural wages in many places had been comparatively stable throughout fifty years at the same time that the cost of living was steadily rising. This could mean only, for Whetten, increasing misery and deprivation for the majority of the Mexican rural population.

Freyre (1946) found also the levels of living on the Brazilian hacienda very low. In the hacienda there were no slaves but laborers. Their income was not enough to respond to all their basic needs and those of their families. The laborers were granted loans by the landlord, thereby becoming
indebted to the landholder in a debt-peonage system.

Beckford (1972) has discovered persistent poverty as a socio-economic condition of the plantation society in the world, as a result of the low social conditions of the laborers. For Beckford, housing was, perhaps, the most obvious factor in discovering the contrast in the levels of living of plantation owners and managers and laborers. In touring any plantation, the contrasts in quality of housing between owners and supervisors and workers, were striking. Recreational facilities, social group activities in short, every aspect of social life was in tune with the gap in the levels of living persistent in the plantation and derived from occupational status (also Barraclough, 1972; Broussard, 1974; Daughty, 1968; Mintz, 1960; Smith, 1970)

**Few Incentives to Regular Work and Saving**

This is another of the characteristics of the system based upon large estates. Smith (1953, 1967, 1973) found through his studies of land tenure that motivations of the population to work steadily were very weak where the large estate and the two-class system of social stratification dominated. What occurs in such a situation is that the majority of the agricultural people, being laborers, peasants, or peones, doing menial work as a living, look for their own personal interests. These include doing as little as possible on the tasks they are responsible for on the estate. Frequently they complain about the payment they
receive and have the belief that they are underpaid. This reaction of laborers toward their work, classified as menial, has been described in the Webster Dictionary, as it is thought of in the Atlantic or eastern region of the United States. Menial means, for many Americans, lacking interest or dignity: dull or sordid. (G. & C. Merriam Company, 1971:1410).

Since the peasant cannot realistically aspire to better levels of living, there is no reason to expect him to save money or search for means to earn additional income (Smith, 1970).

Mintz (1960) found similar attitudes among Puerto Rican laborers. There was a notion in the minds of sugar cane workers, that it was senseless to save whatever they had left after paying for their weekly expenses to feed their families. Most of the time, of course, such a surplus did not occur. The weekly expenses of many laborers go beyond the limits of their income. Laborers frequently need to ask for loans for the landlord or other people, institutionalizing a 'debt peonage' that in several cases in the history of engenhos, estancias and haciendas in Brazil, required the labor of the peasant's children to pay off the debts (Freyre, 1946).

Smith (1967:27) concludes that "this compulsion to work the least possible, and the almost complete lack of capital accumulation by the mass of the population are fundamental
features of the rural social system which is brought into being and preserved by large landed estates." The effects of this fundamental characteristic are reflected in several ways in plantation society life, such as tardiness in starting the day labor, the destructive manner in which many laborers and workers handle the tools and machinery needed for their tasks, and the absence of any concern for the effects of waste on the landholding economy. Animals and crops; buildings and fences; ditches and pieces of equipment on the large estate show frequently the lack of care. The situation is quite different in family farm enterprises where the operator is financing each one of the aspects of his enterprise and needs to save as much as he can.

Foster (1960) attributes much of the attitudes of the peasants toward rural development programs and, in general, toward the possibility of individual progress and betterment, to the peasant's assessment of his own capacities, and not necessarily to the large estate system. Foster has found villagers and peasants perceiving of land and technology as essentially static, so that there is no way to enhance individual progress and betterment except at the expense of one's neighbor because "the pie is constant in size" (Ibid.:178)

In his study of Huaylas, a small farming community in the Andes, Doughty (1968) points out the importance of "a common economic base," as a necessary factor to stimulate
Huaylian people in work. By this common economic base Doughty means: absence of extreme contracts that occur, for example, where extreme wealth is in intimate juxtaposition with desperate poverty; and equal access to education. These factors were clearly detected in the tendency of the Huaylinos to view optimistically their potential, and to "superarse" (improve oneself), a slogan frequently repeated by them. This description, Doughty argues, clashes with the attitude commonly found in Vicos (1965) where the elements of deprivation were present together with the dominance of the traditional manor system. Such a system blocked any reforms that could occur among the Indian groups.

Dougherty clearly shows that while the traditional highland manor structure was a barrier to reform, as was thoroughly demonstrated in Vicos (Holmberg, 1965), it was not the only impediment to the efforts for regular work, and aspirations to accumulate capital as one of the priorities in the life of the peasants.

Other Characteristics and Social Effects of the Large Estate

To the above list of features of the large estate, postulated by Smith (1953, 1963, 1967, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1974) and other social scientists (in Bertrand, 1972), this writer has discovered in the literature some other characteristics of the large holding situation, particularly where a mono-culture dominates. These characteristics have been pointed out by researchers of rural societies in
America and other continents (Bates, 1976; Bertrand, 1973; Galeski, 1972; Gutierrez de Pineda, 1968) in the last fifteen years. The analysis of these characteristics of the large estate might shed some light on other aspects of rural social organization and their consequences for the larger society. The two characteristics listed below have been found in more modern forms of the large estate.

**Predominance of a Migratory Labor Force.** A high rate of migration has been related to the intensively cultivated large estate in the scientific studies by Beckford, (1972); Fals-Borda (1975); and Goldschmidt (1947). In times of slavery, in the last century, the economic system depended upon migrants which were 'imported' into the New World. Such is the history of the large estate in the South of the United States, and in British, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Spanish colonies. Blacks from Africa were utilized as instruments to provide labor force in plantations and mines as it has been pointed out by Aller (1957), Eusinberg (1974), Moreno-Fraginals (1976), Smith (1970; 1972), Smith and Zopf (1970).

In Colombia, by the Caribbean coast and in large estates dedicated to mining and extensive pastoral enterprises, Spanish landholders relied heavily on imported hired hands, blacks all of them. They came to take the place of the Indians, who either died because of the effects of strenuous labor they were forced to do, or fled to the mountains to
live on their own. Fals-Borda (1975), Freyre (1946), and Smith (1972) have provided details on the development of slavery in South America, where the slaves were forced to stay on the large estate up to the end of their lives.

Some other picture of migration, not a forced, but a voluntary one, stimulated by the establishment of new enterprises on large estates, has been portrayed by social researchers such as Bates (1977). A highly migratory and unstable labor force is a characteristic of many modern single-crop large estates. In studies on changes in agricultural societies in California, Goldschmidt (1947) found in Arvin a large scale industrialized agricultural enterprise which in the late 1930's employed a labor force with 75 per cent migrants. Goldschmidt discovered a very limited social participation among the majority of those migrants. All of them lacked security in their economic and social positions. Goldschmidt also found that the number of migrants increased as the number of farm operators decreased and as the size of holdings increased.

Family Instability. Socio-economic instability of the laborer on the large estate, and his family, was reported as inherent in the plantation economy, a type of large estate economy, by Beckford (1972), who writes:

"Due to the existence of a social order characterized by 'dissenters' and 'conflict,' there is an atmosphere of instability, a permanent one, one the plantation. Therefore, limited and constrained confidence in the future exists among its low class (Beckford, 1972:204)."
The climate of instability on the large holding affects significantly the family life of the laborers. Beckford discovered in the plantations population a tendency toward family-less people. The plantation is not generally based on complete family units. Wagley (1957) points out that it is the matrifocal type of family that prevails in the plantations he studied.

Wolf and Mintz (1957) ascertained derived cultural conditions of the plantation system, and argued that the most striking effects centered around the prevalent condition of seasonal migration, with its strong negative effects on the unity of family life and distribution of authority within the laborer's family, as well as on other aspects of the culture of the laborer.

Vasconcelos Torres (1945) in his study of the sugar cane laborer, mentioned several socio-economic conditions that needed to be remedied in the sugar plantation society, including the complex problems of 'sexual depravedness' and 'uniones ilicitas' (consensual unions), simultaneous polygamy on a temporary basis without any responsibility for spouse and children. The lack of family ties among many migrants contributed to the development of a situation in which responsible parenthood was stressed neither by the moral codes of the large estate society nor by legal restraint. Great numbers of children born from temporary consensual unions became one of the cultural traits of large estates.
populations of laborers, with obvious implications for the social order.

Similar to these aforementioned conditions of family instability in the large estate, are the ones described by Moreno Fraginals (1977) in his study of deculturation of slaves from Africa in the New World between 1518 and 1873. In that period, more than three million blacks were brought to the Western Hemisphere. Most of them, especially in the earlier years of this forced migration, were men. Family instability was a direct result of the policies implemented on the plantations, especially those which furthered the deculturalization of the slave. They were sent into depopulated areas, isolated. Social cohesion within the slave groups was discouraged. Slaves were separated intentionally among different tribes, with different cultures and language. The overseers and other people in charge of the plantations purposefully tried to mix the black slaves in such a way that the patterns of settlement on the land and the forms of housing severely limited communication between them. The population pyramid among black slaves lacked the proportions of children and women and old people found in societies in which the age and sex structure originate through the influence of vegetative growth of the population. Family ties were not stressed at all among the slaves. When some black women were imported to South America, their function was to procreate, even though, for several
reasons, their fertility was very low.

A great imbalance between the numbers of males and females contributed to develop sexual repression and obsession among the slaves. Living under these social conditions, and the economic conditions of the plantation, the male was not made aware nor became conscious of any responsibility toward a wife and children. Moreno Fraginals points out that this situation became institutionalized . . . "La inestabilidad, la fugacidad de las uniones basadas en relaciones sexuales, fue una constante de las plantaciones que quedó de herencia esclavista a las sociedades antillanas, como una gran fuerza desintegradora. En muchas islas del Caribe, y en los grupos campesinos descendientes de esclavos, se mantienen aun situaciones masivas de poligamia sucesiva y simultánea, donde tanto los hombres como las mujeres cambian frecuentemente de pareja o tienen más de un conyuge.

Sin familia, sin propiedad, sin concepto de economía personal, y reducida su visión del mundo desde la más temprana juventud a los canaverales siempre iguales y al batey del ingenio, la abolición de la esclavitud operó traumáticamente en muchos negros africanos y criollos." (Ibid.:22)

Moreno Fraginals concludes then that the plantation structure in the Caribbean and South America broke up the continuity of tradition, and of family unity even when family ties rose from the fact of procreation. Instability
and discontinuity were the social forces that contributed to the shaping of family relationships among the slave laborers as opposed to those relationships that prevailed among industrialized workers. This legacy from the times of slavery continues to have its effect on the family "institution" in many plantations, especially in the Caribbean.

After this entire review of literature on the large estate, it would be a mistake to assert that this type of rural social organization is the cause of all the ills found in many countries around the world up to this present time, especially in regions of the world south of the Rio Grande. Many vicious circles could be discovered within those agrarian societies. As Smith (1970) notes, the causes and effects of the socio-economic problems cannot be determined with precision. Nevertheless, the same author contends, in an argument which highlights the theme of this review of literature:

(There) seems to be adequate justification for singling out the concentration of landownership, the latifundismo of the Latin Americans, as the one factor that is most responsible for the host of social and economic ills which afflict the southern part of the Western Hemisphere. (Smith, 1970:8; National Cultural Rural Life Conference, 1939).
CHAPTER III
APPROACH AND SOURCES OF DATA

A large landed estate, anywhere, constitutes a highly integrated and complex socio-cultural system. Its social and cultural components are analyzed in this study within T. Lynn Smith's (1976) framework for the study of the large estate. Initially, it was necessary to make a decision about the research design to be utilized in the analysis of the nature of the land system based on the large estate, its social features, and its effects on rural society.

In making that decision, demands for objectivity and integrity, efficiency and effectiveness, administrative restrictions and ethical considerations of the research should be taken into account. Limitations of time and money; and significant geographic distance between the place suggested for research, and the university with its residence requirements, would also influence in decisions concerning research design.

Conditions of the rural population under study would also have to be taken into account. The writer would deal with a large majority of functional illiterate people who, up to the present time, have not been exposed to some of the modern research tools employed by sociologists. Those modern tools would negatively affect the advantages of the face to face interaction technique, usual in the daily
patterns of communication among the people.

In choosing the appropriate approach there was also the need to think of the availability of information that could be collected by the writer from the beginning of his doctoral program. He was aware that the quality of certain data and methods required by some research designs and types of research would be found incorrectly collected (Havens, Manheim, 1977) and, as a consequence, not accepted as valid. Most of the time, however, the researcher should have to use the information available to him that he could identify as a soundly valid one. He would also take advantage of the privilege he enjoyed of living for twenty-four consecutive months in the place under study, a privilege not given to everyone doing sociological research.

Taking all of the above factors into consideration, the researcher opted for the case study approach. Such a research design would satisfy the necessity for a design to do scientific work, and also of utilizing the tools available for this work, in the attempt to make a contribution to the body of knowledge of sociology of rural life, and an understanding of third world societies and economies.

Case studies, Manheim (1977) argues, are relevant and immediate. They are related to practical matters of today's world. They are "... a study of some total, separately identifiable social unit, usually over a period of time." (McCall and Simmons, in Manheim, 1977:186). It is not a
powerful test for theory but an empirical application of it.

Case studies can be contributions to science. They are first-hand observations needed for the development of sociological knowledge as Park (in McKinney, 1966) and Goffman (1961) contended. Research done in the past and the present shows the valuable contributions of case studies to new sociological knowledge and methodology. One need only cite the monumental study of the Polish Peasant by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958); the study of Street Corner Society by Whyte (1955); the well-known study of Middletown by Lynd (1929) and more recently the outstanding study of Asylums by Goffman (1961) and Tzintzuntzan by Foster (1967).

In terms of research on Colombian agrarian society, the first case study known of such a society was Tabio: Estudio de la Organizacion Social Rural, done by Smith, Diaz, and Garcia, (1944). It is a pioneer study and therefore a valuable model of research in the analysis of rural life in Latin America. Case studies, therefore, occupy an important place in the works of many sociologists in the United States (Bertrand, 1972).

The selection of the research design is intimately related to the sources of data available to the investigator and to their nature and the goal of analysis. This is why this research is oriented to qualitative analysis; and why the basic techniques of intensive interviewing with interview guides, and participant observation involving the
Assembling of field notes, are widely used. They are the most important of the multiple sources of data collected for this endeavor.

There is, indeed, a process of selection, conscious and deliberate, of characteristics of a social complex organization. It seems, then, convenient, to make it clear what has been selected and how those selections have been ordered.

The analysis attempts to capture within a short period the nature of the land system based upon the large estate, and also the social characteristics and effects of such a system upon social institutions. The qualitative analysis of the situation is "addressed to the task of delineating . . . kinds and types of social phenomena; of documenting in loving detail the things that exist". (Lofland, 1971:7).

The research conducive to the presentation of the case study utilizes the following sources of data:

1. Interviews
2. Participant observation
3. Documents and letters
4. Demographic data

Data From Interviews

Three different studies based on interviews were conducted within a period of 24 months in the village of San Antonio, where 80-85 per cent of its working population labors in the large estate under analysis. By the time the surveys were done, 295 laborers of the large estate
reported living in San Antonio. One of the surveys was also conducted in the towns of Candelaria, Florida and Pradera, where laborers live also. The data are, of course, oral or written responses. The situation necessarily involved direct interaction between interviewers and their subjects. Questioning was used to collect a wide variety of data, demographic and other factual information, beliefs, knowledge, opinions, feelings, information about present or past behavior, and information about the characteristics of groups of which the individual is a member, and so on.

The interviews varied in several ways. Some interviews were carried out by the present writer; some by students of secondary school; others by Sisters of a missionary religious community invited by the Pastor to come to the village for visiting the families; and finally be accredited elementary school teachers and senior secondary school students, males and females, under the responsibility of the director of educational activities of the school sponsored by the Ingenio Central Castilla.

The interviewers collected information from heads of the family, workers in the large estate, and other adults living with the villagers' family members. The questioning ranged from the unstructured to the structured type. In two of the studies all of the questions followed an order set through a prepared questionnaire specified in advance, avoiding any deviation from it. For a copy of the questions,
see the appendix to this study.

There was no interest whatsoever, in any of the different types of interviews, in asking any questions different from the ones that were related to the specific objectives of the interview.

In the unstructured interview, the visiting interviewer was encouraged to approach in his or her own way the respondents; and to report to the present writer only the replies he expected to know about. The questionnaires contained, in a few cases, in the structured type of interviews, both open-ended and fixed-alternative questions, as a way to facilitate communication. Even so, in open-ended questions an affirmative or negative response to the question was requested so the answer could be coded.

The writer has been conscious of the limitations of questioning, and of it, suitability for obtaining certain kinds of information. The data collected by questioning consists, as it appears, only of verbal behavior. Webb et al. (1966) points out how difficult it is in sociology to establish the relation between verbal behavior and other forms of behavior. The writer was also well informed that interviews and questionnaires have a limited power to capture a clear picture of a situation.

The sets of questions used for the interviews followed the known model of the interview schedule, called simply schedule. For the unstructured interviews an interview
guide was used. This guide consisted of a list of points which the interviewer would cover, with a margin of freedom to answer them.

The questions included general information, demographic information about those interviewed, and questions that were the focus of the questioning. The instrument used in the interview was pretested. The writer knew very well that the wording of the questions should be simple, concise and unambiguous. He followed advice from those who would administer the interviews in things related to the structure of the sentences and also to the length of the schedule.

The planning and carrying out of the project of interviewing the laborers of the large estate living in San Antonio and neighboring towns initially had different objectives from those of using the data for a dissertation work. The author initially wanted only to have a picture of the needs of the villagers, of their families, and neighbors relationships, and of their human potentialities so he could help to develop a locally-centered program on behalf of the local families of San Antonio. He was interested in offering the families of the place opportunities to achieve a higher level of education by the utilitization of available resources. This declaration of the initial objectives is made to explain how this motivation facilitated the cooperation of neighbors and interviewers to complete the schedules.
When the writer decided to study some patterns in social organization of the large estate in which many San Antonio villagers worked, he did it, then with the intention of using collected data that helped him previously, between 1975 and 1977, to plan, program, and implement activities of social betterment for ingenio laborers and their families, in which he participated.

1976 Study of Levels of Living and Social Conditions in the Barrio Oriente.

The first study took place during Christmas of 1976 and was conducted by a team of four religious Sisters, missionaries of 'Maria Medianera,' from Medellin, Colombia. They had training in social welfare and door-to-door visiting techniques. The interview was done on a door-to-door basis at one of the subdivisions of the village, called Barrio Oriente. The village is inhabited in its majority by laborers who have migrated from the coast of the Departamentos of Cauca, Choco, and Narino, most of them agriculturalists. Neighbors of the village, to the understanding of the writer and villagers, have shown little participation in local affairs and church activities, and the present writer wanted to know more about their living conditions.

The objective of this first survey was to know, through an unstructured questionnaire, administered to every household of the Barrio, some facts about the lives of laborers who worked on the large estate, and other villagers as well.
Questions included indication of status, religion, place of origin, economic resources, place of work, education and leisure activities, and participation in civil affairs. To know the number of children in the family was also part of the information gathered. One hundred and thirty-five families were visited during the week the Sisters spent in the village. In 93, or 85 percent of the families interviewed, the head of the household worked as a hired hand on the neighboring large estate selected for this endeavor.

The interviewers, according to plan, solicited answers to their questions either from any adult individual in the home, or from several of them participating in the visit. The questions asked were designed to provide general information that would be manageable in an interview. Each interviewer visited each household for three occasions. During the first visit the interviewer and the family got acquainted; the second visit was spent in carrying out the interview; and the third one was spent in sharing some initiatives or suggestions about how to improve family life and local social programs of interest to the local agricultural population in general.

It was decided to use a nonprobability sample. (Manheim, 1977). This was based on the fact that the goal was to make some generalizations about a category of people, i.e., those hired hands working on the large estate which was selected for analysis.
The type of sampling was selected based on the researcher's familiarity with the situation under study, combined with his expertise in similar types of work done in the setting. The selection of the village of San Antonio for the first survey was intentional. The writer judged that the people who constituted the majority of the population of the village could portray social features of the large estate situation and its effects upon masses of laborers living in neighboring towns. In making the selection of a non-probability sample, the author kept in mind that inferential statistics could not be applied to this type of sampling.

Objectives of the interview were among others: a) to know about the marital status of the households; b) to know the number of dependant persons of the household; c) to know the couple's place of origin; d) to know the place of work of the spouses; e) to know in some detail about people's level of education and leisure time; f) to reach some understanding of their satisfaction with their present living conditions as judged by the people themselves; g) to reach some identification of leaders within each one of the blocks where the people interviewed lived.

February-March 1977, Inter-Town Survey. Study of Levels of Living and Needs of Workers and Their Families in Central Castilla.

The second study took place in February 1977. The Ingenio Central Castilla sponsored a socio-economic study
of its laborers and their families so that a program for the improvement of the laborers' lives could be formulated. The population under study was the laborers of the *ingenio*, i.e., the laborers in a large estate. The schedule took place in San Antonio and three neighboring towns where *ingenio* laborers and their families live. San Antonio is the place of residence of 15 percent of about 4,500 laborers that constitute the labor force of the *ingenio*. That proportion represents approximately 85 per cent of the working population of the village.

Therefore, it was the writer's judgment that the study of San Antonio would typify the social characteristics of laborers on the large estate.

A sample of 11 per cent of the families of laborers in the *ingenio* living in San Antonio, Florida, Pradera, and Candelaria was judged appropriate to reach generalizations about that population. The type of work and the socio-economic conditions of their environment are about the same. So, consistent with the distribution of the sample according to the percentage of laborers living in every town, 75 surveys were administered to laborers of the *Ingenio* and their families in San Antonio, 60 in Candelaria, 200 in Florida, and 160 in Pradera.

There was an interviewer for each nine households of laborer's families to be interviewed. People were interviewed on a random basis. The interviewers visited families from several sections of the towns and the village, where
laborers of the large estate under analysis were more concentrated. The interviewing stopped when every interviewer had completed his nine schedules, after having visited nine families of laborers, workers in the Ingenio. Each interviewer visited each household three times within a week so he could fill the schedule, and complete information that had not been available in previous visits. It was the judgment of the director of the study and of the present writer that the sampling met the criterion of representativeness, and so would permit the formulation of inferences on the mass of the laborers socio-economic conditions. A copy of the schedule is included in the appendix to this study.

Questions in the interviews covered several aspects of family and social life. They were linked to the socio-economic conditions in which the ingenio workers and their families lived; they also covered some other areas of rural life such as: a) Inventory of family needs as felt by members of the family and related to education and skills training for mechanical jobs; b) Discovering of human resources in the village and neighboring towns to develop programs of mutual help; c) types of human relationships between members of the family, relatives and neighbors; and d) investigation of the availability of villagers to participate in activities of social benefit in the village.

May 1977 Study on Household Composition and Migration

The third study took place during the month of May,
1977, and was conducted by the writer and three secondary school students. Visits were done on a door-to-door basis, to all the homes of the families, and included people working for the agro-industrial enterprise under analysis as well as people engaged in other activities in San Antonio, 127 households. The schedule was programmed to be administered to all villagers who resided in subdivisions called Narino, La Buguena, Palestina, and the new development called Barrio Hernando Caicedo and Colegio Regional.

The interviewers asked how many people lived in a house, how many adults, and how many dependents. It happens that in San Antonio it is frequent to find houses of inquilinato, or rented by different families, each one of which occupies one or two rooms and shares a common kitchen, shower, and bathroom with the owner. Many times these types of arrangements are made not only because of the scarcity of housing in the place but mainly to make rental expenses lower for the laborer's family. The writer wanted to know about those arrangements.

Age and sex of the children living in the households were also investigated as a way for planning social action related to the availability of teachers and classrooms for the prospective students in the local schools. Place of the last stay of the family before they moved to San Antonio was asked, and also the length of stay in San Antonio and place of work. All these questions seemed necessary in order to study housing development and health programs in
the neighborhood. The **ingenio** has been involved in programs of housing in San Antonio through the selling of plots of land to its laborers who have manifested some interest in remaining in the area and continuing their employment with the agricultural-enterprise, that owns the lots.

Any adult person present in the house when the interviewers visited the family could answer the questions, and make suggestions about housing, services, and educational projects for the children. Identification of specific local needs was intended to be learned.

The section of the village visited for study was populated primarily by migrant families from the departamentos of Cauca and Narino. Some of them had been able to build either partially or completely their dwelling. Some of them even had built their homes large enough to rent part of them to newcomers to the village. Their background was overwhelmingly agricultural; they came from the countryside and little towns, in search for a better living which to them meant a higher income, a stable job, and new opportunities for the family.

**Participant Observation**

Another of the source of data employed in this analytical study was the strategy known as participant observation, or direct observation, or field research (Lofland, 1971). The author had moved to San Antonio primarily for reasons other than to conduct a qualitative analysis of the large estate situation. Nevertheless, he wanted to make his years of
residence there an important part also of his sociological career.

The researcher was appointed Pastor of San Antonio de los Caballeros early in February, 1975, and took possession of the Parish on February 23. He did not accept the job in order to undertake a research project. The job itself preceded his decision to make the social conditions of the parish the subject of observation and analysis. His role as a priest responsible for a parish community demanded that he would be an observer of community life and an analyst of it so he could respond, as one of his objectives, to the spiritual and social needs of the people and promote new actions on behalf of the people entrusted to his care.

People knew that the present writer had the role of observing what any visitors could observe in the village life. He had access to information which he considers confidential. He gathered information through dealing with local people, sharing with them interests, frustrations and struggles. He participated in meetings of local people, and conversations with members of the ingenio's staff.

People knew that the writer was an observer, a priest who could be involved in the life of the parishioners and committed to the locality and its people. This legitimate expectation of the villagers increased problems in the writer in adhering to emotional neutrality so he could elaborate a kind of analysis that could be regarded as
The position of the researcher as a priest facilitated, on the other hand, his task of having accessibility to the data that could help him to portray the situation he wanted to study. He could become intimately involved with the people and, as a matter of fact, started with them several activities directed to alleviate some local problems. His role prompted him to promote family welfare, particularly to help the households to fully accept the responsibilities that family life and the raising of children demand. He was involved with the needs of the newcomers to the village, looking for a place to stay and a job that could help them to make a living. He cooperated in campaigns of providing supplementary nutritious food to children under one year of age through the cooperation of Diocesan Catholic Charities Offices. He was the director of one of the local elementary schools, and, being in that position, learned that about 60% of the students had not had a sufficient breakfast to start a heavy study day schedule.

Through his own personal experience and the daily reports of neighbors, the writer knew also of the high instability of family life, and the scarcity of money to buy the weekly groceries. Based on this information, he cooperated in the establishing of Lion's International Club to promote participation of neighbors in civil affairs and develop programs of medical and dental assistance,
vaccination campaigns for children under two years of age, and
the anti-rabic services administration to dogs of the neigh-
borhoods.

Discovering the need for a local telephone, for
electrification of a section of the village, and provision of a new water pump for the village, he experienced the
lack of leadership and cooperation among the majority of the people, unable to participate in meetings and deal with officials and authorities of the municipio and the departa-
mento.

Supported by the management of the Ingenio Central
Castilla, the writer began to motivate housewives, laborers and young people to attend night school and take some home economic courses. As a pastor, families visited with him to look for his personal influence and knowledge to relo-
cate students in other schools. He experienced how the condition of dependency in which many people labored, showed to be a characteristic of this particular locality.

The participation of the writer in the life of the community gained acceptance for him and cooperation from the ingenio's staff and villagers. We met a great many persons; we hosted departamento politicians and government agents. We participated in bazaars, festivals, picnics and parties. All of these brought with them the author's involvement in a complex network of social obligations.

The priest had his residence in the village in a house
provided by the Parish, and enjoyed the little conveniences
the village had for his inhabitants; he also suffered the
deficiencies of public services of electricity and water
and roads as well, and in the same degree, as the rest of
the people.

Documents and Letters

In addition to the data obtained by observation and
interviews, the present writer drew upon documents as well
as correspondence held with some of his former parishioners
and friends. Some of the documents were collected by the
time the author was doing research on housing projects for
laborers and employees in the Ingenio Central Castilla.
Some other documents were kindly provided by the Ingenio's
President's office, and the Ingenio's Personnel's Social
Welfare Offices, and the Office of Industrial Relations.
Those documents contain a wealth of material appropriate
for additional research on topics different from those for
which those data were collected. They constitute what in
methodology is called secondary analysis (Hyman, 1972).

Many of those data will be used in demographic analysis.
They are a substitute for the Census data for this locality,
for census information is lacking for such a small geo-
graphic unit; in Colombia the census data are given by
municipios, which are county-like divisions; data of the
incorporated villagers are all of them gathered under the
name of the principal village. This circumstance does not
allow making a separate demographic analysis of a village.

The unpublished data available to the author includes the social characteristics of all the ingenio laborers in the village of San Antonio where they constitute 85 percent of the entire households of the population. These data were provided generously by the office of the ingenio from personnel files.

Copies of the workers collective contracts on labor reveal the sort of relationships established between the agro-industrial enterprise and its labor force. These contracts might give some idea of the standards upon which those relationships were formulated.

Letters and other collections of facts about individuals and groups, which can be regarded as 'case histories', make up part of the sources of data of this dissertation. They constitute first-hand information, primary data, useful for sociological analysis. Many of these data are subjective in nature. They portray how the providers of that information perceived the world of the laborers at San Antonio, and labor on the large estate. They provide clues for reality-testing theories (Beckner, 1970), and stimulate the pursuing of further research.

Some information contained in the letters were objective; they gave information about expenditures, and replies given by neighbors to friends when asked to react toward some aspects of their lives and work and their families.
Valuable information is contained also in reports on some of the local schools. A map of the village, and another of the plots of land, already surveyed and for sale to laborers of the *ingenio*, helped in the dividing of the village into sections to administer the surveys, and planning of the visits to the families. In using all this information on the author provides the facts but will be very respectful of the informant's anonymity, and of omitting names that appeared printed in documents that were available to him for doing research. They were available to the researcher on a sense of trust in the ethics of the writer. The author found of great value the use of friends' letters and documents just as other sociologists have found them valuable, such as Thomas and Znaniecki (1958) and Webb (1966) in more recent years.

Several of the documents contained demographic data of crucial importance for the analysis of the social features of the large estate. Without those documents, a more painstaking work demanding money and time-consuming effort, was the alternative. Even so, the author believes such a work could never be so accurate as the one furnished to him through the sources.

Many of those data need organization and classification in order that they can be analyzed. That is the job to be done through techniques of tabulation and the elaboration of figures and the use of statistics.
Order of Procedure

The preliminary review of the literature has presented important contributions of social scientists in sociology, regarding the nature of the land system based upon large estates, and the social characteristics and consequences of such situations. The discussion was intended to show how traditional and contemporary patterns found in the social organization of large estates (Beckford, 1972) have effected and still effect rural societies. Chapters in this endeavor are devoted to the description, analysis and implications of selected characteristics of social organization in a specific large estate in the Cauca Valley, in Colombia, South America. The presentation, therefore, is divided into three main parts. Part one is the introduction. It deals with the nature and objectives of this dissertation, the survey of previous works, showing the development of the frame of reference employed through this endeavor, and the interest of studying patterns of social organization in the large estate situation. The methods and procedures which are followed in this study, as well as the sources of data covered here are also included in Part I.

Part II, the bulk of the dissertation, contains an analysis of selected patterns of social organization in a specific, contemporary large estate. It consists of chapters on levels of living, the roles of the family of the laborer working on the large estate, and laborer-patron
relationships within the context of the large estate situation as they were in the year of 1977.

Part III is a single chapter in which a summary and some conclusions and implications are presented to set forth, as clearly as possible, some features of the social organization in the particular large estate selected for study. Finally, a reference section of the works that have been helpful in developing this study is given.
CHAPTER IV

LEVELS OF LIVING AMONG THE LABORERS
OF THE LARGE ESTATE

Introduction

Levels of living is a social variable widely used in social research (Belcher, 1972). The term, however, suffers from considerable ambiguity in the social sciences literature. In several instances, the connotation of the term has been that of socio-economic status; in some others, plane of living, social class, and even standards of living. Some sociologists called levels of living what in years past was understood by social class (Lundberg, 1940; Roach, 1969).

The concept of levels of living has also been interpreted in a different manner: "Possessions" of various material items has been the approach used to develop a measure of levels of living. Belcher (ibid.) has found that this approach is one that cannot be generalized. The concept of level of living, cross-culturally, has been approached, he points out, on the basis of consumption patterns. It has, therefore, been related to uses of items instead of only to possession of them. In studying levels of living of Camden County, in Georgia, United States, Belcher found that "possession" of items was also a different phenomenon from that of their use.
Belcher, Crader and Vasquez-Calcerrada (1973) have concluded, after they analyzed levels of living in rural Puerto Rico, that levels of living in that society are related to the consumption or use of economic goods.

Haygood and Ducoff (1944:78-84) defined levels of living as "the level of current consumption of goods and services connected with basic household functions." Edgar A Schuler and Walter C. McKain Jr. (1955:295) define levels of living as "things referring to possession of goods, services and opportunities." For them, as they explain it immediately after they defined levels of living, possession is linked essentially to the use and consumption of all items which constitute one type or class of phenomenon.

Levels of living differ from standards of living (Smith, 1970, 1974; Bertrand 1970). The latter are related to the aspirations of people to use more technically efficient things than the ones they had been using or they have had. Western society, oriented toward substitution of goods and increasing consumption, rarely finds itself satisfied with their levels of living because their aspirations are consistently increasing.

Drewnowski (1970) has found that levels of living in modern economics have been directly related to income. Programs supported by national governments, the United Nations and other international organizations have estimated the levels of living in a society based on its Gross National
Product. Beers (1970) has, through longitudinal research, discovered that the aforementioned approach has been quite inadequate. There are numerous situations, he says, in which the Gross National Product of a nation has increased considerably within a certain time span, but the benefits have not reached, even indirectly, the large masses of the population.

In recent years, Drewnowski had observed a tendency among some social scientists such as Baster and Scott (1969) to view levels of living in rural areas as a plural indicator. Years back, Taylor (1949:295) pointed out: "Although a multitude of factors account for the variations in the levels of living found in rural areas, they may be grouped under the headings:

1) income differentials;
2) variations in needs and desires; and
3) locality differences."

In view of this understanding, social factors have been believed to be prerequisites to economic improvements in a society, and perhaps necessary conditions to improve levels of living in a rural society. In effect, development theories today, Baster and Wolf agree, are preoccupied with the roles of 'social factors' as necessary inputs for economic growth.

In this research endeavor, levels of living are assumed to be, following Belcher, more a function of social, rather
than of economic components. The writer, through personal observation and participation in the social life of families of the villagers of San Antonio and other people in the area has observed a minimal level of income is necessary for the improvement of the social conditions of a rural society. At the same time, he has verified the hypothesis already presented by studies done by Baster and Scott (ibid.), that desires and efforts for a better living have depended on variations in the life styles of people, and not exclusively upon income situations.

The definition of levels of living, given by Belcher and Vasquez-Calcerrada (ibid.:188) is, therefore, the one adopted in this dissertation. "The current consumption level of goods and services related to basic household functions; possession of an item is not sufficient; an item must be related to consumption patterns in order to differentiate actual levels of living from possession for symbolic reasons, i.e., status bases." These goods and services include, according to Taylor et al. (1955:297), what are universally regarded as the "necessities of life": housing, food, clothing and medical care. Each of those has a wide range of possible levels. Taylor verifies the use of some items:

The use of such conveniences as household furnishings, labor-saving devices, and equipment, the services of professional people other than doctors; the agencies of personal care; and services and facilities
that reduce isolation, that is, reading matter, radios, telephones, automobiles, postal service, good highways, railroads, buses and other types of public transportation and communication.

The study of levels of living in a rural society does not necessarily include such a broad range of topics. It includes, at least, what is classified world-wide as the essentials of life and some of its variations. They would be part of any study of society. Differences between regions and socio-economic classes would also be included in evaluating levels of living, so the analysts can grasp the differences that exist in levels of living within different sectors of a rural society.

Consequently, this study attempts to describe the levels of living that prevail among laborers of a large estate and their families in the Cauca Valley in Colombia, South America. The daily wages of these laborers in 1975 were at least double the basic legal wage paid to laborers in the same region. (Corporacion Autonoma Regional del Cauca, 1975.) The criterion used to interpret the different levels of living that exist in the large estate under analysis is that of 'technological efficiency', a universally accepted standard. (Belcher, 1973).

'Technological efficiency' is understood in terms of conditions of living providing safety and expediting the performance of social life in our contemporary world. Functions might include several gradations of technological
efficiency. Items that in modern society are accepted as the most efficient ones to satisfy essential needs could score higher in the evaluation of levels of living, than those classified as less efficient. For the writer, 'technologically efficient' items would be those that contribute in different degrees of efficiency and effectiveness to the protection and improvements of life such as those in which "disease vectors are largely controlled. In general, such an environment would protect the inhabitants from communicable diseases that spread through the use of contaminated water and unsanitary living conditions (an overcrowded housing is an example this writer can think of). Improving means of preserving food should result in a more balanced diet. One could postulate, therefore, that the higher the level of living, the lower the mortality rates and the incidence of morbidity. (Belcher, *ibid.*:218)."

In doing the analysis of the levels of living in the large estate that is the objective of this study, the writer wants to know the latest recommendation that the Rural Sociological Society made upon the subject, in 1956: 183-195.

The approach to research in the field must be comparative, sociologically as well as in time and space. Until some standards are accepted for wide areas of the world, as for the world itself, we will not have meaningful benchmarks for the construction of universal measures. . . . it is clear that no material possession can be analyzed without reference to a social group within which the items' use has been institutionalized.
Operationalization of Levels of Living

After having discussed the concept of 'levels of living' it remains to indicate how this evasive term has been operationalized in this study. Following Belcher (1973), Bertrand (1970), Nelson (1970) and Taylor (1955), the principal components of the concept of levels of living, as measured in this study, are: housing, diet, medical and health services, leisure and reading practices. Each of these is specified below, with special attention paid to how they are measured in the various surveys taken in the region under study.

A. Housing

All data was obtained from the respondent in the following manner:

I. Type of housing and tenure: this was measured through two items:

1. Type of housing: house, apartment, 'inquilinato', 'turgurio', 'rancho'

2. Tenure: ownership, rented, administration, free temporary boarding, other arrangements.

II. Construction of the dwelling: this variable was measured in a variety of ways:


2. Condition of the house: it was based on the perception of the respondent; good, fair, and poor.
III. Utilities and disposal facilities: measured according to:

1. Source of water: running water, well, carried over 50 yards (45 m).

2. Source of lighting: electricity, candles, others (Kerosene lamps, Coleman lamps, flashlights).


IV. Furnishings and Appliances: this variable was measured according to the presence of the following:

1. Bedroom furniture
2. Dining room furniture
3. Living room furniture
4. Refrigerator
5. Electric stove
6. Gas stove
7. Wood burning stove
8. Kerosene stove
9. Other cooking equipment
10. Radio
11. Television set
12. Stereo

B. Diet

This variable was measured according to a variety of items as follows:

I. Number of daily meals

II. Foods consumed most often: proteins, carbohydrates, lipids
III. Expenditures for food: weekly

IV. Perception of adequacy of diet: good, fair, poor

C. Medical and Health Services

Measurement according to:

I. Sources of help in cases of illness: home first aid, physicians, pharmacists, herb dispenser, other (witchcraft, spiritual healers, friends suggestions) and no answer.

II. Types of medical services sought most often: Ingenio's doctor, national social security, private doctor.

D. Leisure and Reading Practices

This variable was measured in different ways, from information provided by the respondents as follows:

I. Leisure:

1. Visit to friends and relatives
2. Sleeping
3. Playing: sports, cards and other games
4. General amusement: talking with the family, having a 'rip-roaring good time', movies, meeting at the town cafe, etc.

II. Reading Practices:

Frequency in reading magazines and/or newspapers. These answers should be interpreted as a regular reading practice: never, very seldom, once a month, weekly, daily, and not reporting.

An Appraisal of Housing

All data was obtained directly from the respondents and not from observations made by the interviewers. Type of
housing and tenure; construction of the dwelling, utilities, disposal facilities, and furnishings and appliances were the housing items ascertained. For an analyst of levels of living, not exposed to Latin American societies and culture, a general description of the items that describes the use and functions of the essentials of life could easily lead him/her to misunderstandings about life in the rural areas of those societies of the Cauca Valley. In evaluating housing, for example, a very wide range of types of houses can be found within a small village. Even those with brick walls, can easily range from those with uncovered walls, no windows, no interior doors, earthen ground, and thatched roof, to types of houses that can be seen in the United States countryside, with plastered and painted walls, with wooden or iron doors and windows; to tiled roof, interior patio decorated with plants, and wooden, granite, or tile floor. Houses can vary also from the one room house where all the life of the dwellers takes place, to the suburban casa grande, with six, seven rooms, some of them used to keep saddles, store grain or food, and for recreational activities. A kitchen, for example, is usually a room where an oven and a stove are placed, along with closets, to keep cooking equipment. In some houses, in the surveyed towns and the village of San Antonio, one may find the three-stone arrangement on which is placed the only available aluminum kettle or iron pot in order to cook a meager meal.
One piece of wood acts as a shelf for holding the pottery.

Apartments, in the area under study, usually are a part of a house that has been divided into two or three small units by the owner so he can obtain a better income from this old house. Those apartments are made up of one or two rooms, and many of them have sanitary facilities. The Division of Health of the Departamento del Valle requires a minimum of sanitary facilities for those dwellings rented to individuals or families. Many of those apartments have a door of access to the main street but lack windows. About 90 per cent of the time the rooms in both houses and apartments measure 9 x 12 feet (3 x 4 meters) and make room for four or more persons of the household. Families ordinarily rent apartments on a temporary basis in the towns where the survey was administered. Apartments of the type already described are occupied either by couples without children or by one person.

FIGURE 6
model of a standard house for laborers' families.
Ownership of a house is one of the strongest expectations of a laborer's family. That is the step that makes a family settle in some place and create roots in a neighborhood. Laborers living in rented housing for a while, suffer the frequent whims of unscrupulous landowners asking the tenants periodically and without any respect for the law, to leave or to pay more for the rent. Governmental dispositions against arbitrary actions by landlords do not receive enough support from the law, so that the renters can stay in the place as long as they want it if they have been paying the rent on time.

The laborers invest part of their wages, and other income and job-seniority benefits, in buying either a lot on which to build a house, or a dwelling whose cost and conditions of payment can fit the laborer's budget.

Later on, in this chapter, housing projects are analyzed, in which laborers of the large estate and the large estate directors and managers have been involved in contributing to the solution of one of the most acute problems for the laborer of the large estate and his family.

The material of the residences varies greatly. The most common material is baked clay or brick, made in the neighboring 'tejares' by people who make a living by this occupation. ¹

Adobe or mud adoquins is another material employed in construction. The cost of the adobe was half the price of
the baked clay; nevertheless, disadvantages of transporta-
tion, poor resistance to the rain, and the great humidity
have discouraged people in using this material that, for
more than two centuries, was the construction material for
churches, municipal houses, schools, fences, and homes in
the Cauca Valley. When the house is built of adobe, also
a coat of mud covers the walls. After the mud has dried, a
cloth of white wash is applied. Roofs are commonly of red
tiles. Some houses have roofs of asbestos tiles popularly
called 'eternit'. Frequently the dividing walls inside
the house are made of 'bahareque'. This is a type of
construction in which bamboo is employed to frame the walls,
and the spaces are filled with clay mud (tapia).

The floors in about seventy per cent of the houses
are of beaten earth, or cemented. The house walls and the
roof, being of an acceptable quality, contrast with the
ways the floors of the house are made. It happens that to
fix the floor, good skills in construction are needed, and
the large majority of the laborers and their relatives lack
the skills required to make an even, durable, and gleaming
surface floor.

The construction of walls and roofing is frequently
done by professionals, while the installation of doors,
running water, electricity and locks, is many times done
by the house owner with the cooperation of part-time work
done by friends knowledgeable in those matters.
The wooden house is not a Spanish cultural trait. The wooden house is what Smith (1944) called the 'wood complex' or the use of wood for wall paneling and roofing and for the floor, which is very seldom seen in villages and towns in the Cauca Valley. The poorer among the laborers are the ones who use either adobe or wood to build their dwelling, or the 'bahareque' construction at best.

Houses depend almost entirely on the doors for sunlight and air. Whenever houses have a window, this remains closed for security reasons and also to avoid the dust coming from the streets. Windows are small when they are present, and have neither screen nor glass. Small doors look more like shutters, that lock from the inside.

It matters little among laborers of the large estate and their families whether they own a brick, or adobe, or bahareque home. It is simply having a home of their own, that provides security for the family and an investment that can increase in the years ahead. It also gives them status.

When describing the utilities and disposal facilities existent in the laborers' dwellings, some observations are pertinent at this time. Each town in which the February, 1977, survey was administered, namely Candelaria, Florida, and Pradera, had a receiving reservoir and aqueduct. Therefore, running water is accessible to the laborers homes as
well as the rest of the population by piping it into their homes.

In San Antonio there is also running water for all the sections of the village but the sector called La Buguena. There, the water comes from an artesian well and a deposit that can store 25,000 gallons of water. There is running water but no running drinking water. Especially on rainy days, water comes out of the faucets mixed with mud. The receiving reservoirs lack adequate decantation facilities. In San Antonio, the water coming from the well contains salts, and bacteria that require that the water be carefully boiled if it is going to be utilized for drinking.

It is almost standard to find in every dwelling a small tank or deposit to store water; that tank or deposit is placed by a faucet. The water stored in the tanks is for domestic use. Some of the tanks or reservoirs are made of brick covered with cement. In San Antonio, there are more than 20 houses that have a well in the back yard. These were the houses built before the aqueduct was installed in 1953.

The sanitary facilities that laborers of the ingenio and their families enjoy are indeed the ones enjoyed by the majority of the population of the towns and villages where the laborers reside. These facilities, nevertheless, are, as a general rule, of inferior quality as compared to the sanitary facilities found in the middle class rural families
of the United States and larger towns in the Cauca Valley. Even though the laborers' homes in their large majority use flush toilets, they do not ordinarily function satisfactorily due to lack of pressure of the water in the small tank of the toilet. Most of the toilets are made of cement, less costly than those of porcelain. Bathrooms frequently lack outdoor light; the floors are of cement and the use of toilet paper is a luxury. People ordinarily use newspapers and magazines papers instead of toilet paper. The outdoor privy, even though built according to recommendations from the Division of Health of the Departamento of the Cauca Valley is of poor quality, and the seat is frequently either of wood or cement, and without a cover. The size of the bathroom is of about 27 square feet or 2 square meters.

**Levels of Living of the Households In The Large Estate**

**Background**

The levels of living of the households and their families in the large estate under analysis, Central Castilla Ltda, were higher in 1977 than it had been ever in the history of that large estate established in 1945. The developing of national legislation, and the increasing power of unionized workers have contributed largely to that situation. The concern of the corporation to "contribute to the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the laborers
and their families," (Convencion' Colectiva de Trabajo, 1976-78), has also been a significant factor in the improvement of those levels of living. Beginning with the Alfonso Lopez-Pumarejo administration in 1938, workers were recognized, nationwide, their right to organize their own unions and to claim their own rights. Years later, in 1946, during the presidency of Mariano Ospina-Perez, a national social security service for the workers was organized. From then on, in each one of the presidential terms, abundant legislation has been sanctioned and promulgated on behalf of the industrial-urban and the rural worker, or laborer, as well. These advantages have been enjoyed especially where rural and agro-industrial enterprises depend for their functioning on capitals of more than 800,000 Colombian pesos (United States $21,000 approximately, in 1977) (Legislacion Economica Limitada, 1973).

Benefits beyond those required by law have largely contributed also to the improvement of the levels of living of the agricultural laborers. Those benefits have been made a part of general conventions or work contracts signed between enterprises and representatives of the labor force. The multiple economic and social advantages have been extended not only to the workers but also to their immediate family. But the statement that the levels of living have been higher than ever for the laborers, does not mean that those levels can be classified as high.⁴
Industrial workers are earning higher wages and salaries in the neighboring cities.

There is no doubt that employee benefits for the workers, beyond those required by the law, have been beneficial to the enjoyment of better conditions at work, such as the forty-eight hours work week, basic wages, vacations with pay, and provisions for clothing, shoes, and a raincoat. Even so, if a laborer was making in the fields 200 pesos a day, it was not enough to cover the family expenses; that daily wage in 1977 represented approximately 5.76 dollars.

There are some other factors affecting those levels of poverty. They should be mentioned here. At first, agriculture (including livestock) was the most important sector in the Colombian economy in 1970. It accounted for 27 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employed about 40 percent of the labor force of the country. But that situation has already changed. A decline has occurred in 1971 from a 6.8 per cent farm output, to a 2.2 per cent. (Interamerican Conference of Social Welfare, 1974). Such a decrease has impeded an accelerated pace in raising the workers' levels of living.

Second, the age structure of the population within the families of the workers in Colombia has been another factor that has also made any workers' wage insufficient. In 1960, according to CELADE estimates, 46 percent of the Colombian population was under 15 years of age. A similar percentage
seems to be persistent during the 1970 decade. If the total dependent population (under 15 and over 65 is added), it is found that 45-50 per cent of the population is dependent.

Gains made in social insurance, on the other hand, have provided for "disability, old age, and death benefits; for non-occupational illness, maternity, on-the-job accidents and sickness" for the whole labor force in Colombia since 1971. (Ibid.) The laborers of the Ingenio Central Castilla have been enjoying those gains. They belong to the 15 per cent of Colombians who had attained such coverage in 1972. (Ibid.)

**Survey Findings: Housing**

Consistent with the operationalization of levels of living adopted for this study, the distribution and use of goods and their 'technical efficiency' are the characteristics by which the levels of living of the large estate laborers have been measured. There is no intention in this study to inter-relate the various measures of levels of living. That would require a study of indices of levels of living. What is attempted here is to reach a knowledge of levels of living in a contemporary large estate. This knowledge, incidentally, might aid (1) to establish long and short range goals related to the 'betterment' of the living conditions of the agricultural population; (2) to provide orientation in choosing means to reach goals, based
on the analysis of the necessities of life; (3) to provide points of reference that can illustrate the present situation of differences in the levels of living among the laborers themselves; and (4) to know to some extent the distance of laborers of the large estate are from the use of universally recognized necessities of life. "Items" which seem to be universally articulated with levels of living, were selected after careful observation made of those that were part of the culture of the area and the kind of environment in which people resided. The items considered in reference to housing were, type of housing, housing tenure, construction of the dwelling, condition of the house; utilities and disposal facilities, and use of furnishings and appliances.

**Types of housing.** The sample of the general survey taken in February 1977 showed the general type of housing found among the laborers of the large estate. Those who lived in a house constituted 75.7 per cent of the sample. (Table 1). The 'standard' laborer's house has been described. The differences in the types of housing described in this study were formulated in order to give a general idea of the space available for families of laborers. A house was assumed to have more space available to live in than an apartment, or a room, or a tugurio.
Table 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Housing</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All types</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Inquilinato' (a)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tugurio' (b)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Rancho' (c)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 'Inquilinato': Leasing or sub-leasing of rooms by the owner. The renters share a common kitchen and sanitary facilities with the owner.

(b) 'Tugurio': Connotes a 'shack' like dwelling, built in the outskirts of the town.

(c) 'Rancho': Dilapidated housing, downtown, or dwelling in poor state of repair.

TABLE 2

Number of Dwellings, Families, and Number of Children per Dwelling by Sectors in the Village of San Antonio, May 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors of Village</th>
<th>Dwellings</th>
<th>Dwellings of 1 Family</th>
<th>Dwellings of 2 or More Families</th>
<th>Total # of Children in Section</th>
<th>Average # of Children per Dwelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pajonales</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandebono</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centro</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colegio Regional</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narino</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaBuguena</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>544</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and Computed From Data in Survey of May, 1977.
The selection of items for measuring types of housing was also related to the interest in knowing which types seemed to be the most common among the laborers of the large estate. Houses predominate, while apartments accounted for 3.4 per cent of the sample. (Table 1), the 'inquilinato' type represented 15.4 per cent of the sample. People living in 'inquilinato' had more space available to live in than those who are reduced to apartments, 'tugurios' (shacks) (1.2 per cent), and 'ranchos' (houses in poor state of repair), (Table 1).

The phenomenon of dwellings which holds two or more families accounted for 15.4 per cent of the sample of February 1977, and 14 per cent in the San Antonio survey of June 1977 (Table 2). In both surveys there was a specific interest in measuring overcrowding.

One of the most significant determinants of levels of living, connected with housing, is the number of persons per bedroom (Smith, Diaz and Garcia, 1944). According to Smith, more than one person per room constitutes house overcrowding. In San Antonio, in 126 dwellings of laborers of the large estate, lived 544 children and 252 parents, which represented an average of 6.3 persons per dwelling. (Table 2). None of the dwellings in the village had more than 3 rooms; this would mean that there would be, at least, 2.1 persons per room. (also, see Desal, Tomo II, 1966:7).
Housing Tenure. Ownership of a dwelling is one of the greatest aspirations of a family in the Valle del Cauca culture and specifically among persons in the middle and low socio-economic levels. To own a house gives prestige to the laborer among his neighbors, and therefore a higher social status. In the sample of 495 households of February, 1977, 62.8 per cent of the respondents indicated they owned a dwelling (Table 3). A percentage of 33.7 of the sample rented a dwelling, while 3.5 per cent lived in the dwelling under other arrangements of tenure (Table 3).

### TABLE 3


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All tenure</td>
<td></td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership</td>
<td></td>
<td>311</td>
<td>62.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Administration' (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Posada' (b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The dweller pays the rent by doing some work for the owner

(b) Temporary free boarding

TABLE 4


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All dwellings</td>
<td></td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick (baked clay)</td>
<td></td>
<td>382</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adobe</td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bahareque' (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-fabricated</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Bamboo, mud, and dry grass wall.
(b) Asphalt sheets sidings, scrap wood.

Construction of the Dwellings. In regard to one of the most observable items, construction of the exterior walls of the dwelling, a much larger portion (72.2 percent) of the large estate laborers' exterior walls of the houses was made of brick (baked clay), or 72.2 per cent (Table 4). There were 52 dwellings in the sample, or 10.6 per cent, constructed of adobe; and 35, or 7.1 per cent, of bahareque. The material of the dwelling is related directly to the cost of it and to its rental cost. The more solid the walls of the house are, the most costly it is, and the higher the monthly rent for it.

About 33.5 of the dwellings (Table 5) have some type of exterior wall finish either painted or white washed. The painting usually does not last due to the unpaved streets dust, and the discolored effect of the bright sunlight.

Only one family was reported to live in a wooden house. This is not surprising in the south Cauca valley. The conditions of the climate and the presence of termites discourage this type of construction. Wooden dwellings, when they are built in the Cauca Valley, have wooden walls, roofs and floors. The walls are constructed of single boards, rough-cut ones, about a foot wide, with thin strips down the seams to keep out the weather. Brick has become the most popular material for construction everywhere the area and in the whole country, especially in the last 25 years.
Every dwelling has a kitchen or a place to cook the daily meals. The location of the kitchen is at the rear of the house. It is a small room about 3 x 4 meters (9 x 12 feet) where one is likely to find a fogon (brick enclosures on a table or on the floor). The type of stove, from the point of view of technical efficiency is a useful item for the evaluation of levels of living, since the use of more modern stoves indicates a break from tradition and desire for improvements for the kitchen. (Loomis, 1953). Most of the kitchens have no windows but little openings at the top of the walls to let in the air, and a little sunlight. Closets to keep the cooking equipment and table are usually rather crude. Floors are either of cement or hard-packed earth.

General Condition of the Dwelling. The items considered in reference to the condition of the dwelling were types of exterior and interior wall materials, types of toilet facilities, types of kitchen and equipment, types of floors, types of living room and dining room; presence of windows and doors, and furniture. These items were part of the content of the general survey of February 1977. The evaluation of the condition of the dwelling came from the respondents themselves.

The question on condition of the dwelling required an answer on satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the dwelling.
The answer, therefore, revealed either conformity, or desire for possibilities of improvements to the dwelling. The categories were considered good, fair, and poor or unsatisfactory (Table 5). In the general sample of February 1977, 166 respondents, or 33.5 per cent of the sample, believed their dwelling condition was 'good', while 59.2 per cent, or 293 respondents felt their dwelling condition was fair, and 6.5 per cent, 'poor'. A list of loans made by the large estate to laborers in 1977 shows the great need the laborers of the large estate have to make dwelling improvements just in one of their places of residence, in San Antonio. (Table 6). Since the cost of a house in San Antonio is within the range of 40,000 - 80,000 Colombian pesos, and the exchange rate is about 38 pesos for one United States dollar, (June, 1977), the reader can estimate the cost of the improvements to be made on the dwelling as they were calculated by the repair workers. (Table 6).

TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition of the Dwellings of the Laborers of the Large Estate as Perceived by the Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6

Loans Granted to Laborers of the Large Estate by the Housing Committee of the Ingenio in 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of the Loan</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All applications</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2,310,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To buy a house</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,259,074.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To build, widen, refurbish</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td>962,985.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cancel mortgage</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>88,578.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications denied because of irregularities</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans approved but not taken</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Equivalent to United States $60,806.24 approximately (38 Colombian pesos = 1 Dollar in June 1977). Top limit for a loan: United States $526.35 approximately.

Utilities and Disposal Facilities. This was another item considered in reference to the condition of the dwelling as a measure of levels of living of the laborers of the large estate. The use of utilities and disposal facilities in the dwellings of the laborers indicates that the residence of the laborers is located in towns. The village of San Antonio has running water in use since November 1958; the water goes to the dwellings through water pipes. In effect, and based on regulations emanated from departmental and municipal public health authorities, it is expected that where running
water is available locally, all housing projects should contain the necessary budget for the services of running water. 5

A. Source of Water. According to the special survey administered in February 1977 in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and the Village of San Antonio, the water of 93.54 percent of the laborers' dwellings was secured from aqueduct and reservoir (Table 7). The next most important sources were wells in 4.8 percent of the dwellings. This does not mean that dwellings with a well had not running water. In the 4.8 per cent of the dwellings having a well, there was also running water. Wells are constructed in the back yards of the houses and have a minimum depth of 15 feet, after which water is found. Only four households said they had carrying water as their source of water. For them, bottles and buckets are the most frequently used items to carry water. Old empty oil drums are used as a water deposit. The carrying of the water is a role mostly of women and children. They use a lot of creativity to carry the largest amount of water they can at one time. They construct one or two-wheel carts to carry the buckets, or use a long piece of wood at whose ends they hang 1 or 2 buckets of water. The piece of wood is carried on the shoulders.
### TABLE 7
Utilities and Disposal Facilities in a Sample of 495 Households of Laborers of the Large Estate, February 1977.

#### A. Source of Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All households</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running water</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carried over 50 yards (45 m.)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Source of Lighting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All households</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene lamps, Coleman lamps, flashlights, other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### C. Disposal Facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All households</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flush toilets</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor privy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Compiled and Computed from Data in General Survey Administered to Laborers of the Large Estate Residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera and the Village of San Antonio, February, 1977.
B. Sources of Lighting. The use of electricity in the residences of the laborers in the large estate is not required by law. In the survey of February 1977 there was no interest in asking for numbers of light bulbs per dwelling. It is not uncommon in dwellings of laborers of the large estate to have one light bulb for the whole house. It is provided with a long electrical wire so that the light bulb can be carried wherever it is needed. But while use of electricity among laborers is an item that measures levels of living, the number of light bulbs per se is not. Dwellings with one light bulb only for the whole family, may also use television, electric mixers and percolators. On the other hand, families of laborers who have a light bulb for every room in the house, may lack the previously mentioned appliances.

Though electricity is not a part of the requirements to rent a house or to be inhabited by their owners, 94.5 per cent of the 495 households sampled in February 1977 indicated they used electric fixture lamps as a resource of light. Parafin candles were used only as a source of light by 23 families or 4.6 per cent of the sample. Other households (4), used other known sources of light such as flashlights, kerosene lamps and coleman lamps. They are available in the local market. The writer wished he could have seen home-made kerosene lamps used as lanterns; they are purchased in the stores. He believes that the levels of education and training required to make such items has never been reached by the
population neither through formal nor informal schooling (Table 7C).

The CVC (The Autonomous Regional Corporation of the Cauca River Valley) is in charge of the maintenance and spreading of electricity in the departamento (one of the administrative sections in which Colombia is divided). The rates for electricity are expensive for the laborer of the large estate. This cost of electricity for a laborer that earns 900 Colombian pesos working on the large estate would represent 7 percent of his monthly gross income. The costs are probably higher for those laborers of other nearby large estates, who make about 450 Colombian pesos per week, and must pay the same rate for electricity.

C. Disposal Facilities. This item could be related to health systems in a community, but is probably best discussed under housing. Disposal facilities is one of the most pressing concerns of a household and of a whole town. Responsibility of individuals and societies for maintaining health in their environment has made the population develop resources to prevent epidemics and disease.
Of the 495 respondents of the sample of February 1977, 444 or 89.7 per cent had flush toilets in their dwellings. (Table 7C). The regularly-used flush toilet is made of enameled ceramic; there are a few made of cement. These are not widely accepted even though they are less expensive than the enameled ceramic ones. They do not offer the same advantages of those of solid construction. There were sanitary or outdoor privies (letrina) in 44 households, or 8.7 per cent of the sample. The rest of the households sampled utilized other disposal facilities: outdoor pit, or no toilets of any kind.

D. Furnishings. The presence and use of furnishings was another item regarded as important in measuring levels of living among the laborers of the large estate. Bedroom, dining room and living room furniture were the furnishings surveyed in the sample of February 1977. People want a place to sleep, a place to eat and a place to visit with relatives and friends. For each one of these places, laborers want to use some pieces of furniture. Engaged couples from rural areas show excitement when talking about those pieces of furniture that will make their dwelling fully furnished. Every dwelling, is expected, sooner or later, to have bedroom, dining room, and living room furniture.

Among laborers of the large estate, materials such as iron and wood for bedrooms are very popular. Chromed iron,
formica, and vinyl of different colors, such as red, yellow and brown, are very common for living rooms and dining rooms. Nevertheless, boxes, plank benches, crude tables, and unfinished furniture of different designs are also found in the living and dining room of many dwellings.

The item in the survey was aimed to determine whether certain furnishings were used in the dwellings of the laborers. (Table 8). We wanted to know the needs of the people in this respect. Only the presence and use of bedroom, living room, and dining room furniture were ascertained. No data was gathered on the quantity and quality of these furnishings. Bedroom furniture implied the use of beds with mattresses for the family and any kind of armoire, closet or dresser to keep clothing.

It was found that 41.1 per cent of the respondents in the sample did not have bedroom furniture (Table 8). Some of these people slept on mattresses placed on the floor, or on beds without a mattress, or on benches that during the day served as sofas. Some made bedroom furniture with bamboo and boards. Very few laborers, (they can be counted on the fingers of one hand) have built their own bedroom furniture. Most bedroom furniture is bought from carpenters or from furniture stores. Fifty-eight percent of the sample had bedroom furniture.

About sixty-six per cent of the laborers' dwellings sampled had no dining room furniture. A simple table and
one chair or stool would indicate an eating area or dining room. Most of the laborers and their families eat their food in the kitchen, either sitting on a wooden bench or standing. Very few use the living room as a place to eat in on ordinary days. (Table 8).

Almost thirty-five per cent of the laborers sampled had a dining room in which to eat. Meals are usually served in one plate, and the use of a knife and a fork is for big occasions. A tablespoon and the hands are the tools employed to eat, along with a mug that may contain either soup, coffee or sweetened water. Agua de panela also called aguadulce.

The living room seemed to draw the attention of laborers and their families more than the dining room furniture, but less than the bedroom. Of the 495 respondents interviewed, 48.1 per cent had a living room, while 51.9 per cent did not have one. (Table 8). Even though the laborers make efforts to buy well finished living room furniture and to care for it, the writer could observe the presence of unfinished chairs. An adequate set of living room furniture would include a love seat, two chairs and a center table. Very few families use a small rug for the living room.

Living room furniture for laborers and other people in the Cauca Valley is a status symbol. The higher the socioeconomic status of the individual, the better the quality of material and the finishing of the furniture.
TABLE 8
Furnishings in the Dwellings of a Sample of 495 Laborers of the Large Estate, February 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bedroom</th>
<th>Dining Room</th>
<th>Living Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and Computed from Data in General Survey February, 1977.

E. Appliances. This item was measured by the presence and use of a refrigerator, and of either an electric or gas stove, wood burning stove, kerosene stove, or other cooking equipment; and the use of radio, television and stereo. The purchase of these items by laborers indicates that modernizing influences has reached them as well as the search for technical efficiency and the comforts of life. Those benefits became available to those living in towns and villages where there was electricity, and where they were in contact with more modern cultural traits in comparison with the situation in total rural areas.

Refrigerators are found in the houses of laborers. They are not bought for domestic use only. Owners of those appliances make beverages for sale to neighbors. The
refrigerator is used mostly among its owners to keep leftovers and conserve food. There were refrigerators in 112 of the households interviewed, a figure which amounted to 22.6 per cent of the sample (Table 9).

Kerosene provides the main source of energy for cooking (Table 9). The kerosene stoves from the little stove with one burner that can be placed on a table or on the floor, to the four-burner range is in use. Almost one-fourth of the sample used a diversity of appliances. They are grouped under "other cooking equipment" and indicate charcoal stoves or burners as well as 'fogones'. The latter are made by placing three stones or bricks on the floor. Charcoal or wood is burned in the center to heat kettles. Some fogones also have a grill placed upon the stones. Foods such as corn or arepas (corn bread or corn cakes) are cooked on the grill. Bamboo, paper, and scraps of wood, are used to fuel the 'fogones'.

The alcohol burner, is also employed by householders. Many of them are homemade, using empty tin cans and short iron bars (1/2 to 1 foot high). The portable charcoal stove is frequently found in the kitchens. They are made with empty tin drums which had contained coconut or african palm oil. Often one side of the can is opened and a grill is built on the top of the can so that the kettles and pans can be heated by the fire that is burning underneath the grill, inside the container.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Refrigerator</th>
<th>Electric Stove</th>
<th>Gas Stove</th>
<th>Wood-Burning Stove</th>
<th>Kerosene Stove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Other Cooking Equipment(^{(a)})</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Television</th>
<th>Stereo(^{(b)})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(a)}\) Presence of charcoal stoves, alcohol, and the three-stove fogon.

\(^{(b)}\) Turntable, amplifier and speakers.
Electric stoves ranked third among the appliances utilized for cooking. The electric stove with one or two burners can be placed either upon an old and unused wood-burning stove or on a table. Part of the table is left to place cooking utensils on it, or the very limited number of pieces of china.

Electric stoves were used by 85 laborers families or 17.2 per cent of the households (Table 9). Wood-burning stoves ranked fourth among cooking equipment found in the sampled households. Wood was the fuel most often used by 39 respondents, and represented 7.9 per cent of the sample. Wood has been traditionally used in the Cauca Valley countryside where it has been abundant. On farms there has always been a selection with 'monte', or a little forest, especially along the riversides.

Gas was used in 25 of the laborers' households. The use of gas for cooking is new in towns and villages within the Cauca Valley. Country people still lack confidence in using it because of the danger involved in the operation of gas stoves by persons unfamiliar with them.

It has been shown that radios are very popular among laborers. Peasants and landlords make of the transistor radio a permanent companion on their way to work. While driving a tractor, riding a bicycle, or riding a bus, going to work or on their way back home, the portable transistor radio provides relaxation and information. Walking on the
streets, waiting for the bus that will take laborers to the place of work, the radio music, and the news are also heard without interruption. A percentage of 86.9 of the sample of laborers had a radio. (Table 9). The number of radios among the laborers of the large estate homes was similar to the situation in the United States in 1965 when from 80 to 90 per cent of the homes had radios. (Nelson, 1970).

Television was found in 30.3 per cent of the sampled households. Women and young people enjoy it; they seem to set the days schedule by the telenovela, dramatizations of love stories and tragedies. These constitute the topics of conversation between laborers and their families. Television watchers laugh and cry along with television actors and actresses. The importation of Japanese electro domestic appliances, with lower prices than United States made appliances, as well as credit buying, have contributed significantly to make radio, television sets and stereos available also to the laborers of the large estate analyzed here and also to peasants' families.

Stereos are highly regarded, especially in homes where there are teenagers. A good percentage of laborers, 14.3 per cent of the sample, had a stereo within North American standards, a sound system with a turntable, amplifier, speakers and a tape-player either for cassettes or eight-track tapes.
Diet: Introduction

Among the factors that significantly influence the health condition of social groups, diet has a special importance. It is associated with morbidity and mortality. Where diet is not adequate, cases of malnutrition, starvation and anemia lead to high mortality levels. The lower the levels of living in diet in a society, the higher the death rates due to diet deficiencies and their consequences. (Desal, 1966).

In the Cauca Valley, the relatively low income of workers in the country has not been sufficient to provide a good, balanced diet to the families. The low levels of education of the rural population are also not inducive to the selection of the most nutritious foods. The large number of children in the family is also not conducive to a diet with the proteins required by growing children. In 1966, in Brazil, for example, a family spending 55 per cent of its monthly budget for food, could not even reach the goal of $3.25 United States monthly expenditures of food per person. (Desal, Ibid.)

Diet of Laborers of the Large Estate. Among the laborers of the large estate, diet was measured in the survey according to number of daily meals, food consumed most often, food expenditures per week, and respondents' perception of the adequacy of their diet. We succeeded in having grocery
order lists. These were selected at random among the orders received by the cooperative store of workers of the large estate. Several order lists coming from households of laborers with more than 5 persons were taken from the stubs and duplicates corresponding to a day of shopping, on a Tuesday of January, 1978. Tuesday is a day on which most of the laborers families go to the Cooperative to buy their groceries, or mercar. A copy of each one of those order lists is presented in this work. The orders indicate the kind of food consumed most frequently in the laborers families. (Figure 7).

The responses to the questions on adequacy of diet among laborers of the large estate and their families rely on information given by the respondents themselves on what would constitute a healthy diet. (Figure 7) The number of meals per day reflects the availability of food for the laborer of the large estate and his family. In the countryside, the three daily meals, breakfast, noon and evening meals, are a traditional cultural pattern. It seemed important, therefore, to know of the respondents ability to follow this norm.

Breakfast is taken early, around 6 a.m. It consists of a cup of hot black coffee, or aguapanela, a light cane syrup, and a piece of hot cornbread, or wheat bread. Lunch is usually taken in the field where the laborer works. It is carried in cantinas to the fields, in a wagon. Each set
TABLE 10
Number of Daily Meals Taken by Laborers of the Large Estate in a Sample of 495 Households in February 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All households</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three meals</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon meal only</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast and noon meal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast and evening meal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and Computed from Data in General Survey in February 1977.

of cantinas is identified with the laborer's number. One of the bowls usually contains a soup, another contains rice and a piece of meat; the third one contains a potato, or vegetable salad, and the fourth one contains either coffee or aguapanela. Each laborer pays for his own meals. The transportation of the cantinas is a service provided by the large estate. Some variations happen within this standard description of the daily amount of the laborer's meals. Beef is seen in the laborer's bowl very seldom; in
FIGURE 7


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order list No. 1</th>
<th>For five persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Knorr' Soups</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>2 quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cost $221.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order list No. 2</th>
<th>Groceries for 7 children and couple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>2 quarts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>1 bag (tea bag size)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1 pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches</td>
<td>2 boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insect spray</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>1 loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar candy</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour</td>
<td>4 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cost $560.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Order list No. 3

For 2 weeks

Groceries for 16 children, and the laborer and his wife or companion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 quart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>30 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>20 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soups</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>2 packs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>1/2 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>4 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>12 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powdered milk</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>1 loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>30 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar candy</td>
<td>7 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaghetti</td>
<td>6 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn flour</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>4 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lard</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $1,509.80

Order list No. 4

Groceries for eight children, father and mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>3 quarts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>1 bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>30 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soups</td>
<td>8 boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1 pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat flour</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>6 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>15 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaghetti</td>
<td>3 boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine</td>
<td>3 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brushes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $694.20
Order list No. 5

Food for five children, and the head of the family and his wife or companion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 quart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>8 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1 pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown Sugar Candy</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(panela)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine</td>
<td>1 bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>1/2 pound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $378.80

Order list No. 6

For seven children and parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 quart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>6 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn flour</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>4 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>6 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar candy</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaghetti</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>6 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detergent</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleach</td>
<td>1 bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $1,132.50
Order list No. 7

Groceries for five children, and parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 quart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>8 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>1/2 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soups</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1 pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>1/2 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>4 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powdered milk</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>4 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaghetti</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarine</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>6 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $468.20

Order list No. 8

Groceries for six children, and parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 quart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>1 bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soups</td>
<td>2 boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>2 packs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponges</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>3 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powdered milk</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>1 loaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaghetti</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn flour</td>
<td>1 box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cost $449.40
about 25 percent of the containers. The evening meal, about 7 p.m., consists largely of the same menu of the noon meal. One person in San Antonio told the investigator: "Potatoes and rice in the morning, and rice and potatoes in the evening, and \textit{cafe} or \textit{aguapanela} at every meal, this is the laborer's average daily menu."

Consistent with the agricultural tradition of the region, 474 respondents, or 95.8 per cent of the sample (N=495) said they had 3 meals a day. (Table 10).

Five families, or 1.0 per cent of the sample reported to have two meals a day, breakfast and noon meal; 4 families, or .8 per cent, declared to skip breakfast, and had two meals, one at noon and another in the evening. No one reported having only breakfast and the evening meal, skipping the noon meal. Lunch is undoubtedly the most important meal and nobody skips it.

Food Consumed Most Often. The laborer's diet is abundant in starch (Table 11). Plantains are consumed by 91.7 of the respondents. There is a great variety of plantains in the valley. They are eaten green, and some of them ripe. Some are served broiled, and others baked, others fried, or even steamed, in which case they are a good substitute for wheat bread. The green plantains are sliced and fried, up to a crispy stage, in a deep pan in hot grease, or oil. The ripe plantain is sliced lengthwise and fried.
TABLE 11
Food Consumed Most Often by a Sample of 495 Laborers of the Large Estate and Their Families, February, 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meats (a)</th>
<th>Eggs</th>
<th>Milk and Dairy Products</th>
<th>Fruits</th>
<th>Green and Yellow Vegetables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N 495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 164</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>167 33.7</td>
<td>335 67.7</td>
<td>264 53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes 331</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>328 66.3</td>
<td>160 32.3</td>
<td>231 46.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Fish is the most popular meat among the laborers. Chicken is the second most popular one; its cost is accessible to the food weekly budget.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plantains</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Bread</th>
<th>Corn</th>
<th>Brown Sugar Candy</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Potatoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
<td>495 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 41</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>18 3.6</td>
<td>210 42.4</td>
<td>187 37.8</td>
<td>91 18.4</td>
<td>73 14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes 454</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>477 96.4</td>
<td>285 57.6</td>
<td>308 62.2</td>
<td>404 51.6</td>
<td>422 85.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and Computed from data in General Survey of February, 1977, administered to 495 households of laborers in the large estate, residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and the Village of San Antonio.
Rice was consumed by 96.4 per cent of the respondents, a higher percentage than for plantains. It is present in almost every meal, even served for breakfast, reheated or fried. Irish potatoes served, either boiled, steamed, or fried, are consumed by 91.5 per cent of the respondents of the sample (Table 11). Corn, either on the cob, or converted into flour, or in soups (mazamorra), was part of the weekly menu for 62.2 per cent of the laborers' households. Corn is presented in multiple ways at the dining table; in soups, cakes, popcorn, or in powder (chancarina). Coffee forms also a large part of the diet of laborers of the large estate. Among families surveyed, 85.2 per cent indicated they used it daily. Yuca, (Cassava) the root of an euforbiacea plant, is a starch widely consumed by the general population. Laborers' families, in a proportion of 71.9 per cent, eat cassava either boiled, broiled, or fried. All these products are essentially carbohydrates and of low cost in the market compared with the prices of vegetables and protein food.

Bread was in the diet of 57.6 per cent of the cases in the multi-town sample, and brown sugar candy (panela), a product of the sugar cane, was consumed by 51.6 per cent of the respondents (Table 11). The mixture of brown sugar candy with boiling water results in a widely accepted beverage called aguapanela or agua de panela or agua dulce. People of all ages drink it.
Asking about proteins consumption, and especially about meats, there was no particular attention given in the survey to the type of meat consumed by the laborers. Beef is absent most of the time from the table due to its expensive cost, $45 Colombian pesos a pound (Figure 2) (United States 1.18 dollars a pound) and is of very poor quality. Pork is also expensive and therefore not available to the laborers on a regular basis. Chicken and fish are the preferred meats. Fish is especially in demand by migrant laborers from the Pacific Coast and the banks of the large rivers in the south of Colombia, such as the Rios Cauca, Mayo, Mira, and Patia. Among black laborers residents in the Burrio Oriente, of San Antonio, the soup made of heads of fish is very popular.

Eggs, cooked in a variety of ways, were reported being consumed by 66.3 per cent of the households of the sample interviewed in February 1977. Milk and fruits had a lower consumption proportion compared to eggs. Milk and dairy products were in demand by only 32.3 per cent of the laborers families. Fruits were in the diet of 46.7 per cent of the 495 respondents of the survey (Table 11).

An abundant variety of fruits are available to the laborer. Bananas, oranges and lemons are everywhere in the valley; mangos, pineapples, grapes; grapefruit, papayas, guavas, maracuya, and granadillas, are also very common, together with guanabanas and watermelons and lulos.
Frequently juices are made of them, and in some places iced cubes of those juices are served as substitutes for ice cream.

Vegetables were consumed by 56 per cent of the household in the sample (Table 11). They included beans, broccoli, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, beets, peas, lettuce; eggplants, radishes, and 'uyuccos' (a root of high content of iron). These are found in the marketplace the year round. No information about weight or volume of the products that constitute the laborers' diet was included in the survey. Such information would be inaccurate. Rural people in the lower valley are not accustomed, even in these days, to buy products in villages and towns by pounds or kilos.

The information in the survey was aimed at discovering the relative importance of some foods consumed by laborers of the large estate and their families. What Table 11 clearly shows is the significant use of carbohydrates in the diet of laborers and country people considered as a whole (Smith, 1944; Nelson, 1970; Johnson, 1969). Laborers and their families on the large estate do not show interest either in fishing or in hunting as a resource to provide protein for the family table. A number of households raise some chickens, and hens and some pigs. They are for sale in the market. They are invariably fed with leftovers. There are, indeed, many opportunities, it seemed to the
writer, to diversify food consumption at the equivalent cost of the traditional one. The soil and climate in the Cauca Valley are capable of producing a wide variety of foods; but the laborer and his family need orientation and education to take advantages of the privileged availability of the low cost food that the soil in the Cauca Valley could produce in small gardens to enrich their diet.

Food Expenditures Per Week. The high costs of living mean that the laborer and his family have a meager diet. It is insufficient for the type of work the laborer does and for the growing children. Starch appears to be the kind of food that prevails in the laborers' diet because, among other reasons, proteins and vegetables are costly.

Classic theories of levels of living have given a great importance to food expenditures as a way to evaluate also indexes of levels of living. The relationship is a negative one, since the higher the expenditures for food, the lower the levels of living would be. In regard to expenditures for food, Taylor wrote (1949:299) "Farm families have spent less for every major consumption item than urban families spent, and at the end of the year had not been able to save as much. Expenditures for food represented the largest item in the family budget. . . . But it was the farm family that spent the largest percentage of income, nearly 40 per cent for food."
In asking the 495 households of laborers of the large estate to give an estimate of their food expenditures per week, it was understood that those estimates would not be accurate at all. Prices change weekly and noticeably. (Table 12).

TABLE 12

Food Expenditures per Week Among Laborers of the Large Estate in a Sample of 495 Households.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditures in Colombian pesos</th>
<th>Number of Laborers</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250-350</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400-490</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-590</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-690</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700-790</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800-890</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900-990</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1190</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200-1390</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The information about expenditures was given in round figures by the respondents, and was based on average weekly purchases of foods and other items such as cigarettes, and cleaning items. The official exchange rate at the time the survey was administered was 38 Colombian pesos for a dollar (February, 1977).
TABLE 13
Respondents Perception of the Adequacy of Their Diet Among 495 Laborers' Families, Inter-Town Survey of February, 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>100.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>75.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and computed from Inter-Town Survey of February, 1977.

Examining lists of purchases made by laborer's families in San Antonio (Figure 7), it could be observed that the weekly expenditures include cigarettes, soap, brushes, and insect sprays. In June, 1977, the author, talking with laborers in the large estate, found that it is frequent among laborers to estimate their food expenditures for every week between 700-1,000 Colombian pesos. This amount would be equivalent at that time, 1977, to 18 to 26 dollars spent to feed an average of six persons per household. (Table 2). The writer wanted to verify also the estimates for food among laborers in the large estate residents in San Antonio. He could know in detail about the volume of groceries and its cost. They are transcribed in Figure 7.
as they were reported by duplicates available through one of the Cooperative clerks with prices of January, 1979.

FIGURE 8

Weekly Expenditures\(^{(a)}\) of Eight Families of Laborers in the Large Estate as They Appeared in Groceries Order Lists of January, 1977, in the Workers of the Ingenio Cooperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lists</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>$500</th>
<th>$1,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>221.60 5 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>560.20 9 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>758.90 18 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>694.20 10 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>378.80 7 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1132.50 9 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>468.20 7 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>449.40 8 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cost of weekly expenditures consumed was between 43.5 and 79.8 per cent of the weekly gross income of the eight laborers.

Source: Compiled and Computed from Data in Order Lists Duplicates provided by the Cooperative in January, 1979.

In order to have a more accurate information about weekly expenditures by the laborers, the order-list would indicate items purchased, their cost in the local market, and the total amount spent, and the number of persons that would consume those purchases. (Figure 7). Five of the eight
households, or 63.0 per cent, of that sample, spent over 50 per cent of their weekly gross income on food.

The general survey of February 1977 reported expenditures ranging from 100 Colombian pesos (United States $2.63 a week) a week, to 1,400 pesos and more. (United States $36.8 dollars, at the one dollar per 38 Colombian pesos change rate in February, 1977). It was found that 57.3 percent of the laborers had weekly expenditures ranging from 600 to 1,190 pesos (Table 12). Those who estimated their expenditures between 100 Colombian pesos and 590 were 33.5 per cent of the laborers. Those who spent 1,200 Colombian pesos or more, weekly, made up 8 percent of the sample. (Table 12).

Perception of the Adequacy of the Diet. In the Colombian culture, food has a special significance for individuals and groups. Housing and clothing often seem to be secondary. Gatherings of friends, birthdays, anniversaries, first Holy Communions and weddings, and even funerals are celebrated with generous consumption of food. It seems that rural families, and also laborers of the large estate, would be ready to spend their money freely on food if the money were available to them.

The general survey of February 1977 wanted to know the respondent's perceptions of the adequacy of diet. It was explained what a balanced diet should contain, without making any emphasis on amounts, or weights, or percentages
of vitamins or minerals. Seventy-four respondents perceived their diet as good. (Table 13). The majority of the respondents perceived it as fair, or 75.8 per cent (Table 13); and 39 households believed their diet was poor. Seven respondents gave no answer (1.4 per cent). The answers were interpreted as keys to know the possibilities of improvements in the diet, and desires for better food from the point of view of its quality.

Health Services: Introduction

In any event, it seems opportune to start the study of this item by pointing out that there are striking disparities between rural and urban areas in the number and quality of medical and health services in the Cauca Valley. Concern over the lack of doctors, nurses, dentists and hospitals and clinics has been expressed by this writer during his pastoral work at San Antonio, and by the management of the ingenio, civil leaders and laborers and other workers as well.

Relying on the writer's report, the picture of the Health conditions in the countryside in the Cauca Valley could fit into the following pattern:

Apparently the modern services have been unable to satisfy the health needs of families cheaply enough and in sufficient quality or quantity to replace more 'primitive' practices and some families seem to prefer the latter for other than economic reasons. If extension and education programs wish to contribute to
the development of an effective health program in such communities, a knowledge of existing beliefs and practices is invaluable . . . . (Julio O. Morales, Nevin S. Scrimshaw, and Antonio M. Arce, "Health Systems", in Turrialba--Social Systems and the Introduction of Change--in Charles P. Loomis and Others, 1953: 135).

Medical and health services are items usually included in the measurement of levels of living of any society. The item is intimately related with social factors such as social status, occupation and income, education and religion.

Among laborers of the large estate under analysis, the item was measured in two ways; first, by sources of help in case of illness; and second, by types of medical services sought most often. It happens that, historically, in the Cauca Valley, where the large estate under analysis is located, both urban and rural societies have developed a wide variety of techniques for dealing with sickness and disease. The writer can remember friends going to see "herb doctors", looking for treatments prescribed by "spiritist doctors"; of mothers taking their infants to see the witchdoctor to heal their babies from 'evil' spirits and mal de ojo (an acute case of gastroenteritis some mothers believed to be related to evil powers some people possess and use to hurt babies). He remembers also the frequent medicina casera booth (folk medicine) located in many towns' market places. Oils, herbs, fruits and minerals are still available in medicine booths in the weekly markets
of Candelaria, Florida, and Pradera. The visits of 'heroes' handling 6 feet long 'poisonous' snakes, rolled around their necks and waists, still attracts dozens of anxious people gathered by a corner of the plaza to listen. After the show is over, pomades, drops, zodiac signs, syrups, powders, beverages, and raw herbs are sold to the people to cure cases of migraine, kidney, liver or intestinal illness, and parasites in infants; "secrets" also to help the absent husband to come back home; or juices to enhance the sexual power, and to cure skin ulcers, head baldness, and many pains, like arthritis and rheumatism. The respondents were given information about what a balanced diet should consist of before they could provide their own answer; examples of a balanced diet were given to them.

TABLE 14

Sources of Assistance Sought in Cases of Illness, Among 495 Laborers of the Large Estate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>495</th>
<th>100.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home first aid</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herb dispenser</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other a)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Friends, suggestions, spiritual healing, witchcraft.

Health services sought by laborers. In this particular aspect of health and medical health, Central Castilla Ltda, the large estate under analysis, has spent significant amounts of money in building, maintaining and supporting local health centers available to the laborers and their wives or spouses and children, together with odontological services (also, FES, 1976). In 1974, for example, four large estates in the Cauca Valley cultivated with sugar cane, made together total expenditures in medical help and facilities for its laborers for an amount of 2.3 million of Colombian pesos (then about United States 66,000 dollars); and the maintenance costs of those facilities were 3.6 million of Colombian pesos (United States 103,000 dollars approximately). The large estate under study was one of them.

Among the laborers of the large estate sources of assistance in case of illness were as they appear in Table 14, regarding the question, to whom you go in case of illness.

Information by the householders about types of medical services most often sought, was very poor. Respondents did not show cooperation in this point. Only 137 households (27.7 percent) reported they sought medical services from the facilities offered by the large estate, while 49 respondents said they sought assistance from the social security services or Instituto Colombiano de Seguros Sociales;
there were 222 'no responses' to this item. Even though of special importance to the student of levels of living are the quality and amount of pre-natal and childbirth care, questions about these matters were not made part of the survey of February, 1977. Answers to those questions, if formulated, could be misleading and inaccurate.

Leisure and Reading Practices: Background

In the hope that the survey of February 1977 could reveal common patterns of leisure-time occupation, the laborers were asked how they spent their free time at home when not at work, or during holidays. The questions were formulated in the content of cultural patterns found among people in towns and villages in the Cauca Valley. One of those patterns is that laborers engage in visiting relatives and friends during their free time. Celebrations with relatives and friends families also attract visiting. During visiting a lot of conversation takes place on subjects that include national politics, local sports, local happenings in the village, or oncoming events such as 'fiestas' or festivales, either secular or religious.

Visiting friends was reported among 91.0 per cent of the respondents of the sample. House chores and maintenance was a free-time activity mentioned by 43.6 per cent of the sample. Cleaning up the well, mending fences, building or refurbishing the dwelling; repairing roofs and gutters,
painting the dwelling, and mending clothing or repairing the working tools occupies, in a second place, the free time of those laborers and their families (Table 15).

'General amusement' or 'nothing special' was the activity in which 22.8 per cent of the sample was involved. 'Nothing special' means that people indulge in whatever attracts their attention most at a particular time. Sometimes it can be an International, Panamerican, or national soccer tournament. One can pass by the laborers homes on Sundays or holidays and verify that almost all over they are following soccer series. 'Nothing special' can be watching television, especially the telenovelas; or going to a movie spoken in Spanish, or an American western movie, or those in which physical power is displayed by judo and karate fights. Some people go to the bars and cafes to play pool, have a cup of coffee and meet friends. Church and school entertainment are also a customary form of recreation.

Sleeping occupied the leisure time of 16.8 per cent of the respondents. The laborer wants to rest from the work in the fields, which is "hard, heavy, tiresome"; most of the time they get up, about 4 or 5 a.m. to wait for the buses that take them to the cane fields to work; so, the day of rest may be a day to sleep for a longer time and to have a siesta in the afternoon.

Playing was the activity for 10.1 per cent of the
households. Laborers have a good time playing dominoes, cards, and checkers. A few show interest in playing chess. Some friends get together through the organization of sports, and play soccer or basketball. Soccer is widely popular among laborers; it is frequently a way to manifest their emotions and take sides for the teams and have fun and excitement. In each of these activities the laborers look for 'informality', a reaction to a normally routine and regimented schedule.

Dancing is also popular especially on weekends, and on the occasion of parties. The invitations to such occasions can read: "You are cordially invited to a dancing party starting at 8 p.m." Nobody knows up to what time the people will be partying. It is frequently heard that parties last until 5 or 6 a.m. the next day, when guests are invited to remain for breakfast.

Men go out for recreation more than women do, and the local mores permit them much greater freedom and leniency. Being out at midnight or drinking is tolerated in men, not so in women. Women participate a lot in going to movies, visiting, and dancing, and in school and church activities.

Reading Practices. There is no doubt that levels of living are directly related to reading practices. Much of the information to improve living conditions appears in journals, magazines, newspapers, and books. Social change can happen through the influence books and writings have on
the readers' ways of life. Books can change minds.

TABLE 15
Leisure and Reading Practices Among Laborers of the Large Estate in 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>House Chores</th>
<th>a) General Amusement</th>
<th>b) Playing</th>
<th>Sleeping</th>
<th>Visiting Relatives &amp; Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>445</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) General amusement covers a wide range of activities, meaning "having a rip-roaring time," listening to radio, watching TV, going to the movies, to the bar, and to the cafe.

TABLE 16

B. Frequency of Reading Newspapers and Magazines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Very Seldom</th>
<th>About monthly</th>
<th>About weekly</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Not Reporting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>495</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) These answers should be integrated as regular reading practices.

Reading practices were not classified as 'recreation' in the United States Consumer Purchases Study of 1935-36 (in Taylor, 1949). Among rural people in the Cauca Valley, it does constitute recreation. People read when they have time to relax after a week or a day of work. Short novel$ bulletins, weekly papers, sports magazines and comics are in a great demand among readers. This does not mean that laborers have the habit of reading. On the contrary, in the survey of February 1977, 44.6 per cent of the sample reported that they never read or read very seldom. The proportion could go higher if monthly reading is interpreted as occasional or seldom. In such a case the percentage of occasional readers could rise to 46.7 per cent (Table 16). There was a group of householders that reported reading weekly newspapers or magazines, and they represented 39.0 per cent of the interviewees. The group of daily readers seemed low as reported by 13.1 per cent of the respondents.

It is obvious that inability to read would account for the low level of reading among laborers. But it seems to the writer that the low rate of reading is also due to the low income laborers have. A short novel in paperback costs not less than 25 per cent of the daily wage of a laborer, and the newspaper can cost about eight per cent of the daily wages. Technical books worded in popular language easily can cost 60 per cent or 100 per cent of the daily wages.
The writer believes that people would read more frequently if they were given the opportunities to do so. This was demonstrated when the writer helped to organize a book club in San Antonio. Books were loaned to the laborers attending night school in 1977. Books were constantly in demand, loaned on a two-week basis with the opportunity to keep the book for another two weeks if the reader wanted it.

Assessment of the Levels of Living Under Study

Low levels of living has been one of the characteristics of the large estate (Beckford, 1970; Goldschmidt, 1946; Smith and Zopf, 1970; Zimmerman and DuWors, 1970). To test this, the levels of living of a specific large estate in the Cauca Valley has been measured in this study in multiple ways. The writer wants to find out how the large estate structure has influenced the levels of living in a contemporary large estate.

In the case under study, factors outside the agricultural enterprise have affected the levels of living of laborers. International prices for agricultural products have decreased throughout Latin America since 1950. The analysis of the levels of living in the selected large estate basically shows the reliability of T. Lynn Smith and Paul Zopf's statement: "(Laborers... are held in bondage by tradition,... (with) low levels of living..."
lack of skills and aptitudes. . . They are tenaciously held by the systems by which they are part" (1970:167). It also shows the accuracy of Beckford's portrait of laborers as of "very low income, suffering from malnutrition, disease, poor housing, sanitation and medical services, and little or no education." The improvement of those conditions," is the most important and formidable task confronting mankind today," (Beckford affirms, 1970:xvii).

Housing continues to be one of the greatest problems for the laborers of the large estate under analysis. The large estate management has been aware of this for years. In reports issued on March 3, 1977, the agro-industrial enterprise (Central Castilla Ltda.) had granted loans to its laborers for 2,258,726.97 Colombian pesos during the former 8 years previous to the report. These loans had ranged from 10,000 Colombian pesos to 25,000 aimed to buy, build, or refurbish, or widen laborers dwellings. At the time the report was published, 204 laborers out of 4,000 were involved in loan payments. Of those laborers, 57 had more than 100 monthly payments to pay, and only 25 had paid some interest on those loans. The rest of them, or 93.7 per cent, had not made any interest payments. (Report of Ingenio Central Castilla Ltda., March 3/77).

For 1977, the Housing Committee of the ingenio had received 171 applications from laborers to give solutions to their serious dwelling problem. Of those applications,
75 wanted to buy a house, and 62 wanted to build one, or to widen it, or to repair it, or to refurbish it; of 171 applicants, 27 or 16 per cent lives in the village of San Antonio de los Caballeros. The problem of housing has grown so acute, that the management extended the capacity for loans to build or buy houses to 20,000 Colombian pesos. Interests went to 12% a year, and a member of the Laborers Union--Sindicato, became a permanent member of the Laborers Housing Committee.

Among laborers, the sample of February, 1977 showed that 62.8 per cent of them owned a dwelling, and 37.2 per cent occupied it under other kinds of tenure. Even though the percentage of owned housing is low, that percentage exceeded the percentage found in four others nearby large estates, by 20.8 per cent (FES, 1976). The inquilinato type of housing has increased in San Antonio and the towns where laborers of the large estate reside. This is a living condition far inferior to that of living in a house, reported by 75.7 of the laborers. (Table I). The housing conditions described here, being poor, are much better than the conditions in which peasants and new settlers in towns and migrants appear to live in Latin America, and the United States in the 1930's. (Desal, 1966; Shamin, 1976, Johnson, 1969).

The housing condition as perceived by the laborers themselves might give some idea of the quality of the
laborers' dwelling. A percentage of 33.5 classified their dwelling as "good," while 59.2 per cent perceived their dwellings as fair. It means that quite a few improvements in the dwellings are to be made to raise those housing conditions to levels of the lower-middle socio-economic class of the Cauca Valley, made up primarily of industrial workers.

In the use of appliances, laborers of the large estate present impressive improvements. About 85 per cent of them utilize electricity to cook, and 22.6 per cent had a refrigerator. These levels go higher in radio use with 86.9 per cent of the households having one. This percentage also demonstrates some shortcomings, since in the United States, back in 1950, almost 30 years ago, about 85 per cent of the population had at least one radio. (Nelson, 1970)

The utilities and disposal facilities of the laborers of the large estate show progress compared to the situation of many farmers in the area. More than 90.5 per cent of the laborers had running water in their dwelling and more than 85 per cent had flush toilets (Table 7). In matters of furniture, the levels of living of the laborers seem to be low. Unfinished houses, unfinished or scarce furniture, and the presence of boxes and benches to sit on continues to be a regularity, together with the overcrowded housing, with more than 2.6 persons per room in a house. (Table 2)
Low levels of living are also found in the food habits among laborers. The consumption of starch exceeds the consumption of proteins, fruits and vegetables. Ignorance of food values is widely spread.

In health resources and medical facilities, the laborers of the large estate differ from the picture found in many contemporary large estates around the world (Beckford, 1970, Moreno Frajinals, 1976; Hutchinson, 1950; Johnson, 1969). The laborers, although living in a culture in which folk medicine and herb doctors are popular and also have prestige, seek a doctor in 90.1 per cent of the cases, and 27.7 per cent receive help from the physicians by the ingenio. These improvements in the levels of living are not available to the bulk of the general agricultural population of Colombia. The health condition of laborers and their families have long been the concern of the administration of the large estate.

The levels of education laborers of the large estate are still within the descriptions of laborers made by sociologists in the 40's and 50's (Smith, 1944; Hutchinson, 1950, Goldschmidt, 1946; Johnson, 1969, Nelson, 1970, Mintz, 1950). The laboring population in the large estate reported an illiteracy rate of 80 per cent. Many never finished primary school. In the survey of December, 1976, in San Antonio, of 110 households visited in the Barrio Oriente and 127 visited in the Barrios Narino and La Buguena, Palestina and Barrio Hernando Caicedo, Colegio Regional,
only seven persons, working in agriculture or approximately 5 percent, had finished five years of elementary school. They showed no interest in reading material.9

Some of the advantages in housing have occurred due also to environmental changes that have taken place in housing for laborers. All of the laborers of the large estate live either in the village of San Antonio or in neighboring towns. Therefore, geographic orientation of laborers to towns and villages has influenced on the changes in levels of living in housing favoring also relationships with persons of higher levels of education, other occupations and different aspirations in life. Nonetheless, striking differences in quality of housing take place between offices' employees and factory workers, and those of the laborers. Housing is a clear indicator of the agricultural laborers status in the large estate, that is at the bottom of the ladder among mill workers and employees.

The present levels of living of the laborers seem to develop in many of them a persistent condition of passivity, of feelings and of impossibility to change their social conditions, unless their landowner or employer does it. Some laborers develop 'fatalism', attributing the changes for the better to 'good luck' or to a gratuitous favor of the head of the division where they work.

The tendency to rely on the lottery, the game called '24' and "chance" (a lottery based on sports results during
the week) might be the model of aspirations in which the laborer lives. Sentences like this one are heard: "Dete suerte mi Dios, que el saber nada te vale." (Knowledge and skills are useless unless you have good luck' which is God's gift).

Promotion of a laborer to another position is related, according to some laborers, to 'good luck', or to a device used by the administration to raise expectations of success among some of the laborers. Every year the large estate management has several bonuses in cash to be raffled among the most efficient laborers. Among laborers resident in San Antonio, the hope is to be "lucky," to "win" one of those 'prizes', so life can bring some significant economic change to them by chance.

Finally, the picture with respect to levels of living can perhaps be summarized by saying that the laborers in the large estate exhibit levels of living which place them at the bottom of the estate's ladder. They could not, by any means, be regarded as a 'modernized' population which enjoys the benefits of modern living conditions. Nevertheless, it was noted that any improvements brought about by the management of the large estate in ways that are not traditional in a large estate situation. As a result, the laborer enjoys a much better level of living than the bulk of Colombia's agricultural population.

Management's actions in its relations with its agricultural
employees is therefore of singular importance in this large estate. This is why those actions are analyzed in Chapter as a principal pattern emerging from the large estate.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1 One thousand bricks in June, 1977, cost $1,200 Colombian pesos or about $32. The basic price of a house of two small rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom, two faucets, a shower, and a place to wash clothing was in 1977, within the range of 55,000 - 75,000 Colombian pesos or approximately $1,500 to $2,000.

2 The water pump can draw out 300 gallons per minute from the well. Individual households in San Antonio, according to estimates made by the writer, can use 46 cubic meters of water monthly; this is an amount more than twice the amount of water which is expected to be utilized by every household. Water is wasted. This is the general complaint of the local concerned citizens. But such a situation could be misleading when talking about the quality of water.

3 Those wells are commonly 30 feet deep (10 m.); the humidity in the ground is so high, that water is found everywhere in San Antonio after digging 15 feet, or 5 meters in the ground.

4 The workers' daily wages are higher in the ingenio than in any other similar enterprise in the neighboring cities and towns.

5 The new water pump was given to service on August 6, 1977, and pumps 220 gallons per minute to fill a tank or reservoir of 25,000 gallons in 113.6 minutes approximately.

6 Assuming that the laborer earns 900 Colombian pesos weekly, an average of 22.50 United States dollars in May, 1979, (1 United States dollar = 40 Colombian pesos approximately) customers pay 0.98 Colombian pesos per kilowat, or 0.20 United States dollars. According to personal information given to the writer, the bi-monthly payments of electricity would range, for 1979, from 150.00 Colombian pesos (3.75 United States dollars) for those who have light bulbs only, to 500 Colombian pesos ($12.50 United States) for those who own an electric stove with two burners.

7 Kerosene, at the beginning of 1979, was sold in San Antonio stores at 0.55 United States dollars a gallon, or 22-25 Colombian pesos. Among flashlights, Eveready is an institution in the area and in the whole country.
Thirty years ago these products made up 53 percent of the volume of exports. Nine years later that percentage had dropped to 40 percent. (FAO, 1962). On the other hand, the importation of agricultural products has doubled between 1939 and 1959 as an effect of the low production of agriculture in Latin America. These phenomena have affected the levels of income for the agricultural problems in Latin America (Desal, 1966).

This situation shows how far the laborers are from progress-oriented values to improve their quality of labor, the basis for an independent life, and a more efficient productivity in the job. In the large estate under analysis several educational programs for laborers have been in progress for about 10 years.

In San Antonio, the village where 10-15 per cent of the laborers of the large estate reside, there were 307 families out of 461 in February 1977 that used electricity. This represented 67 per cent of the population of the village.
CHAPTER V

THE FAMILY OF THE LABORER IN
THE LARGE ESTATE

Introduction

The peasant household at the turn of the 19th century seemed to constitute "the most significant single characteristic of the peasantry as a specific social phenomenon and to give rise to the generic features displayed by peasantries, all over the world. A peasant household is characterized by a nearly total integration of the peasant family's life and its' farming enterprise. The family provides the work-team for the farm: . . . ." Shanin, (1976:30).

In the United States the family, in agricultural societies occupies a basic position that no other institution can replace in insuring societal well being. Family centered life greatly influences rural life. When compared with the urban family, the rural family has been shown to exert a greater influence upon the socialization of children, adult personal relationships, recreation and association with outsiders.

Where the scattered-farm pattern prevailed, there was one dwelling on the place, which was the home of the operator and his family. Isolation of farm families from other families determined to a very large extent the importance of family life for a rural society. (Taylor, ibid.)
The family has been so intimately associated with the operator of the farm that both women and children were tied to it. Wives and children did chores such as milking the cows, feeding the animals, cutting cane and grass to feed the horses. In the South, in places like North Carolina, wives did a considerable amount of work in the fields (Taylor, ibid.) Within that basic structure, the family in America, from colonial times, has shown shifts from the 'patriarchal' to the 'democratic' type of family and vice-versa. The patterns of family organization, nonetheless, have exhibited regional, religious and ethnic variations. In the plantation south, for example, the authoritarian or patriarchal family type was the prevalent one. Women were dependent, submissive, and never won recognition of equality with men.

In Latin America, the family has been shaped by the influence of three different cultures; the Spanish, African, and the Indian. The first was monogamous by tradition; the second, transferred to a different world, lost its roots and was influenced heavily by the dominant culture; and the Indian, of simultaneous polygamy for status reasons (Desal, 1966).

In Brazil, the extended family, and the 'consensual union' bond were the prevailing social institution for centuries among the rural population up to the coming of the Jesuits to the missions (Freyre, 1943). In the rest
of Latin America the type of family that prevailed among the dominant classes was the extended one, with a relatively large number of children and servants, maids, and baby-sitters. Education was imparted at home by tutors. Families of this description can be found today in the Cauca Valley.

It can be said that today, in the Cauca Valley, the rural family can present the following types:

1) Family formed by parents married in religious or civil ceremony, and their children.

2) The extended family, composed of father, mother, children, grandparents and other close relatives (nephews, nieces; cousins), and allegados.

3) Family established by a stable, but non-legal union, and their children.

4) Family headed by a mother either single, widowed or separated, and children from one father.

5) Family headed by the mother, with children from different parents, through successive poligamy. The mother lives with one of the children's fathers under a consensual union basis.

6) The head of the house is a man who is not the father of any of the children of the
woman, with whom he is living.

7) Family headed by a man and his children.
   A relative, or a maid takes care of the household.

The Family in the Traditional Large Estate

Hutchison (1957) found in Villa Reconcavo, Brazil, extremes of family structure, from the tightly built and extended family, the 'patricrarchal' family, to the small, loose and weak family, and "part-families" of women with their children. The first type was characterized by the vida em familia (close relationships between members of the family for every activity). Members of the family celebrated birthdays, weddings, anniversaries together. Young married couples dined with the parents of each at least once a week. Friends are made and they are invited to join the family group. The cohesiveness of this type of family reaches to the extent of taking care em familia of infants, the unmarried, the widowed, the aged, and the sick. Marriage in the church gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and general well-being. There is a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, or living together without being married. The social status is different for the woman who talks about her man from the one who talks about her husband.

In the loose family type certain other norms are
consistently observed. Daughters are guarded carefully. Marriages are either religious or civil; some go through both ceremonies. Family life in the "weak bond" type is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house has, at the most, two bedrooms, frequently one, where all members of the family sleep. The father is the dominant person in the household. He is the one who goes out the most. Women are full-time housewives, taking care of their husbands and children and the maintenance of the dwelling, clothing, and of the cleaning, cooking, and carrying of water and wood for the family.

Beckford (1972) found that the plantation society is characterized by large families. The landowners were interested in perpetuation the system and employed incentives to reach that purpose. Large families meant a surplus of hired hands and this helped to keep the wages down.

In matters of social cohesiveness, Beckford (ibid.) found the laborer's family weak in the plantations society. Moreno Fraginals (1976) points out that the plantation, and in general the large estate society has been characterized by weakness of social responsibility which originated in the way landowners treated the slaves and black families, especially husbands and wives, in their attempts to develop social and physical isolation among the black migrants. Relationships between slaves of the same African region and language were avoided.
Blacks were increasingly 'oriented' toward the culture of the slave master.

Nelson (1970) contends that the farm family in Cuba was not much different in composition, organization and general patterns of living from that found in North America. As a rule, perhaps "the rural Cuban father-husband occupies a more dominant position than does his counterpart in the United States, but generalization must be made with caution" (1979:187). The role of women seemed to be that of a housewife not going to the fields to work. Children were generally reared to be obedient to their parents until they were married.

**Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Families:**

**The Impact of the Large Estate on Family Composition and Stability**

The data utilized for this study comes from four sources. One is a general inter-town survey administered to laborers of a large estate in the towns of Candelaria, Florida and Pradera, and the Village of San Antonio, in February, 1977. Two other sources of information come from two local surveys administered to the population of San Antonio de los Caballeros in December 1976 and May, 1977 as described in the chapter on Methodology and Sources of data. The village is populated by 295 laborers of the large estate and their families, and they make up approximately
85 per cent of the total working population of the village. A description of the characteristics of the families living in the village is therefore necessary to portray the structure of the family of the large estate laborer. The writer had access also to the personnel files of the laborers residing in San Antonio. This material has been of significant value in reaching a very accurate report on marital status, number of dependent persons, and seniority in the large estate. This material also completed the information received by the two locally administered surveys. The 'personnel files' report was dated January 1, 1978.

Even though all families are different, there is no doubt, some common characteristics exist. One common feature is that all the laborers families either living in the village or in the neighboring towns depend on the large estate for a living. Men only are employed as laborers on the large estate under analysis. This is a common pattern found also in the rest of the ingenios in the Cauca Valley, where hundreds of laborers are hired.¹

In the inter-town survey of February, 1977, out of a total of 2,926 members of laborer's families, 2,840 or 97.1 per cent, of the sample, reported the laborers' wages as the only source of income for the family. There were 86 laborers who had some additional income, either from rentas (interests) (17), other occupations (26), comercio (business) (15), or occasional work (28). (Table 16).
TABLE 17


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Estate only</td>
<td>2,840</td>
<td>97.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time only</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private business</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional work</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and computed from data in general survey administered to 2,926 laborers in the large estate during February, 1977.

Another of the regularities found among the laborers of the large estate and their families was their geographical mobility. This phenomenon has been reported by Goldschmidt (1946), Beckford (1972) and Morens Fraginals (1976) among others (Table 18). The writer has found that the majority, a percentage of 56.4, (Table 17) of the sample of heads of families surveyed in San Antonio came from outside the departamento of the Cauca Valley. In the inter-town survey of February, 1977, those who came from outside the Cauca Valley totaled 48.9 per cent (Table 17).
### TABLE 18


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border departamentos</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond bordering departamentos</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauca Valley departamentos</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and computed from data in Survey of December, 1976, administered to households in San Antonio.

### TABLE 19

Birthplace of the Laborer of the Large Estate According to a Sample of 2,926 Individuals in February, 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border departamento</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond border departamento</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cauca Valley departamento</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled and computed from data in the general survey of February 1977, administered to laborers of the large estate and their households.
Beckford (1972) assumed that a few hypotheses are related to the transplanted people who work on the plantations:

"First, it is to be noted that plantations resorted to the importation of labor partly because of a shortage in the host environment but also partly because people far from home and their families are easier to control than indigenous people in their own home environment. After it became increasingly difficult to secure imported labor, plantations had to rely on the labor services of the children of people imported earlier." (p. 59)

In the case of the large estate situation that occupies the author's interest, the transplant of hired workers is caused by the shortage of agricultural labor in the host environment, and the improbability of immigrants earning higher wages on the large estate than those they could earn in the place from which they came. The migration from the other departamentos is a forced one. There is a surplus of arms or brazos, among them. Laborers and peasant owners of a few acres of land, leave their native region and move to the large estate where they expect to earn more money and have better levels of living.

The significant geographic mobility of the laborer of the large estate causes a high rate of instability of residence in the place of work.

In the universe of laborers of the large estate residing in San Antonio in January 1978, 51 per cent of those married have been working on the large estate for less than five years. Among the single living in a non-legal union, (SNLU)
65.4 per cent have been working for less than five years in the agroindustrial enterprise. In the groups of the single-with-shifting-partnership experiment (SSPE), 52.6 per cent had been working in the ingenio for less than five years.

These facts reveal a pattern of residence different from the one found by Beckford in the plantation society, where stability of the laborer and his family on the plantation is part of the plantation structure. Beckford found the laborers in the plantation to be forced laborers, especially during and after World War II: "... the choices blacks faced in the circumstances were: migration, continued work on the plantation in a condition of semi-slavery, and starvation." (Beckford, 1972:94)

**TABLE 20**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married</th>
<th></th>
<th>SNLU</th>
<th></th>
<th>SSPE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 +</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Families</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Less than one year.

Source: Compiled and computed from data in Report of the Personnel office for the year 1978.
Similar patterns of forced stability were found in Brazil (CIDA, 1966) and Indonesia (Gertz, 1966).

In the large estate under study, there is a work limit of 20 years, after which the laborer is entitled to retirement. Observing the time resident laborers of the large estate in San Antonio have been working in the fields of the ingenio, the writer has found that about 60 percent of them have reached only 20 per cent of the number of years required for retirement.

Instability on the job brings with it some implications in family life that should be pointed out. It affects the social organization of the laborer's family and may become a pattern commonly found in the laborers' families.

A. Laborers and their families during the process of adjustment to their new life must face cultural plurality. The laborers of the large estate come from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and for some of them it is painful to adjust to new mores, habits, attitudes, and change (FES, 1966). The anterior source reports that in 1975, 83 per cent of the laborers of a large estate cultivated in sugar cane, in the Cauca Valley, admitted having suffered significant changes in their habits and mores, caused by their new situation. Those changes included changes in food habits, in the rearing of children, family discipline, parent-child interrelationships, relationships between husbands and wives, and men-women
relationships, as well as changes in beliefs, religious values and rituals, and attitudes toward life. Those changes also affected habits related to drinking, use of leisure time, and holiday celebrations. At the beginning, conflicts happened due to cultural shock. This occurred mainly among those who suffered the transplant abruptly". (FES, 1966:280 Translation from the Spanish, by the writer).

B. Weak Social Cohesion. The writer could observe that among laborers their cohesion has been related more with their ethnic background than with the sense of local social cohesion. The migrant laborers do not feel rooted in the place. They feel transitory in the place where they live, and do not feel part of the local society, but part of the structure of the large estate situation.

Cooperation takes place on an individual basis. Laborers who have lived in the towns or the village for more than 10 years are the ones who show in the estimation of the writer, concern for the village's progress. They are the ones who are known by neighbors, and the ones that get together to promote local development projects.

C. Weakness of Social Responsibility. Again, the present author has observed this characteristic of laborers of the large estate. Sentiments of inferiority, the fact of being poor, and fatalism, prevent, to a large extent, any sustained action toward improvement of the social and economic organization in the labor population. The answer
"I am not from this village", "I will not stay here for a long time", "We are very poor", "Ask for help from those who have the money", "Ask the ingenio to do the project for us", are frequently heard.

Cooperation is found among those who have a feeling belonging to the place and to the people. The sacrifices required to improve the social conditions of the barrio, or the village will have to be made by the small minority of people who consider themselves nativos, those who have been living in the locality for more than ten years. (Beckford, 1972; Goldschmidt, 1946; Smith, 1967).

During the last five years the ingenio has experienced partial success in programs of social and local development among laborers and their families. Through a variety of courses directed to the adults, the conscience and the value of the power of social cohesion and social responsibility is aroused among laborers of the large estate.

The establishment in 1976 of the Casas Empresariales, places of recreation and meetings, by the administration of the ingenio, contributes to and promotes the development of social cohesion and social responsibility among the laborers of the large estate residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and the village of San Antonio.

**Household Composition and Size**

The family among the laborers of the large estate is headed by the male. Of the 495 households visited in the
inter-town survey of 1977, 491 families reported the male as the head of the family (Table 21). This is due to the present structure of the large estate in which the laborers work. All the laborers are male. (FES, 1976). There were 33 households without a wife. They are households constituted by laborers who are single and living with sisters or parents or other relatives, a type of extended family.

TABLE 21

Number of Children by Households, in the Universe of Laborers' of the Large Estate Residents in San Antonio, January 1978.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shifting Partnership</th>
<th>Stable-non-legal union</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Families</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2 Children</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 4 Children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 + Children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 22

Family Composition in a Sample of 495 Households of Laborers of the Large Estate Residents in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera and San Antonio, February 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members(^1)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Heads</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>16.9 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives or Companions</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1,748</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother and Sister</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents-in-law</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers and Sisters-in-law</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncles - Aunts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'allegados' (3)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (4)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Members reported here are related to both laborer and his wife.

(2) Percentages taken on 491 families reported.

(3) 'allegado': Relatives not in direct succession.

(4) Other: Temporary boarding as guests, visitors, friends.

Size of the Family

The 495 households visited in the inter-town survey of February, 1977, included a total of 2,700 family members. This means that the average size of each household in the large estate family would be 5.5 persons (Table 21). Each family included parents and children only. In San Antonio de los Caballeros there were 205 families of laborers and a total of 544 children, or an average of 4.7 persons per household. There were only two families, each one with 10 children, and one family of 12 (Survey of December 1976, Report of the Ingenio, for 1978).

Comparing the average number of members of the nuclear family, with the number of members of the extended family, (No. 1--on the list of rural families in the Cauca Valley; No. 2--on the list of rural families in the Cauca Valley), the average number of persons per household rises to 5.9 in sample interviewed for the survey of February, 1977.

The presence of relatives and kinsfolk in the family of a laborer offers a common cultural pattern of the Colombian family (Smith, 1944, 1970; Desal (Tomo II, 1966). The family does not have the one function only of reproducing itself and rearing the children, but it also offers affection, protection, and nourishment to the elderly, the sick, and the unemployed. To the latter it offers a temporary free boarding hospitality; and to those who do not have a family yet, it offers the opportunity to enjoy
family life with relatives.

The extended family among laborers of the large estate may include grandparents, nephews, cousins, uncles, godparents and relatives called allegados (relatives in a collateral line, Table 21). The last group helps economically by paying rent or food expenses, and lives in some sub-leasing housing situation. (FES, 1976:287).

Marital Status of the Laborers of the Large Estate

In Colombia, is Cauca Valley, in spite of the variety of forms of marital relationships, the religious marriage is highly regarded among rural people. Temporary marital unions, or stable-non-legal unions are regarded as irregular situations, and are often temporary steps toward a definite commitment in a Catholic marriage (Desal, Tomo II, 1966).

This does not prevent non-legal unions from abounding among laborers and other members of society. The slow pace of the Cauca Valley laborer and his neighbors towards marriage in a religious or civil bond is influenced by factors that seem important to mention. One of them is the leniency with which sexual promiscuity of the male is tolerated in that society. Marriage is thought of as the period to 'settle down', after years of sexual freedom of the adolescent and the young adult. The tolerance of non-legal unions, in the Cauca Valley, make it easy for the male to join a woman in a non-committal partnership that might delay the male's decision to marry, a trait which deviates from
what has been traditional in rural America (Copp, ed., 1971, 5th ed.).

In the inter-town general survey of 1977, 971 of the laborers, or 33.2 reported to be single and without attachment to any woman. This group was found within an age bracket of 18-58 years (Table 22: Also, Report from Ingenio Central Castilla, 1978). In the analysis of the survey of laborers living in San Antonio, in December 1977, and the report of the ingenio for 1978, a percentage of 30.2 per cent of singles was reported.

Within the group of legal singles, the writer discovered a curious type of family in San Antonio. It is what he would call the 'shifting-partner-experiment' relationship. The male remains constant, and several women, along or with children, live temporarily and successively with him without any commitment to live on a stable basis. After several experiences of this type, the male may select his spouse either to live with her in a stable-non-legal union or to marry in the Catholic Church. The writer found 19 cases within this category of marital relationships. Those cases reported 6.5 per cent of the total of laborers living in San Antonio, bound either by marriage, a stable-non-legal union, or by the shifting-partnership-experiment relation. In the last two cases, the household is managed in the way married couples manage their homes, within norms and roles described later in this chapter.
Married laborers of the large estate represented 25.5 per cent of the sample of the inter-town survey, and 35.9 per cent in the survey of the universe of laborers in San Antonio (Table 22).

TABLE 23


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable-non-legal union</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreported</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried mothers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minors reported were 662, or 22.6 per cent of 2,926 that was the total of the sample. Minors were those 18 years of age and under.

Source: Compiled and computed from general survey, February, 1977.
TABLE 24


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable-non-legal union (SNLU)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single in shifting partnerships experiments SSPE</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Universe of laborers, ages 17-26 as reported.

Source: Compiled and computed from data in Report of 1978.

The widowed among laborers had a proportion of 1.2 per cent in the inter-town sample, and 0.6 per cent in the universe laborers population in San Antonio. Tables 22, 23. Laborers of the large estate, who were separated, amounted to .4 per cent among the sample of laborers living in Candelaria, Florida, Pradera, and San Antonio. In the latter place there were zero reports of separated people. In Colombia legal separation of the spouses is not frequent. It is obvious that in cases of broken non-legal-unions,
there is no place to mention legal separation.

Divorces were not part of the marital status report in the surveys. Among catholics marriage is indisoluble. In Colombian civil law, civil marriage was indisoluble until 1976. At that time divorce was legalized for non-catholics. The stable non-legal union, also called common-law marriage appeared to be a preferred marital status among the laborers' families. Their percentage in the general sample in 1977 was 10.0 per cent. In San Antonio, it reached 26.5 per cent. The average number of children by type of marital union was as follows: for married couples, 2.4 per family; for S-NLU was 3.0 per family; and for S-SPE, was 2.6 per family. It appears, therefore, that illegitimacy of children is widely accepted among laborers of the large estate. (FES, 1976:283). To offset parental responsibility, the Colombian civil law, protects children born of those unions. They have the right to share in the father's estate. The father also has the obligation to provide alimony to them until they reach legal parental emancipation at 21 years of age. (Code of Civil law of 1938).

It would be necessary to know data of births and deaths among laborers' families by marital status, and dates of marriages, in order to formulate the ratio between legitimacy and illegitimacy. What certainly appears is that the majority of the children in the families of the
laborers of the large estate lack the emotional and financial stability and security the children born from legitimate marriage ordinarily have. In married females, relationships between parents and children are important, bonds of solidarity are stressed and developed; and integration of children into the wide society is easier than in cases in which children are born out of wedlock (Desal, Tomo II, (1966).

In conditions of illegitimacy, mothers and children are dominated by the patterns of under consumption and poverty (Beckford, 1972).

**Family Roles and the Large Estate**

**Introduction**

The portraits by Shanin (1976), of the Russian rural family, and Taylor's (1949), and Smith's (1967-1970) descriptions of the American farm family cannot find a duplicate in the family of the laborer in the large estate situation studied here.

In the large estate under study the laborer and his family do not live on the large estate. They live in San Antonio and neighboring towns. The management provides daily transportation to and from their homes to the fields.

Wives and children know where the head of the family works. But they do not share in his job. One impression any visitor to the large estate receives, regarding the
laborers' family life is that the laborer's family is not involved in any way in the laborer's work in the fields.

The life of the worker on the large estate is in the fields during the whole day. The life of his wife or companion, and children is at home. This is common to all the laborers' families and it matters little where they live. This structure of work of the laborer brings about a whole set of social consequences in the organization of the life of the laborer and his family. It sets a fundamental difference between roles of the male and those of the female (FES, 1976).

Another common pattern found in the laborer in the large estate family life is that the laborers, or the males, are the ones who carry almost all of the financial responsibility for their families. Men get paid. Women do not. This makes life different for laborers and their spouses.

The history of the structure of the large estate under study does not show work of women in the fields. The work in the cane industry is a male job (FES, 1976). As a consequence, it is the laborer who is fully responsible for the daily personal needs of usually 4 or 5 persons in his home. (Table 20).

The Laborer's Family Life

The village of San Antonio, across the road from the ingenio property, provided the writer with an understanding
of what the roles of the family of the laborer of the large estate are. Two years of participation in the life of the village, seemed sufficient to the author to grasp how the laborer and his family live. The position of the writer as a pastor of a Catholic parish, the only church of the village, helped him significantly approaching people, to work with them, and to become sensitive to their material and spiritual concerns, especially those of family-related needs.

The laborer on the large estate is provider par excellence for the whole family. On his meager wages, insufficient to feed three-four persons, even if his wages were doubled, children and wife or companion depend for shelter, clothing, food, education, medical care, traveling and other basic needs. Field labor on the large estate six days a week, 48 hours a week is not only his occupation; it is his life and the life of his family. He does, and is encouraged by the administration of the large estate, to work as much as he can to raise at least his basic wage of 115.50 Colombian pesos (United States $3.12 in January, 1978, approximately). (Contrato Colectivo firmado el 22 de Diciembre de 1977). Even on holidays, if he has the opportunity to work, he may do so to add some extra income to his weekly pay.

The household is not, as it is for the farm family in the United States, the hub of production, but of consumption. It is not the place for close ties and responsibilities.
The means of production are isolated from the home; the laborer separated from his family for the whole day, and working for a wage. The laborer of the large estate is like an outsider to his family.

Everyday, Monday through Saturday, week after week, at 5 in the morning, the laborer takes his 22 inch long machete, in its sheath, and his colored handkerchief, his wide wing hat and leaves home. His work in the field dictates to him how to dress, what to wear, a long sleeve shirt for protection from the sunshine and the cane's tiny needles, pelusa; a towel or piece of cloth to cover his head and his neck; drill pants, and rubber boots. Ready to work he moves from one lot or suerte to another, wherever his supervisor directs him to go. After a long day of exhausting labor, the head of the household returns home about 6 p.m. He wants to reach the place where he can rest and have a hot meal, and a mug of cafe or aguadulce, a chair or bench to sit on, and a wife to give him attention. There will be time to hear about the children's day, and what happened at work and at home. Evenings are also a time to share complaints, and to receive reports on expenditures or prospective debts and payments.

In his leisure time, the laborer sleeps, repairs his work tools, listens to the radio, visits friends, goes to the local stores to meet friends, or stands by the front door of his home to watch people pass by. If he goes out,
he goes alone most of the time. His wife will watch the
house. They seldom, and only when they are married,
husband and wife would go together for meetings or visits,
or traveling, or entertainment. Laborers who are not
legally married do not take their companions to any social
activity. That could be an offense to the other attendants
at the social event.

Within family relationships, men are expected to show
more affection to their daughters than to their sons;
'these latter are men, machos, individuals who should soon
learn to be independent.'

Babysitting is not done by laborers in their free time
at all. That is women's work. Cooking either, unless the
laborer is widowed or he wants to do it because he cannot
afford to go to a restaurant or pay for his meals at some
lunch store.

Unless the matter is very serious, one in which the
welfare of the whole family is involved, the laborer permits
his wife to make decisions in running the discipline of
the house. So the household seems to be run by the mother.
When any decision related to expenditure outside the regular
order list is to be made, the laborer, will have the final
word.

In conflicts with neighbors, the male is the last one
to deal with them. There is fear among the family members
that fights between males can develop and require police
action to pacify the contenders.

When in the laborer's home there are step-children, often acceptable levels of relationship exist between the step-father and the children. He, nevertheless, does not interfere with their discipline unless their mother authorizes him to do so.

By the time the legitimate children want to get married, both boys and girls seek the approval of their father. It is customary for the father of the girl to pay the expenses of the wedding and the wedding party. The reception is held at the home of the girl's family. The laborer cooperates in being a good father-in-law to his son-in-law. One usually hears it said: "We have not lost a daughter; we have gained a son for the family."

In difficulties of any sort, after asking advice from the mother, the children go to the father for direction, and obey him. This pattern was mentioned also by Nelson (1970) in his study on rural Cuba, and by Hutchinson (1957) in his research on plantation life in Brazil. If it is a case of signing papers or documents of some importance, though, the man will be the one who signs them. If the woman is the one who is to sign them, the man assists her, in whatever manner is indicated.

Laborers are judged on their ability to work and earn money. This means to have responsibility for the family. It is up to the man to set the limit of the expenses for
food every week. Sometimes the laborer gives certain fixed amount of money each week to his wife for food. Sometimes, based on a regular order list, he gives the amount that is necessary in accordance with the plans made for the week by the lady. If the expenses cannot be paid fully, credit is authorized. It may also happen that the wife goes to the cooperative store of the workers of the large estate and orders what she wants. The laborer, then, through automatic payment taken from his weekly wages by the cooperative, pays little by little those expenses. The coop thus keeps control of the total credit allowable. In some cases, and it is not infrequent, some laborers give a very little amount of money to their wives to take care of the needs of the family and keep the rest to use for amusements, drinking, love affairs, gambling, and traveling. The laborer manifests, therefore, little concern for his family. Violence and other bad treatment becomes the daily event for the family. Rows break out, as a result almost daily, for one reason or another, and life becomes laden with anxiety and bitterness.

The role of the wife is inside the house. She does not work outside. She does not get paid. She feels inferior to her husband in the responsibility of providing income for the household. She belongs to the house and to what happens inside. There is a lack of joint action between husband and wife as it occurs in the family size farm.
(Smith, 1967). She learns norms and roles at an early age. From childhood, the rural girl is trained to take care of a house. Her dreams are to finish elementary school and then to date a good worker, a prospective good provider to marry. Girls do seem to develop no other interest besides these.

The laborer's wife or companion, married or not to him, has the role of a full-time housekeeper and housewife. From early in the morning to nightfall she will be involved in housewife roles if she wants to be an efficient one. Her responsibility is to prepare the morning coffee and the cornbread tortillas or arepas for her husband and children. She also helps the children to get off to school. She goes to the stores to buy either wood or kerosene for the cook stove.

Cleaning the house, wiping the floors and the sidewalk of her dwelling; doing the laundry and caring for the young children, and cooking, take most of her time. Some of the women go farther. They learn how to make cakes, or how to sew and work part-time at home to help supplement the family income.

Cooking the noon meal for her husband and waiting for him with a warm meal in the evening, and a bucket of warm water, so he can wash his body after work in the fields, make of her a good wife or a good mosa.

The female, as a spouse, also takes care of the making
of the beds at night, and preparing the clothing her husband is going to wear the next day. The mending of socks and shirts and pants also are her privilege.

As a mother, the laborer's wife cares for the little children crawling around her all day long in the kitchen, in the corridor of the house, or on the sidewalk. Whenever the mother goes to buy groceries, to wash clothing by the river Frayle when water is scarce, or to make a short visit to a neighbor, the little children go with her. She trains them, feeds them, bathes them and dresses them.

When the children reach school age, the laborer's wife's role is to send them to school every day. At school meetings, when teachers call the parents; at church meetings, and when school reports are to be picked up, briefly, most of the time, the laborer's wives are seen taking good care of all that business.

In religious life, it is the role of the laborer's wife to teach the children to pray, to take them to church, and to help them to prepare themselves to study the cathechism and receive the Sacraments. On the occasion of birthdays, weddings, funerals and other events of community life, she is the one who reminds the whole family of these events and does her share, according to her limitations.

It makes little difference what amount of school training the wives of laborers have to equip them to reveal consistently endurance, patience, and ability to handle stress.
After all these descriptions, it appears that the work conditions on the large estate have, therefore, shattered completely the traditional role of the wife in rural family. She had been helped, before, by all of the members of the family to maintain and develop the widespread net of kinship ties, duties and obligations at home. In her new role, she is practically by herself.

In the large estate situation, the husband-wife marriage relationships appear based on a business-like division of labor "not conceived of in its long-term aspect at all, but lived, acted out, on a day-to-day, and in this case, a week-to-week, basis. This constitutes a position where general problems and tendencies of the relationship are not considered, at least until they take the form of dominating a situation which has become intolerable." (Dennis, Henrigues Slaughter, 1969:183).

The children of the laborer working in the fields of the large estate also are separated from home life. In the relatively self-sufficient rural farm, they were an economic asset (Copp (ed.) 1964). In the large estate situation, they do not work. Their position at home is that of dependency making the level of living of the family lower. Not being put to work, children are provided with abundant leisure time, and greater permissiveness in their behavior.

Nevertheless, their need for a greater participation in family decisions, and for more conscious attempts made
by parents to help them in the development of their personalities, are elements absent in their lives. This also occurs in contemporary American farm family life (Copp. 1969).

The main role of the laborer's child today is to be a student. The *ingenio* itself cooperates with laborers and their families in sending their children to school. More, a new school for more than 500 children of both sexes was inaugurated by the large estate in 1976 for the laborer's children. Some children from the neighboring towns attend it also.

During their free time, some children help at home by going to the store to buy items for the family. Some of them, over ten years of age, are sent to bring the meal to their parents to the place where the bus of the *ingenio* stops to take the meals to the fields. When they grow up, at the teenage period, those who do not go to school may decide to do part-time jobs in neighboring fields, such as hoeing, and picking soybeans. Some others do house painting, or work in the *galpones* making brick, or as drivers' helpers. There are not many available resources for them to improve their skills and later on to hold a lucrative job.

Of those boys and girls who have finished elementary school, a few work in stores as assistants or errand-boys. In the evenings, after a day of work, or a day in school, the teenage boy goes out to meet his friends at the street
corner, at the soccer field or at the three billiard saloons which exist in the village. On weekends, attendance at the movies, disco places or sport practices occupy his leisure time.

Boys enjoy more freedom than girls when going out and dating. When boys reach 18, they can return home after a night of parties and entertainment with friends, even drinking in bars without being penalized for it.

This tolerated behavior and that of the male head of the household, with its marked individuality has contributed between mothers and daughters, in developing a closer relationship between them than the one existing between the other members of the family. In this manner, an accepted division of the sexes has built up a set of ideas that accentuate the confinement of the female to the home, and produce a routine pattern of life.

Emphasis upon the development of the personality of the children, influenced significantly by their home environment, seems to have no place for consideration among the laborers in their role as parents. There seem to be more concern over the physical well-being of the children and their education, in so far as school training is concerned, than on the formation of their character and development of their individuality. These processes might occur without the awareness of the parents on these essential aspects of human growth. What happens is that
the environment of the large estate situation has its effect on both boys and girls of the laborer's family. This means that the adults of tomorrow will function in a way similar to the one described for the laborer and his wife. The outlook to life for the family will be that of a day-to-day basis: and the relationship with peers outside the structure of the laborer's home will be the only one that will originate prospective new ways of life.

Parent laborers, most often, are not capable of giving good direction, help and advice to their children, and providing good conditions, so the children can do their school work at home efficiently. There is also a visible inconsistency between the wishes of many parents and the achievements of their children. The writer may, at this point, identify himself with Dennis' statement on Ashland's miners, 1969:236). He says that the parent position in his school structure as a laborer working in the mines of Ashland "unfits him or her for the task of (a) holding his ideas very strongly or practically and; (b) carrying them out. These two disadvantages, not by any means directly perceived or understood by all parents, reinforce that characteristic we have already described as 'basic,' the approach to life on only a day-to-day footing."

Preoccupation mainly with the routine of daily life, characteristic of the laborer's family, seems to prevent the growing children from handling seriously their
environment. Love frequently means among laborers' families concern for toys and things for the children, and the control of their behavior, and not for their personal development and problems and plans of action to bring them up. No time is spent in the laborer's home in talking and playing with the children, opening through communication new worlds for them. The task is left to their peers, to the movies, to comics and the school. The child is then ready, with poor parental advice, to be in favor of a static and restricted way of life. (Dennis, ibid.)

Assessment

Some of the features of family life of the laborer in the large estate under study have been described here. The family of the laborer shows as a foremost characteristic, a high degree of instability based either on geographic mobility of the family to a new situation in which the adjustment is painful yet transitory, or on the family structure itself with many non-legal unions, marked most of the time by irresponsible parenthood. Among family members the necessary social cohesiveness and social responsibility are not strong enough, therefore, to cooperate in the development of a prosperous society.

The condition of the father, an outsider to home life, and that of the mother, confined to the house, have devastating consequences in the lives of the children, who
perpetuate those same values in their adult lives in a framework that creates a static and routine-based society.

Values of cooperation scantily influence upon the multiple activities of homelife and participation in the decision-making process and development of creativity towards making home life more efficient in its multiple functions. Conditions commonly found in the farm family of America are not features of the laborer's family. Communication with the family and discipline to do things better within the family enterprise, another feature of the traditional American farm, lacking in the laborer's home. The family structure that promotes change toward adequate socialization, personality development, and tension-management for its members, is absent. There is no experience either, of satisfaction arising from interpersonal relationships.

Programs of lectures on family interrelationships and development of the child, promoted and organized by the ingenio recently have been contributing to offset the consequences of the structure of labor on the large estate.

Scholarships and facilities for transportation for students are also parts of the programs of social welfare on behalf of laborers and their families to promote a better education for them. Night school for laborers has been another opportunity given to the laborer's family to break its routine and improve its relationships. The results of these efforts are to be seen in the near future.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1 Reports of September 30, 1974, show that in 14 ingenios in the Cauca Valley, of 18,931 persons hired by those enterprises, 98.5 percent were males and 1.5 percent were females. The latter had occupations related to administration and service mainly; since women did the packing of sugar, an occupation held only by males in the past. (FES, 1976:280).

2 The interest in housing projects for the laborers, on the other hand, promoted by the administration through its Housing Committee, seems to be a stimulative factor for the laborer of the large estate and his family to stay in the job on the large estate.

3 In an ingenio smaller than the former, 64 per cent of the workers admitted to have experienced changes similar to those in the larger ingenio.
CHAPTER VI

LABOR RELATIONS IN THE LARGE ESTATE

Introduction

This chapter studies labor relationships in a contemporary large estate in the Cauca Valley. While research today gives a lot of attention to the development of labor in industry, little has been given to the analysis of labor in the agricultural sector. Changes have taken place in many agricultural enterprises by the time mechanization and technical improvements in agriculture have occurred. Still, the large estate under any of its forms, even with industrial functions, has hired hands, laborers, as a part of it.

In the large estate which is the subject of this study, those hired hands increase as the large estate becomes larger. New lands are added to the original large estate either by purchasing them or by renting them. The author wants to discuss how labor relations on the large estate have evolved throughout the years. How do they effect the life of the laborer in the large estate and his family. Also in what ways local factors, within the structure of the large estate--and outside of it--influence the characteristics of those relations.
Laborers today live in communities different from the ones they used to live in twenty-five years ago. Occupations have changed together with interests of the people. Migration has brought new relationships in the members of society, new cultural traits and values, and variations in social amenities. All these factors have brought about changes in relationships with owners and managers in the large estate, together with changes in legislation on work.

Smith (1967, 1970, 1974) and Nelson (1970); Beckford (1972) and many other sociologists of rural life--see review of literature--have found labor in the large estate dominated by the order-obey relationship, and close supervision. This situation affects society significantly, since the greater part of the rural population working in the agricultural enterprise is used in the rudest work of the estate "owned by men with a mentality quite different from that which years ago characterized the relations between the landowners and their laborers, when the former really were, most of them, a rural gentry; not only proprietors deeply attached to their estates, but masters attentive to the needs of their workers in accordance with patriarchal forms of association." (Translation by T. Lynn Smith, from Gilberto Freyre, "La Lucha no es de Clases," Life en Espanol, May 11, 1964:25-26).

Smith (1967) points out the striking differences in personal relationships between the rural system integrated
about the large estate and the one "in which the prevailing pattern grows out of a widespread distribution of family-sized farming units. Wherever plantation and other large agricultural and pastoral establishments prevail, the order-and-obey, domination-and-submission types of relationships are the rule in the work of the men and the women on the land and also in the domestic tasks connected with the affairs of the manor or 'big house' itself. . . . such patterns of super-ordination and sub-ordination are worlds apart from the equalitarian varieties which characterize the rural social system which has as its central feature and moving force the family-sized farms. Even the role of leadership in the two systems have very little in common, pure caciquism being the characteristic of the one and the necessity of developing in many persons the capacity to inspire and stimulate the participation of large numbers of persons whose socioeconomic status is similar to that of the leader prevailing in the other." (Smith, ibid.:22-23).

**Laborers in the Large Estate Under Analysis**

This dissertation concentrates its objective upon the laborers of the large estate. There is no consideration given to the ingenio's mill workers, and those working in its workshops, and services. The last three groups of workers have decreased, as a general phenomenon in the ingenios in the Cauca Valley due to labor-saving machinery
FIGURE 9
LABORER WORKING IN THE FIELDS
which is almost total in the producing and packing of sugar. But field workers or laborers, in 1974, in seventeen ingenios studied in the Cauca Valley, were about 73 percent of the total number of personnel hired by those agroindustrial enterprises. (FES, 1976).

Within the category of laborers of the large estate, the group of sugar cane cutters or corteros and pickers or alceros contains a larger number of laborers than the groups dedicated to pre-cultivation or preparation of the ground, the culture of the cane, and transportation. The last three groups also are less numerous than the first because of the increase of mechanization in those steps of the production of the cane (FES, ibid.).

In September, 1974, the category of laborers in the fields was the first and largest one within the four categories of labor hired in the large estates cane producers, namely, directives and managers, field laborers, mill and factory workers, and workshops and service workers.

In 1974, Central Castilla, the large estate under study, had a total of 4,264 persons working for the enterprise including all of the categories shown in table 24. Of that total, there were 3,211 working in the fields (75.3 percent). Within this category, 2,711 laborers were hired directly by the large estate (84.2 percent of the field workers) while the rest (15.8 percent) were hired through contractors or contratistas. The large estate
TABLE 25

Percent Distribution of Workers in Sugar Cane Ingenios in Colombia, September, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Directives &amp; Managers</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Field Laborers</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Precultivation and culture of cane</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Cutting of cane</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Lifting or picking cane</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Transportation of cane</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mill workers</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Workshops and services workers</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

utilized the services of contractors in the steps of pre-cultivation and culture of the cane (500 laborers in total) only. The responsibility for the work done by the hired ones relies upon the contractor, a private individual who does not belong to the large estate staff. The work relations in this group of workers hired through contractor and working for the large estate in the fields is not the object of this analysis. It is enough to say, at least, that they constitute what this writer would call the 'pariahs' within the class of laborers in the fields. They are people without the protection of the civil law nor the attention required by their personal and family needs.

The attention in this chapter is therefore concentrated upon the personnel working in the fields of the large estate and hired directly by it.

Being a field laborer, hired by the ingenio under study, presents a different picture in economic and social conditions and personal relationships with the enterprise, from the one described already, briefly, of the laborer hired by a contractor to do work in the fields. Such a laborer earns wages about 25 percent lower than those paid to the ingenio laborers. Its stability on the job is very low, reduced to work especially in the peak months of production of the ingenios. (FES, 1976).

Work in the Fields. The laborers work is the most arduous one in the large estate. It is a work that depends 100
percent on manpower. The degree of skills with which the laborer handles his machete picks the cane and piles it in the wagons indicates how much he is going to receive in wages at the end of the week. His physical condition is also related to his productivity in the task. Working in a forest of cane in 90° or 100°F temperature for about eight hours a day might give some idea of how strenuous the labor is.

Either in sunny or cloudy, dry or rainy weather, the laborer in the fields starts his day waiting for the bus or wagon (furgon) that will take him to the fields, a section of cultivated cane called la suerte. It occurs about 5:30 a.m. The laborer returns home after 4:45 and 5:30 p.m. by bus. The laborer of the large estate knows his role: to plant, cultivate, harvest, and deliver the cane to the mill as soon and as efficiently as possible. The hard work finds some relief with the provision of water to drink and the noon meal. Water is transported to the fields in carts or trucks called piraguas. Each laborer keeps with him a canteen of one-half or one gallon of water. (FES, 1976). At noon the lunch is taken to the laborers by trucks or wagons. The meal is prepared by the laborer's family, or someone whom the laborer has paid for that service. The transportation of meals takes place between 10:30 and 11:00 a.m. At that time the writer could see crowded streets in San Antonio. There were women and children, walking on the
streets, taking the portaviandas, or meal carriers, to the bus. Even before 10:30 a.m. they have been waiting for the bus. It cannot be missed. That food is the 'fuel for the engine' as some of them meaningfully call it.

The work done on the cane is classified and paid according to written work contracts celebrated between the sindicato (the union of workers of the ingenio) and the enterprise, every two years.

Laborers cutting cane in the fields some days will cut not-burnt cane. This task is the highest paid per ton to a cutter (37.20 Colombian pesos in January, 1978, or United States $0.97 approximately). (Contrato Colectivo. Central Castilla S.A. - Noviembre 4, 1976, Articulo 20). Doing this job, the laborer faces the discomfort the tiny needles of the cane leaves produce, and the difficult cutting position of the cane. Everyday, young cane, the tender one called cogollo, or the adult one, depending on how much cane the mill needs; and a gamut of ages of the cane, in between, pass through the powerful hands of the laborer, each stick of cane containing a specific retribution. Some days the laborer will go to the fields to cut fired cane. An accident might have caused the fire. The pay that day would be the cheapest for the cutter. If the cane has been fired because of an order given by the management, then the pay per ton will be higher, or 76.5 percent more than in the previous situation.
There are norms established on the ways the cane should be picked and placed in the wagons. A *mal alce* (lifting done in a non-satisfactory way, to the supervisor's judgment) would be paid about 45 percent lower by ton than the cane properly picked.

The spraying of the cane is paid by the *fanegada* (7,900 sq. yards equals 1.63 acres). Laborers spraying alternate rows of cane receive a higher pay than those who move from one row to the next one. The cane portage is paid depending on whether it is made by *carrileros*, *cadeneros y cunadores*, *tractoristas* or their helpers; or by tractor drivers, their aids, and *tractomuleros*.

Another group of laborers is constituted by the cane-seed cutters. The cane should be cut in sticks 50 and 60 centimeters long (1.66 and 2 feet long). A different group of laborers is in charge of picking it up.

Those who dig ditches are paid according to the depth of the digging. The deeper the ditch, the higher the wage will be. Ditches deeper than 2 m. or 6.66 feet are paid according to previous arrangement made between the laborer and his supervisor. Ditches are made for carrying water in open canals to irrigate the cane fields.

More jobs than the ones described are made by the laborers in the fields. 'Carrying seed' indicates the job of transferring bundles of tops of sugar cane stalks from a field where they were cut to another where they will be
planted. Weeding is a task that is more frequently done when the fields have received abundant rain and sunshine.

Laborers move from one field to another doing all the work already described. The cane fields are numbered. Some tasks are repeated on the same field as many as seven times between harvests. Such is the labor of weeding. Other activities in the large estate, from building makeshift bridges crossing draining ditches, to gardening, caring for the maintenance of lawns and plants, and the tending of the cattle await the laborer every day. For all those activities there is a job description, a schedule to be followed rigorously, and a supervisor to control the group of peones. The supervisor writes down in his book the amount of work done by the laborer; or how much cane was cut and by whom; who was the driver and who was the guide. The reports are sent to the administration offices for effects of the weekly pay of wages. Every morning the supervisor assigns tasks to the laborers under his orders. He tells what to do and how to do it and when, and how it should be done.

There is familiarity between the supervisor and his group. Laborers are known by their name or nickname, their background and their family condition. Complaints and sometimes personal problems are shared with the supervisor.

A hierarchy of labor and personnel persists in the large estate. There is a general manager or president, and
sub-managers, and heads or directors of sections, and supervisors, and note takers, and drivers, and aids, and laborers at the bottom of the ladder. The owners of the large estate are absentee. Their interests are represented by the general manager and other directors. The board of the enterprise is at the top of the administration.

Reactions from the laborers about the effects of their work on their living conditions varied. In the inter-town survey of February, 1977, 43.5 percent of the respondents to the survey, laborers on the large estate, believed their socio-economic conditions were about the same as those of their parents; 21 percent thought present conditions were worse, and 32 percent (158 out of 495 households) judged their present conditions were better than those under which their parents lived. The question was formulated in order to know about satisfaction in the job. Both question and answers could be understood in multiple ways, among other things depending on his present values and expectations on the job.

Laborers feel, nevertheless, that their condition is helpless in the large estate situation. They complain about the lack of opportunities to participate in the decision-making process of the large estate. The action of the sindicato seems insufficient to the laborers. Emphasis upon routine is stressed: there is no opportunity to develop any creativity. Bad is what is not done
according to the decision of the overseer or supervisor. Frustration is part of the laborer's work. He finds the ways he works and his efforts wasteful and ineffective. (FES, 1976). He would like to work in conditions in which profit is not the only condition to determine his job on the fields.

Later in this chapter, policies issued by the large estate to improve the work conditions and the expectations of the laborer will be discussed. The ingenio frequently emphasizes among his employees and workers that 'man is what matters.' Led by that philosophy, a search for ways out of the traditional structure of labor conditions in the large estate has been initiated. Laborers believe that the pace of that search is slow. Passivity, fatalism, and dependence are at the present time the ways out for the laborers, to find adjustment to the structure that constitute their lives.

Laborer - Employer Relations.

The life in the fields, for the laborers, has been portrayed as detrimental to their personalities. (Smith, 1967). Day after day, they are submitted to an authoritarian structure of relations, brought about by the structure of the large estate itself. The order-and-obey relationships are the rule in the work. There is no way to devote their energies and skills to find out ways for a more effective
and efficient use of their labor. In spite of all this, the consensus is that the laborers' socio-economic condition on the large estate here described differs greatly, from the conditions lived in by their peers in other large estates in the same geographic area and even performing similar activities. (FES, 1976).

Contrary to Beckford (1972:87) statement that "the phase of heavy reliance on indenture and other forms of contract labor has passed" in the large estates, in the large estate that is analyzed in this dissertation work relations rely total on indenture. This way of establishing relationships between labor and management has produced a degree of satisfaction formulated as 'excellent' in the Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo, signed between the Sindicato of laborers in the ingenio and the administration. (Article 2), on December 22, 1977.

It is the philosophy of the enterprise and that of the Sindicato to strengthen the relationships between laborers and patrons. To reach that objective several convenciones have been signed between the Sindicato, that is the voice of the labor force of the large estate, and the administration. Indentures are related to the matters of stability on the job, wages, hierarchy in the job, pay by task done, work conditions, ways and means to solve conflicts, and sanctions. Many of these relationships are applications of the Colombian civil law that, in the last forty years, has introduced many changes in labor legislation
to the benefit of the laborer.

There are some benefits beyond the established Colombian laws for the laborers. Those benefits show the consistency of the large estate with its goal of promoting better socio-economic conditions for the laborer. The Colombian law does not protect, as it should, the rights of the laborer on the larger estate. Each one of the elements of laborer-patron-laborer relationships will be treated briefly here.

Stability on the job. The Convencion Colectiva de Trabajo for 1972-1974 states that the norms and rights acknowledged by it are the ones that regulate the labor-management relationships. The Colombian civil law norms, on the other hand, that favor most of the interests of the laborers, will also be the ones adopted in those labor-management relationships in conformity with the articles of the Convencion Colectiva de Trabajo. So a contract is the basis on which the labor-patron relationships works in the large estate. Such a contract gives the laborer stability on his job as a general norm. But some contracts are signed by the interested parties only on a tempore y basis, for some specific work done for the enterprise such as building houses, installing machinery, doing minor repairs or highly skilled required repairs, for technical assistance in some processes of production; and in cases of temporarily substituting those who are already under a work contract with the large estate.
The stability on the job, nevertheless, has some limitations. Either the patrons or the laborers can put an end to their contract within certain conditions. Use of violence, tricks, cheating, and damage to material property of the large estate and reasons to finish the contract. Misbehavior within specific cases, lack of efficiency on the job according to expectations already set, retirement, or permanent illness can put an end to the contract, too.

Cheating on the part of the landowner, violence, or lack of safety requirements for jobs that entail health risks, non-compliance on the part of the management to the conditions established in the contract can terminate it (Articles 2-4).

The finished or suspended contract between laborer and patron can be resumed. During the repair of the large estate machinery and mill the laborers enjoy stability on the job. In that time laborers take their yearly vacations, or do some other work in the large estate. According to the Colombian law, a laborer is entitled to two weeks of paid vacations every year.

Wages and hierarchy in the large estate. The laborer in the large estate earns a basic wage, set on a minimum of work to be done. But there are definite wage scales. These are established upon ability, efficiency, good behavior, seniority and knowledge in the large estate. Laborers
have the opportunity to increase their wages while keeping the same job, or moving to a higher paid job when there is some vacancy and the conditions for promotion are fulfilled. When there is a transfer from one job to another, the laborer needs to move with approval certified by a license, or boleta de movimiento de personal.

**Working Schedule for the laborers.** A laborer is expected to work for the large estate for eight hours daily and not beyond forty-eight hours a week. If for some reason the laborer is called to work beyond that time, he should be notified by his supervisor or department head at least four hours before he is called to put in over-time. The payment for those extra hours is higher than for regular hours of work.

Some Sundays and holidays, the large estate management requires laborers to work. The work in those circumstances will not be for more than four hours. Payment of this extra time is made in accordance with the Colombian legislation on these matters. If the worker or laborer could not perform the job because of unexpected events beyond his control, the worker or laborer is paid for half a day's work.

There is a group of laborers who work regularly for twelve hours a day. These are the ones who do irrigation by gravity in the fields. They are paid according to special rates. (Convencion Colectiva, 1979:24).
Benefits Beyond the Requirements of the Law

The Convencion Colectiva de Trabajo (Collective agreement on Work) assures the laborers to abide by what is established by it, even though for some reason the Colombian law lowered the standards of guarantees of work for the worker. If there were new requirements made by the law, not considered in the Convencion, the management shall adjust to the new requirements. In benefits beyond the requirements of the law, the large estate exceeds other large estates.

Among fourteen large estates cultivated in sugar cane in the Cauca Valley, Central Castilla ranked first, with Riopaila, in amount paid for basic wages for their laborers ($62 Colombian pesos or United States $1.55 daily) from October 1, 1974 to December 31, 1976 during the first two years of their labor on the large estate. (FES, 1976:268).

Benefits for the laborers, beyond the requirements of the law are granted in Colombia depending on the place of work, the type of enterprise and the degree of organization of the labor force. Urban unionized laborers have enjoyed these benefits more than rural unionized laborers. In rural areas, nonetheless, laborers in the sugar cane enterprise are the exception to the second group. Belonging to the rural society, the large estate analyzed in this study abides by the law requirements for enterprises with a capital of ($800,000) eight hundred thousand Colombian pesos
(or United States $21,053 approximately in June, 1977) or more. Therefore, laborers on the large estate enjoy all the legal benefits called **prestaciones sociales legales** plus some called beyond the requirements of the law, **prestaciones extralegales**. Some of these are wider interpretations of the legal benefits; some of them are new and the result of agreement between laborers and management. Among those benefits granted to the laborers beyond the requirements of the law are interesting to mention as follows:

1. A pair of pants and a shirt every semester. A pair of rubber boots and a **poncho** every year.

2. Christmas bonus to those who are part of the payroll on December 20. The bonus varies according to seniority. For example, those who have been in the large estate working for one to two years would receive the equivalent of ten days of labor. Those who have been working in the **ingenio** for ten years or more would receive a monetary bonus equivalent to thirty days wages.

3. Vacations. Besides the legal vacations to which the laborer is entitled, the large estate recognizes those who have worked in the large estate for one to two years by an extra payment equivalent to five days of wages. To those who have been working in the **ingenio** for five years or more, the equivalent to the pay of seventeen days wages will be recognized and paid.
4. Maternity. One thousand pesos (which in June, 1977, was about United States $26 approximately) are given to the wife of legitimate marriages on the birth of a child, once a year, or to the companion or spouse in non-legal union when her name is in the list of dependent persons provided by the laborer.

5. Death. A grant of $1,900 Colombian pesos is given to the laborer to pay funeral and burial expenses of wife, companion, parents and children below eighteen years of age who are dependent on the laborer at his death. This grant includes children born within six months or more of pregnancy. If a laborer dies, a grant of $3,500 Colombian pesos (approximately United States $92 in June, 1977) is given to his beneficiaries according to the law.

6. Birth of a child. The laborer can take two days off. These two days will be paid in full.

7. Widowhood. If a laborer dies, the widow, or children, will receive an amount of money equivalent to twelve weeks of wages, according to the classification of the laborer.

8. Help for Prescriptions. Once a year, the large estate management helps to cover expenses up to the limit of $650 Colombian pesos. If cheating is discovered, the laborer will lose this privilege for the future and can even lose his job.
9. Medical attention is provided free to laborers and relatives who are their dependents, but children below one year of age. These are covered by the national social security legislation. Delivery of children is also covered by the previously mentioned national social institution.

10. Surgery. For medical treatments classified as surgery within the national codes approved for insurance companies, a grant of $1,000 Colombian pesos is given to the laborer to cover surgery expenses of his dependent.

11. Social Security. The ingenio pays three days of wages at the beginning of the absence of the laborer from work because of certified illness. The national security service is responsible for the payments of the rest of the days the laborer cannot work.

12. Specialists. Transportation of the laborer is provided by the ingenio to go to see a specialist when it has been prescribed by the National Social Security office.

13. Prescription glasses. For the time the convencion is effective (two years) the ingenio provides one pair of prescription glasses for its laborers.

14. Domestic disaster. Days, two or more, according to the discipline regulations of the ingenio, are given and also paid to the laborer so he can provide the necessary time to help to alleviate a domestic crisis.
15. Scholarships. The large estate offers 250 scholarships for children dependent on the laborers of the large estate for secondary school education. It offers also thirty-five scholarships for university studies to children of the laborers. These scholarships are granted based upon pre-established conditions.

16. Student help. Besides the provision of free elementary education to the children of the laborer working for the ingenio, a grant of between $400 and $550 Colombian pesos are given to the laborer at the beginning of every school year to buy books or take care of some other elements necessary to attend school.

17. Transportation for students whose parents live in the large estate and in San Antonio is provided for those studying in Candelaria, Florida and Pradera.

18. Transportation for Laborers. It is free for those living in Candelaria, Florida, Miranda, Pradera, and Villagorgona, neighboring towns to the ingenio.

Special Benefits

Laborers of the large estate are entitled to the right to participate in some other benefits through investment of their time, savings, and other resources, and according to their type of job, and performance in it, as follows:

a) Safety tools and equipment to work, and formal training to prevent accidents.
b) Orientation and loans to provide housing to laborers, through a specific committee created for this purpose.
c) Social assistance to laborers and their families in matters of religious, entertainment, and medical facilities, and counseling, and support of programs regarding those activities.
d) Loans in case of domestic disasters.
e) Service of tents and drinking water to the laborers in their place of work in the fields.
f) Two tires and two tubes for bicycles once a year are given at no cost to those who work as errand boys for the ingenio and those who control the provision of water to channels.

The ingenio and the sindicato of workers, the latter the instrument by which the laborers deal with the large estate management, encourage each other to assume their responsibilities "with dedication, efficiency and cooperation." (ibid. p. 42), not mentioning personal empathy, sympathy, or friendships as the reasons to work in the fields.

Complaints and Conflict Situations

In the large estate under analysis, there are bureaucratic procedures to make a claim or to solve a conflict. Neither the management of the large estate nor the sindicato might take action on their own, nor the laborer itself, in those circumstances. In the large estate a laborer-patron
committee belongs to the structure of the relationships (Convencion Colectiva de Trabajo, 1972-74:9). This committee has changed its name in the Convencion Colectiva of 1979. It has been called Claims Committee. It is composed of two members of the sindicato and two delegates of the agroindustrial enterprise that occupies the writer's attention in this study. All punishable actions committed by the laborers belonging to the sindicato are examined, and sanctions inflicted through that committee. The decisions of the committee are transmitted to the laborer by a written statement. (Convencion Colectiva de Trabajo, 1979-1981:18).

Wages is Not Only What Matters.

Among miners in the Yorkshire coalfield, Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1969:65) wrote that it was said:

"Men may go on strike because of bad roof conditions, because of water, because of difficulties caused by mechanical breakdowns; but in all these cases it is the effect on the pay-note that is really at stake . . . . The fundamental relation between worker and employer is most concretely expressed in the division of the product, in the size of the worker's wage."

In the large estate studied in this dissertation, a different approach of labor use appears among management and labor. Profit is not the only objective of the large estate. Wages are not the only goals for the laborers of the fields. The large estate under analysis shows a "less benevolent and more consultative patterns of management"
(Beckford, 1972:54) than traditional large estate societies. Laborers on the large estate being studied in this work are concerned also with their conditions of work, and the relationships with their supervisors and managers (also FES, 1976). In cases of conflict in the history of the relationships of the large estate, both management and laborers have proved that the consensus can be achieved with cooperation. With this in mind every convencion has been signed and applied throughout twenty years. Joint consultation has not been a failure. If a laborer wants to question his wages, he does not need to go to look for the general manager of the large estate in his office, nor expect his claim solved based on the empathy or friendly condition of the person in charge of the decision.

The structure of the convencion de trabajo seeks to avoid conflict. Contact between laborers and owners of the plantation seldom exists. Neither labor matters, nor personal ones, are taken by the laborers of the large estate to them. Jobs on the large estate and stability in it are graded upon labor efficiency. The writer would say that in this case under analysis, paternalism does not prove to be the frame for labor-patron relationships.

The writer has not found in the large estate what Hutchison (1957:8) points out he discovered in contemporary large estates in Northern Brazil: "The present social system tends to follow the old ... The pattern of face-to-face inter-personal
relations, developed during centuries of sugar cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in modified form. . . . there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of obligations of nobility . . . paternalism to a high degree."

Assessment

The personal relationships between laborers in the fields of the large estate and their patrons, the domination-and submission or order-obey types of relationship are the rule in the agricultural work. There is a group with authority to supervise and another group whose only role is that of servant. The patterns of equalitarian power varieties inherent in the structure of the family-sized farms are absent. There is no participation among laborers in the decision-making process, nor stimuli to compete with owners in looking for resources for innovation, improvements for the enterprise, or more efficiency.

At present, however, the relationships between laborers and the large estate owners are not characterized by paternalism. A written contract, a bureaucratic, impersonal relationship sets the conditions of work and the conditions of pay to the laborer.

The large estate with its structure of labor for the laborers in the fields, creates dependency. The decisions are made in the large estate outside of its society. Little
effort exists among laborers toward the development effort (Beckford, 1972)

Most of the claims in dealing with the management are related certainly with wage increases, benefits beyond those set by the law, retirement benefits, and job stability. These claims and interests are ventilated through the union of workers called Sindicato. (FES, 1976).

The laborer, though, has seen a significant change in the physical and economic conditions of work. Transportation is more available to the laborers from home to their place of work, than before. Campaigns of safety in the job and interest to decrease health risks among laborers have developed in the large estate. But deficiency in transportation is still noticeable among laborers especially by those working by task completed, or tarea. These feel they waste time waiting, longer than what could be expected, for the bus or vehicle. Scarcity of work in the fields also causes the laborers waste of time and loss of higher wages.

There are some economic benefits though, reached through convenciones, and beyond what the Colombian law demands. For Beckford (1972) those benefits would contribute only through the open-up effect, to economic advance, to the transformation of a society into a money economy. Every social benefit reached by laborers of the large estate contributes "further to increased production and income" (Ibid.:184).
The status of the laborers on the large estate has not changed at all, compared to that of the workers in the mill, for example. Laborers, having a higher income than ever, still have insufficient wages to respond to their standards of living. Socially, educationally, civilly, they are at the bottom of the social ladder. Their prestige through the existent type of labor-patron relationships is not higher than it has been. Though changes in the structure of management have taken place, laborers in the large estate have seen no change in their position of being only servants.

It seems very important to the writer to notice that many of the improvements in labor relationships in the large estate are a result of the influence of the Sindicato, the Colombian law, or the large estate management. Nothing appears reached through voluntary efforts of the laborers dealing by themselves with the management of the large estate. It was through the action of the sindicato that collective conventions of work between the large estate and its laborers started in 1960.

The sindicato has achieved through the convenciones colectivas not only benefits beyond the law, related to the laborer's work itself, but also some benefits for their families and children, especially in education. The large estate management has responded with tangible understanding to the laborers' needs and expectations. More far-reaching changes lie in the future.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The analysis of some of the features in the social organization of a contemporary large estate has been attempted in this study. The large estate situation is the prevailing one in rural societies of the Cauca Valley, and in Colombia, and Latin American countries in general. Social organization among laborers of the large estate has been discussed in connection with their levels of living, family relationships and labor relations. The three features discussed in this analysis and the others which Smith (1944, 1967, 1970) has traced in detail in some of his works utilized in the review of the literature pertaining to this dissertation. Whoever seeks to understand and explain the structure of a rural society, especially in Latin America, should never overlook the social organization in the large estate and its effects upon the masses of its landless laborers. (Smith, 1967).

The attempt in this endeavor has been to test only some of those features commonly found in the large estate and some of its effects upon agricultural people, as well as some of the implications have in agricultural societies
where the large estate prevails. It has been the author's interest to know whether or not there are some new patterns of social organization developing through the influence of changes within the environment of those rural social systems.

**Levels of Living**

It has been found that among the laborers of the large estate under analysis, more than 90 per cent of their income is exclusively from their wages; the product of their work in the fields. Their levels of living correspond therefore to those of a society in which subsistence production has been replaced by wage labor. Concentration of ownership of the land in a few hands has precipitated the above-mentioned shift. Many rural societies have changed from a structure based on the family and self-sufficiency into an estate structure in which management and labor are separated. The former dominates and prevails, and the latter submits and lacks the opportunities the former has. In such a social order there seems to be very little room for a middle socio-economic class, such as the one that has prevailed in the rural mid-west of the United States, and played such an important role in the adequate development of the human personality.

The levels of living, as they have been measured for this study, by what is considered the essentials of life in the Cauca Valley culture, (Taylor, 1949) have been defined
according to that culture. The findings show, among laborers of the same socio-economic category, that the expressions of needs over other desires exhibit a wide range of differences. Cultural variations appear to be multiple also in the modes of attaining adequate housing, nutrition, health care and leisure occupation. They are at the bottom of the estate ladder. Due to the circumstances of living in villages and towns, the laborers, nevertheless, enjoy some of the modern amenities and conveniences the rural countryside does not offer. This arrangement brought about some of the significant advantages that lead the writer to conclude that the large estate laborer has made a step toward 'modernization' and improvement of his general well-being.

Assuming that seventy per cent of the responses to the surveys utilized for discussion would permit the writer to draw some conclusion, it could be said that laborers of the large estate dwell in a neighboring town or village, and not on the large estate. This would be one of the striking effects of the wage laborer phenomenon that is responsible for the development of entire communities of wage laborers dependent completely on the large estate, and located in its surrounding areas. Candelaria, Florida, Pradera and the village of San Antonio offer examples of it.

The majority of the laborers own a house of baked clay, white washed exterior walls, and tiled roof. It has two rooms, a cement floor, running water, and electricity. The
house also has a flush toilet, a shower and a kitchen or place to prepare the daily meals. The house is not large enough to accommodate two parents and three children. It is overcrowded as a general rule, but does have a water tank to provide water for domestic use, and possible emergencies.

In regard to furniture, the majority of the laborers' households visited lacked bedroom, dining room and living room furniture. The few pieces of furniture used by the families did not constitute sets of furniture according to popular standards of the area. The furniture was either unfinished, or of poor quality, or in a poor state of repair. In regard to appliances, the laborer appears to be influenced by 'modernization'. The majority of the households use kerosene as fuel for the stove. The second most utilized item for cooking is the electric stove with one, two, three, or four burners. Each household has a radio.

The diet of the household of the laborer of the large estate is rich in carbohydrates, but poor in proteins, fruits and vegetables. The weekly budget for food for a group of about six persons ranges from $600 to $800 Colombian pesos, or about $15 American dollars. This amount would represent 71 to 95 per cent of the laborer's weekly wages.

Based on their own perception of their diet, most of the households perceived their diet as fair. They think it is not bad, but should be of better quality, and more
nutritious. Old food habits among rural people reveal the importance given to starch in the diet. Low cost of the carbohydrates in the marketplace makes them popular. However, it is very difficult to change food habits of families and even individuals.

In medical care services the laborers of the large estate and their families enjoy certain privileges. All the laborers are entitled to medical care when required by the fact of being laborers in the ingenio. National social security services, and the ones provided by the large estate to all personnel are enjoyed by laborers and their families within regulations established in the Convenciones de Trabajo. Most of the households sampled reported that they would see a physician in case of illness.

In matters of leisure occupation, the laborer of the large estate and his family follow cultural patterns held by the rural population. Visiting friends during their free time is enjoyed by both males and females of the households. At night, during holidays, and vacations, people go to see their friends. A second group spend their leisure time doing house chores.

Reading habits among the laborers and their households are not as extensive as they are in more developed societies. Their habits could be classified as poor. Very few laborers read magazines and papers more than twice a month.
Although the levels of living described here could not be classified completely within the category of 'modernized', laborers enjoy a higher level of living than that of their peers working in similar enterprises. Changes and improvements in levels of living have taken place in the large estate in the last twenty years, and are part of the established programs. The process that this writer would call 'diffusion,' with a kind of beneficent structure at the top, promotes the change. That structure acts as a catalytic agent of tangible importance for narrowing the gap which exists between the levels of living of large estate laborers and the workers in the industrial sectors of the large estate.

Contrary to the traditional findings in the large estate system, made by Smith (1967) and others, the large estate under analysis exhibits humanitarian qualities on the part of the management. These qualities have made it possible for the enterprise to promote change in the socio-economic conditions of the laborers' households.

In matters of pay, wage scales have been established. Workers are paid according to their work done in the fields. Over time is paid extra. Stability on the job is praised and rewarded in tangible ways throughout the year. Projects of housing are available to the laborer who has been working for at least three years. Programs of schooling are open during the school year for children and adults.
Even though the laborers' social conditions are very poor, and the result of years of life spent in other geographic areas like parishes, the large estate attempts to alleviate them.

The laborers in the large estate under analysis also deviate from the characteristic of isolation found in most of the large landed estates. Laborers and their families have access to educational, commercial, health, recreational and other services that are available to people living in neighboring urban areas.

The Laborers' Family

The family in the large estate situation under analysis is not the exclusive agent of perpetuation of the species. It does not offer bonds strong enough to develop stability among the offspring. The family of the majority of the laborers appear to be divided in interests and not involved in the agricultural enterprise.

Division of labor prevails in the household, or distribution of activities, authority and decisions. Life at home is divorced from meaningful cooperation.

The family bonds are weak. Consensual unions or stable non-legal unions, and the shifting-partner-experiment are widely accepted among laborers, with the result of noticeable parental irresponsibility. This situation affects community organization. Strong communities tend to emerge only in
situations where smaller units of people are bound firmly together. The family is such a unit. Among laborers of the large estate there appears to be a tendency among them not to have a family.

The father in the household usually is an outsider to home life. He is also the only provider of food. He has the authority of the house in cases where the family is established on the bonds of marriage. The mother in the large estate studied in this dissertation appears to be confined to her home most of the time. Most of them earn no income. A few mothers reported doing some extra income producing work.

Children of the laborers are not involved in the agricultural endeavor of the head of the household. Communication with their parents is poor. There is no satisfaction reported through personal relationships. There is a lessening of those family roles which help promote family ties. No aspirations are created in the children for educating them in the functions of management, use of money and responsible work.

Many laborers, those migrants especially, see their family life affected in its unity, traditions, habits and attitudes through the new situations faced in working in the fields, separated from the family.

There seems to be need for social stability in the laborer's family as an instrument of social cohesion and
social responsibility, so that the families can develop confidence in the future and offer the children new ways of dealing with problems in life.

The structure of the contemporary large estate has brought with it changes in the roles of the family, in attitudes, norms, and habits. It has created in family life a structure of a day-to-day routine that impedes progress.

The ingenio appears interested in the laborer's family welfare, in promoting its stability, especially by favoring marriages and responsible parenthood. In spite of these efforts, the laborer's family tends to have the structure of the urban worker who depends on a wage for subsistence and is separated from the family most of the time. The home is not the center of production as the family farm has been but the center of consumption only.

No emerging patterns in the family system appear in the contemporary estate related to new roles for women. No equality in male-female status has been observable, nor emergence of equalitarian dating patterns, and no tendency among spouses to personality-centered relationships. (Copp, 1964).

Division of labor in the family of the laborer seems to be based on the availability of time, knowledge, and also on traditionally accepted cultural roles of women. The traditional role of rural children has changed also in the laborer's household. Today they are the consumers in the
family, without any participation in the divisions of the family. Their status has changed; they enjoy more permisiveness.

Regarding family ties, the laborer's family, due to the factor of migration, has increased the significance of the nuclear family with the consequent changes in child care and his socialization.

**Labor Relationships in the Large Estate**

Several conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this chapter. One of the first conclusions derives from the division of the large estate into two separated categories of action, that of management and labor. In the large estate under analysis, the laborer performs only one of the three economic functions of the family farm, that of supplying manual labor only (Smith, 1967).

The patron-dependent, or the order-obey, superordination-subordination relationships still constitute the basic patterns of relationships in the estate. These patterns happen to be also of continuing and enduring importance throughout Latin America. (Smith, 1967; Wolf and Hansen, 1972).

Payment by the task, by hourly rates plus bonuses for efficient work are the prevalent basis of payment, and the only source to secure the needs of the laborer's household. Wages have brought about new approaches to work of strategic
relevance in conditioning the culture of the agricultural man. Wages have altered the patterns of consumption of the laborer in the fields.

The large landed estate structure as it appears has reduced the work task into a number of separated operations performed in the fields. The worker is utilized only in terms of his labor power without reference to other characteristics traditionally related to labor in the self-sufficient agricultural society. Dedicated to fulfill one function, the laborer's life seems to lose his 'holistic' character, with deadening consequences for the development of his personality, his values and vision of society. The large estate management in order to offset those effects emphasizes its philosophy of giving priority to the person rather than to the operations in the estate. 'In our enterprise, man is what matters' it is said. Programs of education, recreation, safety, and concern for the family's well-being, shown through benefits established in the Convenciones Colectivas de Trabajo, confirm the application of this philosophy. This would not be interpreted as paternalism. In the contemporary large estate under analysis insistence upon self-sustained growth has been found by the writer.

The agricultural enterprises has cooperated with laborers in programs of social benefit as a partner, matching efforts with them. The history of the growth of the village
of San Antonio shows how help has been offered on behalf of the laborer and his family. Self-sustained growth approach is encouraged through the development of programs of self-help.

Relationships between the laborer and the enterprise are set through a written contract based on Convenciones Colectivas de Trabajo. Work is valued and paid on tasks done, efficiency, and seniority in the job. The traditional relationships of the large estate based on paternalism and noblesse oblige have been substituted by the relationship patterns found in the industrial world, impersonal relationships. Sanctions are also impersonal. They do not involve, per se, the restoration of effective relationships between employee and employer. The growth of the large estate has brought with it changes in the labor relationships. Linkages with external systems to the traditional large estate have made changes happen with the consequences of a wider socio-economic participation of laborers of the large estates in benefits beyond legal requirements.

The function of a sindicato, or union for keeping communication open between the laborers and the large estate management has contributed in developing aspirations among the laborers; such as enjoying further guarantees and benefits. Participation of the laborers in the functioning of the cooperative, and housing, and by scholarship programs their children are encouraged to pursue secondary
and college studies. New horizons are opened to the day-to-day routine and the need for promoting change and participating in it. There seems to be a need for a rural system in the laborer's work life to motivate him to work, to enjoy opportunities of management and investment which play important roles in the adequate development of the person, together with the acquisition of skills and attitudes required for the efficient use of manual labor. Through induced change some of those steps have been initiated in the large estate whose social organization features have been discussed. The qualities of citizenship and maturity will benefit from it.
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APPENDIX

CENTRAL CASTILLA LTDA.

PROGRAMAS DE PROMOCION SOCIAL

PROYECTO Nº 1

ESTUDIO SOCIO-ECONOMICO

1. INTRODUCCION

Antes de iniciar cualquier acción que pretenda el mejoramiento de una comunidad, es indispensable conocer las condiciones de vida de los asociados, investigando lo que poseen y lo que les hace falta, para determinar así las necesidades prioritarias no satisfechas y sus posibles remedios.

2. OBJETIVOS

2.1. Precisar informaciones sobre el medio socio-económico en que viven los trabajadores.

2.2. Producir un inventario de necesidades de las familias en cuanto a educación básica y capacitación para el desempeño de un oficio.

2.3. Descubrir los recursos humanos utilizables de alguna manera en programas de ayuda mutua.

2.4. Conocer las formas de relación entre las familias, con miras a lograr una integración sana y activa de la comunidad.

2.5. Medir el grado de interés que las personas tienen por su desarrollo.

2.6. Tener bases sólidas de información para iniciar en firme actividades de beneficio social, que justifiquen la participación asesora de otras entidades.
3. METODOLOGIA

Se propone la aplicación de una encuesta social, de tipo descriptivo y de carácter exploratorio, mediante visita domiciliaria con entrevista, a familias de trabajadores de Central Castilla, residentes en las poblaciones de Florida, Pradera, Candelaria y San Antonio de los Caballeros.

Se toma una muestra del 10% considerada suficientemente representativa para los fines propios de este estudio y que de acuerdo con la distribución domiciliaria de los 4,500 trabajadores en las mencionadas localidades, se aplicará en las siguientes proporciones:

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<tr>
<td>En San Antonio</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>En Candelaria</td>
<td>10%</td>
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CONVENCIONES Y CÓDIGOS

Pág. No. 2 - COMPOSICIÓN Y CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA FAMILIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relación con el Jefe</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jefe</td>
<td>0. Meses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Esposa o compañera</td>
<td>1. Años</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Hijos</td>
<td>12. Estado civil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Padres</td>
<td>1. Soltero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hermanos</td>
<td>2. Casado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cuñados</td>
<td>4. Separado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tios</td>
<td>5. Unión libre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Menor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Lugar de nacimiento</td>
<td>17. Qué estudia actualmente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Valle</td>
<td>1. Alfabetización</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Chocó</td>
<td>2. Primaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cauca (costa)</td>
<td>4. Universidad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Caldas-Antioquia</td>
<td>5. Comercio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Otros</td>
<td>6. Técnicos industriales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Artes y oficios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8. Otros</td>
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<th>19. Qué desea estudiar</th>
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<td>1. Empleado</td>
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<td>2. Trabajo independiente</td>
<td>2. Bachillerato</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Oficios domésticos</td>
<td>3. Universidad</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Sin ocupación</td>
<td>4. Artes y oficios</td>
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<td>5. Secretariado comercial</td>
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<td>6. Contabilidad básica</td>
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<td>7. Primeros auxilios</td>
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<td>8. Admín. del hogar</td>
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<td>9. Mecánica automotriz</td>
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<td>10. Electricidad</td>
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<td>11. Rep. electrodomésticos</td>
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<td>12. Radio y T.V.</td>
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<td>15. Confecciones</td>
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<td>16. Modistería</td>
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<td>17. Artesanías</td>
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<td>18. Manualidades</td>
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<td>19. Rep. maquin. agrícola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20. Horticultra</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21. Especies menores</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15. Tiene otros ingresos</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Por rentas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Otro empleo</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Negocios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Trabajos varios</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>16. Nivel educativo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Analfabeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Educ. primaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Educ. media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Educ. universitaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Comercio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Técnicos industriales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Artes y Oficios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Otros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mañana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Noche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Aficiones</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Deportes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Juegos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Baile</td>
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<td>5. Música</td>
</tr>
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<td>6. Otros</td>
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<td>21. Deportes favoritos</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Foot Ball</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Basket Ball</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Volley Ball</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Natación</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Noticias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Música selecta</td>
</tr>
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<td>3. Música popular</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Deportivos</td>
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<td>5. Novelas</td>
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<td>6. Otros</td>
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265
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIVIENDA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>29. Tipo de vivienda</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casa_________ 1 / Apart. Indep. 2 / Inquilino____ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tugurio_______ 4 / Rancho ______ 5 / Otro_________ 6 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>30. Tenencia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propia_________ 1 / Arrendada____ 2 / Cuánto paga ___</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administración__ 3 / Posada________ 4 / N° de habitaciones___</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>31. Construcción</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladrillo_______ 1 /Adobe _______ 2 / Bahareque____ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madera________ 4 / Prefabricada__ 5 / Otros</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>32. Estado</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bueno________ 1 / Regular______ 2 / Malo__________ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>33. Agua</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acueducto_______ 1 / Pozo_______ 2 / Acarreo________ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>34. Alumbrado</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luz eléctrica____ 1 / Velas_______ 2 / Otros__________ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>35. Sanitarios</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inodoro_______ 1 / Letrina_______ 2 / Otros__________ 3 /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>36. Dotación</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Muebles de sala____ 1 / Comedor________ 2 / Alcoba__________ 3 /</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevera_________ 7 / Estufa eléctrica__ 8 / Estufa de gas__ 9 /</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hornilla de leña 10 / Estufa a petróleo 11 / Otros__________ 12 /</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
37. Cuando alguien se enferma en la casa, qué hacen?

Tratamiento casero ______1____ Se lleva al médico ______2____
Consultan al farmacéutico ______3____ Acuden a un yerbatero ______4____
Otras __________________5____

38. Servicios médicos que utilizan

Médico de la Empresa ______1____
ICSS ______2____
Médico particular ______3____ Quién ______________________
Farmacia ______4____ Cuál ______________________
Centro de salud ______5____ Cuál ______________________
Otras ______6____

39. Enfermedades más frecuentes (Códigos del ICSS)

En los niños ______________________ ______________________
En los adultos ______________________ ______________________

40. Ha muerto algún familiar recientemente?

Adulto ________________1____ Niño ________________2____

ALIMENTACIÓN

41. Qué comidas toman al día: * Todas = desayuno, almuerzo, comida o cena

*Todas ______1____ Almuerzo ______3____ Desayuno y comida____5____
Desayuno ______2____ Comida ______4____ Desayuno y almuerzo____6____
-267- Almuerzo y comida____7____
42. ¿Qué productos consumen con más frecuencia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOODS</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Huevos</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Láche y derivados</td>
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<td>Frutas</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Leguminosas</td>
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<td>Verduras</td>
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<td>Arroz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maíz</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Panela</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Café</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otros</td>
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<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. Guardan comida de un día para otro?

   Sí ______ 1   No ______ 2

44. Cuánto gasta en el mercado semanal?

45. Crece que la alimentación de su familia es:

   Buena ______ 1   Regular _____ 2   Mala _______ 3

   Explicar ________________________________

46. 

47. 

48. En dónde compran habitualmente:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>STORES</th>
<th>Alimentos</th>
<th>Vestuario</th>
<th>Otros</th>
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<td>Comercio local</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooperativa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cali</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmira</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otras ciudades</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49. Desean ahorrar?

   Sí ______ 1   No ______ 2

50. Tienen algunos ahorros?

   Sí ______ 1   No ______ 2
51. Podría tener en su casa un pequeño cultivo de:

Hortalizas ______ 1 ______ Tomate ______ 2 ______ Maíz ______ 3 ______
Yuca ______ 4 ______ Varios ______ 5 ______ Explicar ____________

52. Si cultiva algunos productos, cree que puede:

Comer mejor ______ 1 ______ Hacer economías ______ 2 ______ Mejorar ingresos ______ 3 ______

53. Cria animales para el consumo?

Gallinas ______ 1 ______ Cerdos ______ 2 ______ Conejos ______ 3 ______
Curías ______ 4 ______ Otros ______ 5 ______ Explicar ____________

54. En los días de descanso y festivos, los miembros de la familia acostumbran a:

Salir juntos ______ 1 ______ Quedarse en casa ______ 2 ______ Salir independientes ______ 3 ______

55. Si se quedan en casa, qué hacen?

Dormir ______ 1 ______ Leer ______ 2 ______ Jugar ______ 3 ______
Oficios varios ______ 4 ______ Tomar con amigos ______ 5 ______ Nada definido ______ 6 ______

56. Aquí visitan con más frecuencia?

Parientes ______ 1 ______ Vecinos ______ 2 ______ Otros ______ 3 ______

57. Quién los visita

Parientes ______ 1 ______ Vecinos ______ 2 ______ Otros ______ 3 ______

58. Aqué asociación o grupo pertenecen?

Por qué? __________________________________________________________________________

269
59. A qué asociación o grupo les gustaría pertenecer?

Por qué?

60. Conocen a sus vecinos?  

Si 1  No 2

Explicar

61. Tienen amistad con los vecinos?  

Si 1  No 2

Explicar

62. Han tenido algún problema con sus vecinos?  

Si 1  No 2

Explicar

63. Cuando sucede alguna desgracia en el vecindario, la gente

Es indiferente 1  Es curiosa 2  Presta ayuda 3

64. Quién es la persona que más se destaca en el vecindario?

Por qué?

VARIOS

65. Quién les da las noticias más importantes?

Los vecinos 1  Compañeros de trabajo 2  Otros 3

66. Con qué frecuencia leen periódicos o revistas?

Nunca 1  Algunas veces 2  Mensualmente 3

Semanalmente 4  Todos los días 5

67. Temas de lectura preferidos:

Políticos 1  Deportivos 2  Sociales 3

Noticiosos 4  Judiciales 5  Variedades 6

68. Cuánto hace que viven en este lugar?  

Meses 0  Años 1

69. Cuánto tiempo desean vivir en esta población?  

Meses 0

Años 1

Explicar

70. Su situación actual, comparada con la de sus padres es:

Igual 1  Mejor 2  Peor 3
71. ¿Qué cosas o servicios desea tener para mejorar su situación?

Mejor salario ___1___  Más estudio ___2___  Capacitación técnica ___3___

Otro puesto ___4___  Mejores prestaciones ___5___  Otros ___6___
**COMPOSICION Y CARACTERISTICAS DE LA FAMILIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>NOMBRES</th>
<th>Relación con el Jefe</th>
<th>Edad</th>
<th>Estado civil</th>
<th>Lugar de nacimiento</th>
<th>Ocupación</th>
<th>Tiene otros ingresos</th>
<th>Nivel educativo</th>
<th>Que estudia actualmente</th>
<th>Que desea estudiar</th>
<th>Horario</th>
<th>Aficiones</th>
<th>Deportes favoritos</th>
<th>Programas de radio favoritos</th>
<th>Programas de T.V. favoritos</th>
<th>Habilidades y conocimientos que quiera T/O pueda enseñar</th>
<th>Días</th>
<th>Horario</th>
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</table>

**OBSERVACIONES**
CENTRAL CASTILLA LTDA.
PROGRAMAS DE PROMOCION SOCIAL
PROYECTO No. 1

ESTUDIO SOCIO-ECONOMICO

1. Formulario No. _______  2. Fecha ________________
3. Localidad _______________  4. Dirección ____________
5. Persona entrevistada:
   Jefe de la familia  1.
   Esposa o compañera  2
   Hijos  3
   Otras  4

6. Nombre del Jefe de la familia ________________________

7. Empresa _______________  Ficha No. ________________

8. Antigüedad en la Empresa Meses ____ Años ____

9. Entrevistado por:

   Primera visita  1
   Segunda visita  2
   Tercera visita  3

Observaciones ______________________________________
VITA

The author was born in Tulua, Colombia, South America. He attended elementary and secondary school at Colegio Salesiano in his hometown and graduated in July, 1950. The same year he began ecclesiastical studies of Philosophy and Theology at Archidiocesan Seminary in Popayan, Colombia. He was ordained a catholic priest on June 29, 1957. From 1956 to 1970 he served as instructor in the Minor Seminary of Palmira, and was a chaplain for several institutions in that city. He enrolled at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in 1970, to study English, and was in residence at Immaculate Seminary in Lafayette, Louisiana. In 1971, he moved to Gainesville, Florida, and entered the University of Florida, and received his B.A. degree in Sociology in the Spring of 1973. He was accepted to do graduate work in Sociology and received his M.A. in Sociology in the Summer of 1974. He did graduate work in Latin American Studies and received a certificate at the Masters level in 1974. During his years at the University of Florida, he was assistant pastor at Saint Patrick's Church in Gainesville, Florida.

In the summer of 1975, he enrolled at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana to continue graduate work in Sociology, with a minor in Extension Education.
He is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology, to be conferred by Louisiana State University at the summer commencement of 1979.

J. Jairo Gomez-Angel is a member of Alpha Kappa Delta, The National Sociology Honor Society; The American Rural Sociological Society, and The Mid-South Sociological Society.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: J. Jairo Gomez-Angel

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Traditional and Emerging Patterns in the Social Organization of a large estate in the Cauca Valley, Colombia, South America

Approved:

Date of Examination: July 18, 1979