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SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN A DEVELOPING COMMUNITY OF THE COLOMBIAN INTERIOR

DISTRIBUTION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

by

David Garvin Cartano, B.S., M.S.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1968

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SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN A DEVELOPING COMMUNITY OF THE COLOMBIAN INTERIOR

INTRODUCTION

Problem

The present study is constructed around the general question: To what degree are social integration and social conflict present among the subsystem units of a newly formed, developing Colombian community? Although not necessarily positions on a single dimension, integration and conflict are recognized as important processes of any social system. In order to develop an answer to the general question, a more basic question toward which the present study is specifically directed, is: What is the nature of system integration and conflict among three occupational subgroups of a newly formed community in the Colombian lowlands? The occupational subgroups are (1) comerciantes or businessmen in the community, (2) campesinos or farmers who live in the rich river bottom land outside the town and (3) the jornaleros or day laborers who work by the day either in the nearby farm-land or in the town itself. With the exception of a few professional positions these three categories or occupational strata represent a categorization of the main occupational
pursuits of the population. The community under observation, Granada, is located in the southern section of the department or state of Meta. It is a community of about ten years' duration with a population of over 5,000 people, who, almost to the man, have migrated from other parts of Colombia to this location to settle. The town itself is, in turn, the political center for the municipio of Granada which is estimated at some 20,000 individuals. A municipio may be roughly comparable to a county in the United States. This study will be confined, however, to an examination of the town and the nearby farm neighborhoods.

Since the days of their earliest writers, sociologists have been concerned with the integration of smaller social units making up a larger social "whole" or entity. To ascertain the relationship between a community social system and its subunits and to quantify the nature of the integration and the degree of conflict within the system is a meaningful exercise for contemporary sociologists and toward which, this study will be directed.

For the present study the subgroups will be the three occupational categories with representative samples of heads of households from each of the categories being interviewed.
The investigatory nature of the study might best be described as exploratory research, or as Richard Adams notes, a study carried out in a relatively unknown geographic region and/or unknown population group.¹

Background and Importance of the Problem

Demographers have cited many statistics regarding the population increases in Latin American cities during the past few decades. Less well-known are the relative contributions of natural increases and internal migration patterns. Hauser and Echavarría² note that since international migration is of little importance in almost all Latin American countries, it is fairly safe to assume that the increment due to migration (in all large cities) is attributable to internal population shifts (p.31). The authors estimate that generally speaking, internal migration contributes half and sometimes as much as two thirds of urban population increases.

It must not be assumed that all internal migration patterns are from rural areas to urban areas, although this pattern is the most prevalent in Latin America today. In the

¹Richard Adams, "On the Use of Anthropology in Public Health Programs," Sociology in Use. Edited by Dwight Dean and Donald Valdes, Macmillan Co., New York, 1965, p.70. Adams notes that one must, "... comb the possibilities. This means a general research through economics, community structure, family organization, other phases of social organizations, and value systems to try to get a general idea of how the people of the (society) react to one another and to strangers. . . ."

case of Colombia, for example, another pattern is forming; migrants are pushing over the eastern ranges of the Andes where the llanos or plains of Colombia meet with those of Venezuela on the north and east and with the tropical selvas, or rain forests, of Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador on the south. Here in these regions, baldios, or free lands still exist for the taking.

The phenomenon termed "continentalization" is also accompanied by an exodus from the mountain districts. Where once malaria constituted an insuperable barrier that kept the inhabitant of the tropics to the mountain--or at least to the foot of the hills where coffee was grown--a noteworthy concentration of population has come into being. The barrier is broken down, and the mountain dweller of Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, and other similar countries is beginning to descend to the plains. Like continentalization, this phenomenon will involve the recrudescence of old towns, but above all, the birth of new ones.¹

In recent years there has been such a migration pattern originating from the more central regions of Colombia, and which has been most notably affected by the Colombian civil war, called "La Violencia." Along the eastern flank of the eastern most cordillera or mountain range and 40 to 50 miles out from the mountain range on the llanos or plains can be found numerous communities of migrants who have settled more or less permanently in recent years. New families arrive in newly formed communities almost daily. Some have been encouraged or helped financially by the government. New lands are being cleared in the vegas or river bottoms and boundary

¹Ibid. p. 39
differences have emerged between rancher and farmer.\(^1\) New roads are being opened, the older ones are being improved and lines of communication, telephone, and telegraph are sent further toward the interior as communities spring up everywhere. The community under investigation, located near the banks of the River Ariari in the state of Meta, Colombia, (Map I) is called Granada.

There is virtually no empirical information available\(^2\) on migratory movements to the Colombian low-lands, of consequent patterns of adjustment, or developing community growth. Indeed it was noted by participants of the Seventh Latin American Congress of Sociology held in Bogota, Colombia, July 1964, that research on migration to the interior of the South American continent is all but totally lacking.\(^3\)

Thus, on one level, the importance of the present study would seem to be self evident, i.e., in the seeming absence of empirical knowledge of personal characteristics and motives underlying the development of migration patterns and the

---

\(^1\)Joseph R. Thome, *Title Problems in Rural Areas of Colombia: A Colonization Example*, University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, Madison, Wisconsin, 1965.


\(^3\)The present author was a designated observer to the conference.
MAP I

Map of Colombian Political Divisions
systems of interaction existing in the new settlements that
form along this major migration stream in Colombia, some em-
pirical evidence is needed and should be forthcoming. Other
countries along the Andes chain including Ecuador, Bolivia,
Peru and Venezuela are experiencing similar movements of
migrants from mountain to interior lowlands. To investigate
one community formed by the impetus of this migration should
give some basis for comparison with benchmark studies both
from other parts of Colombia and between Colombian migrants
and those of other countries. This contribution would seem
relevant to one of the research needs compiled by Bazzanella.¹

On another level, the study would seem to have signi-
ficance for the researcher and his profession. In one sense
this study will be one of a cumulative number of badly needed
field studies in Colombia which will add to the growing
awareness of strengths and weaknesses of research designs, of
the various data gathering methods, sources, instruments and
of conceptual frameworks. These components of social research
which have been "imported" largely from the United States,
need to be applied more widely and generally in countries like
Colombia to indicate whether or not they are valid and re-
liable in a South American culture.

¹Waldemiro Bazzanella, "Priority Areas for Social Research
in Latin America," in Social Aspects of Economic Development
in Latin America, ed. by Egbert DeVries and Jose Medina,
Within these conditions the present study will be concerned with an analysis for evidence of integration and conflict among the three major occupational groups in Granada. To conclude this chapter a description of the general locale of Granada will be developed along with the methodological procedure employed to investigate the community.

Description of the Area

The geographer, Robert C. West, has noted that to describe either the natural environment or the people of Colombia is more difficult than for most other Latin American countries. Colombia exhibits a great diversity of climate, culture, topography and economics. In contrast to the three mountain ranges and their valleys lies the area known as the llanos or plains, which stretch eastward from the andean wall almost 400 miles to the eastern boundary of Colombia.

The llanos are the "other face" of Colombia and estimates comparing the relative size of them to the rest of the country average about two-thirds of the total area. Yet up to recent times including the early 1950's, this part of the country has contained only about two percent of the country's total population. Many of the people there have traditionally been cattlemen, but the two percent also includes some


indigenous Indian tribes. It can be seen, therefore, that the llanos are greatly underpopulated in proportion to the remainder of the land area.

Alluvial fans formed by streams flowing from the eastern Andean range have built wide belts of good soil proven adequate for intensive agricultural production. These soil belts extend 50-100 miles east from the mountains and it is this area that receives the majority of migrants and settlers. It is in this area that Granada was developed.

Locale

Granada is a town of over 5,000 persons which in turn, is the political governing unit for the municipio of Granada containing another estimated 20,000 people. Most of the latter are engaged in some form of agricultural enterprise, although there are a number of very little towns or pueblos, within the municipio. These vary from centers of two to eight houses in a community called San Juan de Arama to the south with about 2,000 people. Granada lies about 40 miles east from the foot of the easternmost range of the Andes, and about 50 miles to the south of the capital of the department of Meta, Villavicencio, which lies at the foot of the mountains on the highway from Bogota.

The present physical structure of Granada is about ten years old. Up to 1950, there were actually very few people in this area, and the town site, known then as Boca de Monte consisted of but a few houses, among which was the store of
Joaquin Cubillo, the first *comerciante* or businessman in the area. In this period of the first two years of the 1950's began the first trickle of persons to come seeking a quieter more peaceful place to live. This was the time of the bloody violence in the interior of Colombia, and this trickle of persons was to become a migratory stream in the next decade.

But the violence was not confined only to the interior of the country. It swept up and down the valley of the Ariari River accompanied by killing, burning and looting, and several times *Boca de Monte* was totally evacuated. (Case Study II, Appendix A). Finally in 1953, caught in the swirl of the struggle between conservative and liberal forces in the region, the site of the then 70 to 80 houses was completely burned to the ground. All families, including the Cubillos, (Case Study II, Appendix A), fled to larger towns closer to the state capital, such as Guamal, Acacias, or to the capital itself, Villavicencio. These urban centers offered greater relative security to the refugees of Boca de Monte.

After some months, the area gradually quieted and as it stabilized under the command of the guerilla chief, Capitan Aljure, a political liberal, the migrants once more returned to the town. The townsit site was rebuilt and in 1956, the new name of Granada was decided upon. The site has grown in number each year since then. It is now a busy center for receiving and dispersing agriculture goods and services.

An average of six persons per house was found in Granada. Sixty-five percent of the men could read and write and 60
percent of the women could do the same. Thirty five percent of the men never attended school. About 19 percent of the people have lived in the community one year or less and 33 percent have lived in the community less than four years.

Forty-five percent of the homes have dirt floors; 12 percent are of wood or adobe and 43 percent are of cement. About 40 percent of the houses have cement block or brick walls while the remainder of the houses have walls of wood, wood poles and mud, or of split cane poles. Seventy-five percent of the houses have metal zinc roofs and the remaining 25 percent use palm fronds or leaves.

Seventy-two percent of the homes have only two rooms or less. Sixty percent of the women cook under the roof of the home and about 70 percent of the homes use an open flame type of cooking, either on a raised hearth or in a hole in the ground. The remainder use stoves. Sixty-two percent of the homes use candles for lighting, another 13 percent use kerosene lamps while 25 percent have electricity in the home. Thirty percent of the houses have waterpipes leading to them, and the remainder use the nearby creeks or draw water from two by four holes out in the ground nearby, taking advantage of the high water table.

The town manages the largest municipio known in the country of Colombia, and is connected to the state capital by bus and taxi lines, telegraph and telephone lines (the latter just barely) and has a landing strip for occasional planes. There is a hospital staffed with a government appointed doctor
and dentist. A military barracks houses one-third of a battalion of soldiers stationed there to police this area of the country. Two large plazas, one a park, and the other used as a central market are spread out within the town. (Map II) Outside the town about five kilometros to the south, workers are putting the finishing coat of paint on a huge bridge over the swift Ariari River. The bridge is 1100 meters (Seven-tenths of a mile) long and reputed to be the second longest bridge in South America. A cooperative government state venture, the bridge will open up the unsettled lands to the south to be developed, and will facilitate the return of agricultural products from these newly opened lands. Granada is a growing, bustling example of a frontier town and is experiencing the benefits and the pains of a rapid and shifting growth. It is populated with people from many different cultural regions of Colombia and has developed as an example of spontaneous colonization.

Outline of Methodological Procedure

As was noted in a previous section, the investigation, from the beginning, assumed the proportions of an exploratory study. With no census data or other indications of a concrete nature, it was difficult to determine numbers of houses, characteristics of people, and other relevant data. It was determined to undertake a precensus of the town itself. This was done in late April of 1964, by constructing a map of the town by blocks and taking a sample census which included a brief census of every fifth house in the town. Three students
MAP II
Block Diagram of the Town of Granada
of the Faculty of Sociology in Bogota were hired and the census was completed in one week. A four page schedule was used which, in addition to basic questions of family structure, level of living, and educational levels, included questions regarding adjustment to Granada, intergenerational occupational structure and perceived problems of the town.

When the data of this precensus were analyzed and the proportion of occupations in the pueblo were determined, a schedule was drawn which was to be used on three categories of people in the community: two basic occupation categories in the town and also on a sample of farmers from the nearby veredas or neighborhoods lying between the town and the river. Thus, three basic groups were to be interviewed; the businessmen of the town, the jornaleros or dayworkers, and the nearby farmers.

The schedule was constructed and was pretested in the area with an interviewer from the Investigation Section of the Sociology Faculty of the National University of Colombia. At the same time, some general information was gathered on the local school system. Also, at the time of the pretest, a list of all businessmen in Granada was obtained from the tax office. Over 250 businesses were found and 30 businessmen were randomly selected for interviewing.

At the state capital, Villavicencio, a list of SEM maps, Sistema por la Eradicacion de Malaria, an organization of the World Health Organization, were obtained for the area. These maps were used to select a random sample of 30 farms in three
veredas or neighborhoods to the south of Granada. Thirty jornaleros were selected from two worker barrios using purposive sampling. In late June and early July the project leader and three interviewers from the Faculty of Sociology collected 90 interviews in the community, or 30 from each of the three occupation categories. Finally, during the last part of July, case studies were secured from representatives selected from the three categories and from other key leaders in the community. Thus, the three main phases of the field work included, (1) the precensus, (2) the interview schedules, and (3) the case studies. These three sources will be utilized along with personal observations and information and observations gained from other agency officials such as the ministry of Agriculture, National Statistics Office, and other sources of secondary data. The field work was completed on August 10, 1964.
CHAPTER II

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The basis of development of the present study is not designed primarily to test a theory or theories. Stryker\(^1\) distinguishes between a conceptual framework and theory in that theory is testable, while a conceptual framework cannot be tested. Rather, it is utilized to provide the concepts that are organized in what Stryker says is "a propositional form within the theory."\(^2\)

Although the study relates to both an area and to migrants about which relatively little is known, this does not imply a lack of conceptual apparatus at hand for the sociologist to undertake a study of this sort. Rather it is suggested that this research undertaken by an alien to the culture under discussion be viewed more realistically as using a conceptual framework to develop empirical generalizations rather than to test any theory or theories. But what does one have at hand to develop generalizations? For the


\(^2\)Ibid.
present study there will be utilized here, conceptualizations of integration and conflict as developed by several sociologists, a conception of social system, and the conceptual apparatus of social action theorists.

Integration

When one begins to reflect on conceptual frameworks to analyze integration in a particular social system contest, the scheme of Talcott Parsons must be considered at some length. Parsons has developed a sophisticated framework which has evolved to utilize integration as one of four basic prerequisites of a social system's survival. Interaction is always "doubly contingent" in Parson's words and dependent on the action of "alter" to fit in with the expectations of "ego". Thus to Parsons:

The problem of order, and thus the nature of integration of stable systems of interaction, that is, a social structure... focuses as the integration of the motivations of actions with the normative cultural standards which integrate the action system.1

The degree of integration of the motivations with cultural standards and the institutionalization of role expectations and sanctions are "clearly a matter of degree."2

---

2Ibid., p. 39
The polar antithesis of full institutionalization says Parsons is total anomie or the absence of the complimentarity of the interaction process. However, "it is a limiting concept which is never descriptive of a concrete social system."\(^1\)

Parsons' earlier writings utilize a social action scheme using (a) actors as both subjects and objects, (b) means, or methods or techniques to achieve (c) ends, or subjective intentions, goals, or aims, which are tempered by (d) norms, or rules, or morals, and altered by (e) conditions or unmodifiable circumstances.\(^2\)

This approach was changed as Parsons apparently grew disenchanted with the conception "social action" and preferred to develop the system approach in which socialization is structured in three ways; the cultural system, the social system and the personality system. From integration of motives to cultural standards, Parsons developed integration as being the equilibrated state of cohesion between subsystems in relation to the total social system.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Ibid.


Devereux notes that, to Parsons now, the internal problems of integration are the relations of subunits in a system to one another and the problem of integration is that of establishing and maintaining a level of solidarity or cohesion among the subunits sufficient to permit a system to function.¹

In a later writing, Parsons notes that "we contend therefore, that the problems focusing about the integrative functions of social systems constitute the central core or concerns of sociological theory."² Robin Williams in a critique of Parsons' works notes that, "although change and tension are an integral and important emphasis in Parsons thinking, it remains true that the conceptual scheme centers upon the concepts of equilibrium and primary focus of attention is upon the problems of integration," and later, "the concept of equilibrium like the related term integration still floats freely in high reaches of free intellectual creation."³

In summary then, Parsons' present conception of integration is concerned with the matter of maintaining some level of competency or solidarity among the units of any social system but in terms of what is to be looked at empirically, Parsons, as Robin Williams has noted, is somewhat vague.

American sociologists have been criticized for concentrating too much on order or on static or formal systems. There have been a number of alternatives to an exclusive preoccupation with static structures. These will be explored in the next two sections.

Conflict

Ralf Dahrendorf developed a polemic against Parsons' normative functionalism that is in some degrees harsher than that of most sociologists who have sought to provide alternative ways of social analysis. Dahrendorf maintains that one must be prepared to decide whether to apply a normative analysis, i.e., normative functionalism, in an analysis of a social system or whether to use a conflict analysis of a social system. To Dahrendorf, in any

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2Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 1959, Chapters 4 and 5 specifically.
realistic view of institutionalization the role of power both in the generation and control of conflict is of the first concern to sociologists. He argues the inevitable presence of conflict in systems of super and subordinated roles. It is obvious that sociologists have neglected conflict theories during the past several decades. Dahrendorf offers an alternative model of dichotomous social roles or interest groups within "imperatively coordinated groups."¹ This model is offered to be utilized in situations of non-cooperative systems.

To Dahrendorf it is highly unlikely that one can unify or integrate normative functionalism and conflict theory, and that the sociologist must be prepared to choose between one of the two analyses in order to cover adequately the whole range of systemic situations that one might find.

In summary, Dahrendorf would prefer to focus on the conflictual nature of systems as represented by four tenets:²

1. Every society is at every point subject to processes of change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society displays at every point dissensus and conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change.
4. Every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others.

²Ibid., p. 103.
While admitting of the over simplification of the tenets, they are used by Dahrendorf as a basis for being very pessimistic of a unity with integration (Parsons) theory.

Here, then, are two approaches or conceptual frameworks, both by sociologists, both of which may be brought to bear upon a social system analysis. The first approach is one heavily weighted to assumptions and concepts of normative elements in the integration of social action with a "theme" of norms-consensus-order, while the other sees conflict as endemic in all social system and considers norms and power as alternative modes of providing integration with a "theme" of power-alienation conflict.¹

For the purposes of exploratory study, the present author is reluctant to utilize one or the other of the two positions, particularly when the total social situation of the community has yet to be assessed. The researcher is unwilling to assume either a consensual value system or an inherently conflictual one at this time. Two authors, John Rex and David Lockwood are used as examples of sociologists who have suggested a convergence or modification of the two conceptual frameworks.² Their comments are directed to the two positions


²For a list of important articles on functionalism and critiques of functionalism, see Pierre L. VanDen Berghe, op. cit. p. 675.
previously discussed and will be developed and utilized as the conceptual framework for the present study.

A Convergence Framework

John Rex\textsuperscript{1} utilizes the earlier forms of social action theory including accompanying means, ends, conditions and norms to analyze social systems, being prepared to find not only stable integrated systems but systems of conflict as well. Structural-functional frameworks, says Rex, leads inevitably to an "integrationalist" model of society in which activities if they are regarded as explained at all, are explained in terms of the need to maintain the social structure. Rex feels that "need" is a teleological term. Motivation of actors and not needs of a social structure is that which affects behavior. To understand social structure and social system, one must depend on interests, needs, aspirations and values of individuals and groups. Since there might be conflicting or vested interests among these individuals and groups as units of a system, he further attempts to develop the meaning of the term structure. Rex prefers to talk about social structure as human action or social action. He would do this by utilizing the social action frame of reference of earlier Parsons and of social action theorists such as MacIver and Becker. He feels that

to re-shape sociological theory so that it would include the notions of conflict or "imperative coordination" in Weber's terms, and balances of power within a system, would make this theory far more applicable to the analysis and understanding of the central problems of the recent social history of societies.

Rex studies individuals and groups in terms of a social action theory approaching the system looking for cooperation but also, conflict or anomie to be present. He would use these ideas as a guide for the formulation of particular models applicable to particular social systems. By suggesting that some of the ends which the actors in the system pursue may be random ends or conflicting ends from the point of view of the whole system, thus, actually in conflict with system ends, Rex suggests the importance for the analysis of ends or interests of subgroups in the social system.

David Lockwood\(^1\) notes that, to Parsons, a stabilized social system is one in which behavior is regulated by consensus of norms and is a point of reference for the sociological analysis of the dynamics of social systems. Lockwood, like Rex, however, believes that there is a certain class of variables that are vital to the understanding of the general problem of why social structures persist and

change that has been ignored in Parsons' works. Parsons' array of concepts are heavily weighted by assumptions and categories which relate to the normative elements in social action. On the other hand what Lockwood calls the substratum in social action, especially as conditions enter which are productive of social conflict or instability, are ignored in terms of being generally determinant of the dynamics of social systems.

Substratum is defined as the factual disposition of means and the situation of action which structures differential life chances and produces interests of a non-normative kind, that is, interests other than those which actors have in conforming with the normative definition of the situation.

The question to Lockwood is then "what is the status of these non-normative elements in the analysis of social action?"\(^1\) Furthermore, is it "useful to distinguish between norm and substratum as general points of reference in dynamic analysis of social systems?"\(^2\) Lockwood thinks it is worthwhile referring to Max Weber's development of the relativity of conflict and communal or consensual social relationships so that the degree of conflict in a social system is always a matter of empirical investigation. But then, so is the existence of a common value system. It follows to the two authors that the various degrees of

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 136.
\(^2\)Ibid.
acceptance of, or alienation from, the dominant values of a community or society may be regarded in large measure as a reflection of divisions of interest resulting from differential access to various resources.

Lockwood would not agree with Selznick, for example, that "resistances" or conflicting interests are "unpredictable" and "accidental" in social systems.\(^1\) Conflicting interests can be normative and predictable when the sub-system's access to resources is taken into account.

Thus, when we talk of the stability or instability of a social system we mean more than anything else the success or failure of the normative order in regulating conflicts of interest. It is necessary to conceptualize not only the normative structuring of motives as Parsons does, but in addition, also the structuring of interests in a substratum if we wish to understand why patterns of behavior persist or change.

Is it possible to understand the nature of 20th century American society in terms of its universalistic achievement value pattern without mentioning the changes which its capitalist institutions are undergoing? And if the frustrated dependency needs of the middle class male caught up in a competitive world produce 'one of the focal points of strain in American society' are the relations between unions and business corporations... of no account in the dynamics of that fateful social system?\(^2\)

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\(^2\)Lockwood, op-cit., p. 138.
To Lockwood, social action is unthinkable without some degree of integration through common norms, and that sociology should deal with the processes of which this order is maintained, is right. However, on the other hand, social action is held to be unthinkable without some degree of conflict arising out of the allocation of scarce resources in the division of labor and sociological analysis is given the task of studying the processes whereby divisions of interest are structured, expressed, and integrated into social system goals. To this end, then, it should be recognized that both conflict and order are a function of the interaction of norms and substratum. It is not just the continual pressure of normative expectations exerted through the socialization and social control, but also the range of differential opportunities created by the division of labor that form effective social environments of action. When one observes or considers an analysis of a social system, in addition to considering the normative aspects of the social system as Parsons suggests, one must also consider the differential access to means to particular ends of the group and what this has to do with the social system in general. In addition to the normative system one must also consider possible divisions of interest resulting from differential access to scarce resources in the social system. On this premise, the system may reflect total conflict, some degrees of conflict, or no conflict at all.
Integration, for the purposes of the present study is defined as the existence among the subunits of social system of a similar orientation toward objects or situations.¹ The assumption here is that consensus on values, interests, means, motives, and attitudes constitutes a most basic form of integration. A consensus among the subgroups of the community under discussion would constitute, under this assumption some evidence of the presence of integration. Van Deq Berghe feels that making value consensus a prerequisite to the existence of a social system as Parsons does is "untenable."² While a consensus on interests or attitudes, etc., among subgroups of a community may very well indicate a degree of integration, it should be noted that if groups differ in their responses to the above, then possibly there is the presence of other major dimensions of social reality such as dissension or conflict. A minimal amount of integration, consensus, or shared expectations must be present in any social system, but as Rex and Lockwood caution, consensus may be tempered by the allocation of means or resources to different groups within a system of interaction.

This is to what Robin Williams³ refers when he notes that integration does not mean homogeneity or identity in all

²Van Der Berghe, op-cit., p. 700.
respects and that systems are not integrated by being undifferentiated. If the subgroups studied in Granada, although differentiated by work roles, life styles, and access to resources, demonstrate some consensus in regard to responses to attitude questions on various facets of their lives, then a degree of integration can be inferred.

It should be noted that other writers have sought alternatives to the preoccupation with total consensus or endemic conflict. For example, Coser has developed several works in which he takes the position that one needs to observe vested interests and allocation of power in social systems.\(^1\) Merton has noted that when social systems have institutionalized goals and values to govern the conduct of actors, but access to these goals is limited for certain members, "departures from institutional requirements"\(^2\) are to be expected.

Conflict as it is used here does not mean a war of each against all. For the purposes of the present study, conflict is defined as the presence of differing orientations regarding interests, goals, means to ends, and definitions of situations among individuals or groups within a social system. There


is no justification for attempting to establish that a differential access to scarce means will result in direct overt conflict. This would be denying the existence of the normative order and its tempering effect on actual behavior.

The distinction between integration and conflict is one that needs to be maintained insofar as it illustrates the dimensions of the present problem, i.e., that they are both degrees of states of the social system under question. The presence of conflict may be established as an index of social instability or lack of consensus on general orientations towards specific situations. In a social action sense, the actor always acts in a defined situation, and to the extent that groups differ in their definitions of situations, a degree of conflict may be said to exist.

The foregoing discussion can be summarized rather simply. Some writers have concentrated rather heavily on aspects of order and stability of a social system and have focussed on elements of an integrated system. Others have disagreed with this preoccupation with a normative order and have advocated a position that considers conflict endemic in all social systems with power considered a form of scarce resource in the social systems. For the latter group, conflict in a maladaptive sense, seems to be most prevalent over the allocation of means to various individuals to pursue ends.

Two synthesizing positions were also discussed which advocated consideration of both integrative or normative
elements and conflictual elements within any social system. From this position, social action and change is most adequately analyzed when degrees of both normative consensus as well as conflict are considered.

The effect of the differential access to scarce resources on system stability will be tested by hypotheses developed in the following section.

Development of Hypotheses

One of the basic assumptions of sociologists, particularly those oriented to a social action framework, is that people are goal oriented and that motives can be ascertained to explain goal orientations. Motives for goals and for selected means as well as reactions toward general social situations regarding availability of means, i. e., reasons people give for their behavior, can be in the form of opinions about people or situations. They may also take the form of general attitude statements reflecting group definitions. Thus, operationally, the researcher may compare subsystem groupings on the basis of opinions, attitudes, and definitions of social situations.

The previous section has provided the basis for the examination of the general proposition: The integration of a social system is directly affected by the differential access of the subsystem units to scarce resources in that system.
From this proposition a general hypothesis is developed:

1. Subsystem groupings selected on the basis of having differential access to scarce resources will differ significantly on definitions of social situations.

From this point, a number of operational null hypotheses will be developed to test the general hypothesis. The general hypothesis is concerned with groupings selected on the basis of "differential access to scarce resources." The criteria for the selection of these groups will be elaborated in the next chapter. However, it can be noted that there are many possible ways for the groups to vary besides having access to scarce resources, especially in a relatively uncontrolled field study such as the present one. Several factors, some of which will be used in the present study as control variables, are considered as potential differences. Background characteristics, for example, have been used to describe migrants.

T. Lynn Smith and Fals Borda have noted differential characteristics of rural migrants to urban areas. Data show that large numbers of young adults constitute the bulk of migrants from rural areas to metropolitan areas. Cities

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1Lockwood, op. cit., p. 136

in most Latin-American countries have a relatively large share of the populations aged 15-59.¹ With regard to literacy, urban-rural differentials have been most noted in countries with low levels of literacy and least noticeable in countries of higher levels of education. Rural individuals who have relatively higher levels of education generally are those who migrate to urban areas.²

But what of individuals who migrate to rural frontier areas like Granada? Are they to be considered the inverse of the patterns indicated for urban-bound migrants? Do the occupation groups of Granada exhibit age and literacy differentials too? If so, these differentials might conceivably account for differences that would otherwise be attributed to the hypothesis previously derived. Thus, the following operational null hypotheses are stated in order to test these factors:

1. There is no significant difference among the occupational groups with respect to age.
2. There is no significant difference among the occupational groups with respect to literacy.

Another set of background variables useful in the analysis of groups which are different from the personal characteristics previously discussed are: (a) the number of moves made by group members before arriving in Granada, (b) whether the group members came because of the violence or some other reason, and (c) how long the group members have been in the community.

²Ibid.
The results from the pretest sample indicate that there are two broad categories of migrants to this frontier area. One category includes those who come directly to the location from some other location in the country and who have been forced to leave or have had relatives in the area to encourage a move directly to the community. The other category includes individuals who might be called "professional colonizers" or at least, "professional migrants." These individuals have had a history of migratory moves behind them before arriving in Granada, and probably would be the first among those who would move from the community. Compare, for example, the manner of arrival of Garzon, the farmer, and Gonzales, the jornalero, in Appendix A. (Case Studies I and III).

The first immigrants with money to buy property who arrived at the area are those found to be the most securely established today. Men like the farmer, Garzon, bought their land for a few pesos, and in the case study indicates, the land was claimed in a relatively few years. Today, the land that sold to Garzon for $7.80 per hectarea sells for between two to three hundred dollars per hectarea up and down the river bottomland between Granada and the river. The businessmen who first arrived also got the best locations around the main plaza of the town. Generally, the first settlers got the best locations and the available property which now sells at premium prices. Thus, it will be meaningful to find if there are differences among the groups on the motives for
moving and the length of residence in the community. The first arrivals for the most part came because of the violence in the more populated mountains and valleys of the three ranges.\(^1\) Peterson refers to this phenomenon as forced or impelled flight and he notes that under these conditions, distinctions can be determined between those that flee and those that stay.\(^2\) The jornaleros seem to have been a later type of migratory movement, not impelled by flight from the violence so much as the result of a search for work and full time employment. The following operational null hypotheses are thus stated with respect to these factors:

3. There is no significant difference among the occupational categories with respect to number of previous migratory moves.
4. There is no significant difference among the occupational categories with respect to motives for coming to the community.
5. There is no significant difference among the occupational categories with respect to length of residence in Granada.

Woefully, little of an empirical nature can be uncovered regarding the goals or interests of migrants who drift toward relatively unsettled areas. Social scientists are more than preoccupied with the more prevalent pattern of studying migrants to urban areas in all parts of the world. Little is known of whether motives are similar or disparate

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\(^1\)Mons. German Guzman, Orlando Fals Borda, and Eduardo Umana Luna, *La Violencia En Colombia*, Ediciones Tercer Mundo, Bogota, Colombia, 1962.

in comparison with immigrants to urban areas. Also of interest to the present study is to what extent the individuals representative of the three groups agree on general goals in which to better the family life. Are there differences among the categories on the hierarchical selection of goals to improve the families' position? One might note the case study businessman, Cubillo, and his opinion on differential education for children, (Appendix A). According to Lockwood, one might expect to find differing interests on the basis of differential access to resources but exhibit similar goals. Therefore the operational null hypothesis states that:

6. There is no significant difference among group members with respect to selections of goals to family improvement.

The government and the church are two of the most important institutions in Colombian society, along with the family, of course. The violencia, or the violence as the civil war between liberal and conservative parties is often called, has had a great impact on Colombian society. Begun as a political maneuver to neutralize the liberal opposition, it gained momentum with the loss of the main political leader of the liberal movement in 1948, and soon became totally uncontrolled throughout much of the country. The violence involved illegal murders, torture, stealing, and loss of personal properties. Many of the early settlers who first came to the region of Granada were told to get off their land in the mountains or be killed. Almost every person in the
community belongs to or has sympathies for the liberal party. There were no conservative votes in the last election at all.

To develop a stalemate between the fighting factions, the national leaders of the two parties agreed on the construction of a monolithic political system called the National Front.\(^1\) The National Front is a coalition of the two parties which extends, as does most of the political system in Latin America, into the local communities because the community officials are generally members of whichever political party is then in power. They are appointed to fill the local government posts. Even the mayor is an appointed position.

In Granada, however, it was found that the conservative mayor was not acting and that an alcalde militar, or military mayor had been recently appointed. The military mayor had been sent to Granada, because there was strong resistance to the policies of the conservative mayor apparently because he was a conservative.

Nevertheless, communities, especially newly formed ones like Granada, are quite dependent on the Federal Government for aid in maintaining services and facilities for their people. There is a strong tradition of paternalism in Latin

American countries which carries over into the political system and the people look toward the government to solve many of the community's problems.

Granada is a community needing improvement of many of its services, a community of liberals, yet with a Federal Government having a conservative administration. It is meaningful, then, to ascertain how categories with differential access to means in the community define the political system. The operational null hypothesis states:

7. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to attitude toward the National Front.

Colombia has traditionally been one of the most Catholicized and religious countries of South America. Since the violence of the civil war, however, some segments of the population have apparently changed their attitudes regarding the church. During the first afternoon spent in Granada by the author and two Colombian companions, the local priest told of being robbed the previous night, losing a phonograph and about a dozen records. The church, located on the main plaza, was, after six years, still an unfinished shell of three walls and a roof with the rear still open.

In 1955, Fals Borda recorded this account of Holy Week in the peasant community of Saucio in the mountains.

Awe and respect seem to be at their peak during Holy Week. At that time, however, it is not Christ's resurrection which interests the peasant--it is Christ's death. The death of Jesus and the descent from the cross, vividly re-enacted at the main altar of the church, bring forth a highly emotional response. Wearing dark clothes and drawn faces, and carrying large candles, the peasants follow the body of Christ, then
cluster around the Sepulchre and the Mater Dolorosa at the humilladero. Mourners pray all night around the reclining statue of Jesus with the same assiduousness they would show if He were one of their own dead. No one laughs or tells jokes on Good Friday, not even in the privacy of homes, out of consideration for God's suffering.¹

And again with regard to the role of the priest:

Peasants seek him out for consultation and advice, and pay careful attention to what he tells them. His sanctions are feared, especially excommunication, with which the curate exercises effective control. No peasant can ever imagine himself to be left in the limbo of outcast sheep— he shudders at the mere thought of being orphaned by the Church.²

The author and three interviewers were in Granada during the Holy Week of 1964, administering the pre-census. During the same Inviernes Santo, or Good Friday, as described by Fals Borda above, we returned from a section of the town by way of the main plaza about 8:00 P. M. The priest, a new one by this time, was invoking the Mass, using a loudspeaker. The main plaza was literally full of men, who were standing about, listening, talking and laughing. Deciding to circulate among the crowd, we soon discovered a great deal of derision and joking was being directed at the priest and the service. Generally, the local population, almost totally liberals, was found in personal conversations to be lacking in respect for the Church. The present pair of priests are the seventh set sent to this area in the past four years. While this attitude seemed to be normative for the community, it is

¹Fals Borda, op. cit., p. 221.
²Fals Borda, op. cit., p. 220.
meaningful to find if different attitudes toward the Church are manifested by groups with differential access to means in the community. Therefore, the following operational null hypothesis is stated.

8. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to attitude toward the Church.

Many of the respondents in asides during interviews mentioned that they had heard of the "riches of the llanos," from relatives or friends or by word of mouth at their previous location. Some came because of the violence, some came looking for land, and some came looking for what they called "a better life," one that would yield full year-around employment for them. Many of the immigrants were uprooted from communities in which their families had lived for generations, as had the farmer, Garzon, (Appendix A). The plains had been relatively deserted for centuries of Spanish rule because of the malaria and yellow fever there. The plains have been traditionally regarded by Colombians as hot, disease-laden areas with "bad" water.

Nevertheless, it is possible that some individuals have developed bonds which tie them to the present community. In this case these individuals might be described as identifying with the community in relation to the satisfaction he feels about the life and his livelihood. If so, then it is meaningful to test for the relation between identity and differential access to means in Granada. Therefore, the following operational null hypothesis is stated:
9. There is no significant difference among occupation categories with respect to degree of identification with the community.

In frontier communities such as Granada, there are more than sufficient opportunities for interpersonal conflicts. Granada has changed, as Garzon, the case study farmer, has noted, and Cubillos, the case study businessman, has given a number of "problems" found in the community, (Appendix A). Robberies, swindles and frauds, boundary disputes, disagreement between workers and their bosses over salaries, and fights and brawls can be cited with disturbing frequency. Again, Fals Borda, the Colombian sociologist describes the Colombian peasant:

No campesino suffers an insult idly. He first attacks his insulter with fists. If the brawl develops well, he resorts to such other weapons as a beer bottle, a knife, a machete, a heavy stick, or a revolver if available. These brawls seem to have an aspect of prestige-restitution: farmers often fight in an attempt to prove that they are machos, and that they can uphold the self-respect of the family... Peasants may lack riches and education, but one thing they always bring to public attention is that they still have pride and self-respect.

Because no one knows just what to expect when he goes into a tienda, many peasants carry a knife hidden under their belt or between their trousers and underwear. No mental, religious, or social reservations or inhibitions seem to be felt when brandishing a weapon. There is little feeling of guilt in medir el aceite (literally to measure the oil level in a car motor) with a knife in the stomach of an opponent who, in the mind of the peasant deserves to be punished.1

1Fals Borda, op. cit., p. 209.
Dr. Castro, director of the medical center in Granada, reported that between 40 and 50 cases of knife wounds per month are treated at the local hospital. Indeed one of the individuals, a Senor Montoya, who helped introduce the author to various people on his first visits to the community was knifed to death in a bar room brawl the following spring. Individuals in Granada must check their machetes at the door before entering a bar.

Often overheard when discussing the resolution of interpersonal conflicts is the reference to the "two laws." Here is a reference to the differential application of sanctions to different groups. The law of the rich people or ley de los ricos, is one application while the law of the poor or ley de la ruana is the application to the peasant or poor person. While there are relatively few ricos in this frontier town, according to Lockwood's observations one might expect to find different definitions of situations regarding the resolution of various interpersonal conflicts on basis of occupational categories. Thus, the following operational null hypotheses are stated:

10. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to the resolution of a legal conflict with a neighbor.
11. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to the resolution of a worker in trouble with the law.
12. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to the resolution of a businessman in trouble with the law.
13. There is no significant difference among occupational categories of a worker in a labor conflict with his patron.
14. There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to the resolution of a person displaced from the land by the landowner.
Having been selected on the basis of differential access to scarce resources, it might be expected that differences in degrees of anomie would be found among the groups. Merton suggests that goals and norms may vary independently of each other, and this leads sometimes to malintegrated states. He is then able to define anomie as, "... a breakdown occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them."¹ It would seem that degree of anomie would be particularly appropriate to investigate in the light of the general hypothesis. Individuals without property of any sort, a category into which most of the jornaleros fall, are almost precluded from obtaining credit. The farmer with title to land can obtain credit from the Caja Agraria, the credit branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the businessman with property for collateral can obtain credit from the supply companies such as ConcremAL, but the jornalero has to live from one day to the next in relative uncertainty about his job and literal existence, (Case Study III). He has no "voice" politically speaking, and is at the mercy of those for whom he works. It is to be expected that the jornalero of the three groups, would indicate the most anomic attitude. Srole's scale to measure anomie uses items to

measure personal disorganization and will refer to individual alienation. The operational null hypothesis states:

15. There is no significant difference among the occupational categories with respect to degree of anomie.

Having established the hypotheses to be tested in the present study, it is now appropriate to discuss the methodology and research design.
CHAPTER III

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURES

The Research Design

It may be recalled that the present study was designated an exploratory design. Katz\(^1\) has described the exploratory design detailing three purposes: To discover significant variables in the field situation, to discover relation between variables, and to prepare for more systematic and rigorous testing of hypotheses. In the present study the second of these purposes will be brought to bear upon the problem by the exploratory design.

A serious weakness\(^2\) of the exploratory design is its ex post facto character. The direction or meaning of ensuing relationships can be interpreted in many different ways. Another methodological weakness is the problem of precise measurement of variables. Advantages include

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direct observations of social interaction and the ability to go beyond measures obtained from any one single instrument. An important advantage in the present study permits the obtaining of reciprocal perceptions and interdependent reactions from different groups of people who share positions in the same social structure.

Before moving on to a discussion of the operationalizing of conceptual terms, it might be well to recognize the value of activities such as exploratory design, prior to hypothesis testing, in scientific research. Kerlinger\(^1\) notes that some of the finest work of the twentieth century has been done in the area of exploratory research and that research aimed at discovering relations is indispensable to scientific advance of the social sciences. It is within the spirit of this goal, that the present study design is developed. The point has now been reached at which a discussion of the variables and their operational definitions will be meaningful.

From Concept to Reality

Every researcher will eventually be confronted with the task of measuring concepts and variables that comprises the conceptual framework. A variable is merely a property that assumes different values, i.e., something that varies. Thus,

\(^1\) Kerlinger, op. cit., p. 388.
the focus of the present study; to observe the varying of different variables, i.e., indicants of integration and conflict, in relation to the basic occupation strata, as subsystems of the community social system. This is accomplished by establishing operational definitions. An operational definition is a definition that assigns meaning to a construct or variable by specifying the activities or operations necessary to measure the construct or variable.¹

The application of the social system to the community under discussion is to facilitate the analysis by focussing the attention on more readily observable and identifiable parts of the community. A system analysis of any scientific endeavor is the breaking down of a system of properties into interdependent and semi-autonomous subsections or subsystems. Lockwood differentiates between normative and general functionalist uses of social system analysis in sociology. Briefly, Lockwood prefers to utilize the general functionalist use which "... means nothing more than seeing society as a system of interdependent parts and aversion to reductionism..."² In comparison, normative function entails attendant ideas of functional requisites, insistence on the

¹Kerlinger, op. cit., p. 34.

presence of common value elements and that social stability
must proceed analysis of social change.

The sociologist must be guided by his idea of a social
system as defined in the conceptual framework, therefore,
the present study will assume Lockwood's conception of so-
cial system. For the purpose of the present study the
subsystems, as operationalized, will be three main occupa-
tional categories found in the Granada community, nearby
farmers, town businessmen, and the day laborers. The sys-
tem therefore includes the farmers in the nearby out-lying
area between the community and the Ariari River some 2-3
miles away. Following Lockwood then, no prior assumptions
will be developed about stability of the system or system
needs. An attempt will be made to approach the problem
through observation of the subsystems and assess the degree
of integration and conflict among the categories.

1 For discussions of operationalizing social systems and
their subunits, see Matilda White Riley, "Sources and Types
of Sociological Data," in Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. by
Robert Faris, Rand McNally and Company, Chicago, Illinois,
1964, pp. 978ff., and Helen Merrill Lynd, "Thinking from Parts
to Wholes," in Society and Self, ed. by Bernard Stoodley,
Sampling Procedure

Table 1 shows the distribution of basic occupations in the community as indicated by the pre-census described on page 11 of this study.

Table 1

Distributions of Occupations in Granada as Determined By Sampling Techniques of Pre-Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>33.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Workers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.3</td>
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On the basis of the above distribution it was decided to interview the businessmen, day workers, and to include a sample of the farmers from the bottomland between the town and the river. (See Map III) It was readily ascertainable that the community was an agricultural community. The community economy revolves around the agricultural supplies and produce flowing through in one direction and the needs of the farmers
MAP III

Map of Granada and the Surrounding Area Including The Location of the Bridge Over the Ariari River.
and local population from the other. Therefore, the farmers were an integral part of interaction with the other two main occupational categories and so were included.

The sampling procedures were developed so as to sample the community stratified on the basis of three occupational categories and went as follows:

**Businessmen.**—A list of the businessmen in the community was secured from the personeria or tax office. Some 280 businessmen were listed. A copy was made of the list and 30 names were selected randomly to interview. At the same time, an additional 20 names were selected to be used in case of refusals. This number compared very favorably to the sample census of 51 businessmen providing some evidence of the validity of the sampling techniques of the pre-census. Thirty businessmen were then interviewed.

**Farmers.**—A list of the maps of nearby neighborhoods were secured from the malaria control offices of the World Health Organization in the state capital. These maps were hand drawn and were the only sources of approximate numbers and location of farmers located in the bottomland. Three veredas, or neighborhoods, were randomly sampled on the basis of the malaria maps. The number of locations were counted, and a proportionate number of locations were picked so as to assure a sample of thirty farmers to be interviewed. Some backup locations were selected at the same time to be used in case of refusals. Map III shows the location of the three neighborhoods in relation to Granada and
Map IV shows an example of a malaria map used for one of the neighborhoods.

Jornaleros.--The workers proved the most difficult to sample. Two workers barrios were generally outlined on the town map (Map II), but there was no way of sampling by names or specific locations. There an adaptation of "trail sampling" was utilized in which certain streets were followed and interviewers chose every fifth house. If an individual had been interviewed in the pre-census, he was not included in the sample. This process went quite slowly and workers were interviewed on the job. Many worked a 12 hour day and retired quickly upon reaching their houses. About 10 out of the 30 workers interviewed were interviewed on the job during the day with, of course the bosses' permission.

Decisions had to be made many times on the spot in the field about the sampling. Some of the malaria maps were not accurate enough for the interviewers to locate an individual. There were more refusals from the workers than the other groups, although several farmers and businessmen preferred not to talk with the interviewers. It is hoped that any sampling errors off-set each other.

The interviewers were three students from the Faculty of Sociology and were upper classmen. The schedule was pre-tested on several individuals including businessmen and farmers, with an interviewer loaned from the investigation section of the Faculty of Sociology. Several training sessions were then conducted with the three interviewers to
MAP IV

Example of Handdrawn Map Used in Taking The Farmer Sample.
be used in the main interviewing. Two of the three had assisted in the pre-census a month earlier. The present author made no field interviews himself, always preferring to let the student interviewer handle that task. He did, however, accompany each interviewer as much as possible during the study hoping to secure as much procedural uniformity as possible among the interviews.

Before describing the research schedule, it will be of worth to find if there is evidence as to differences among the groups access to such resources as property, credit, and income and such communication facilities as radios and newspapers.

The three groups were compared on the basis of whether the respondents owned their own land or property, had it in company, or partnership with another person, against those who only rented or had invaded property which would signify a lack of collateral for loans, etc. Table 21, Appendix B, shows a Chi square of 39.39 which is significant at the .001 level. The three groups are significantly different on the basis of type of property exploitation.

A related variable is whether the respondents had used credit in the past three months or not. The respondents were compared on the basis of having some credit or none at all. Table 22, Appendix B, shows a Chi square of 31.05 which is significant at the .001 level. The table shows that farmers use the most credit, the businessmen considerably less and the workers hardly at all. It should be noted that "them that has (property) gets (credit)."
The three groups were also compared on the basis of gross income. The respondents were divided as close to the median as possible on gross income. Thirty respondents reported incomes of less than 4000 pesos per year and 40 respondents reported incomes exceeding that amount. Twenty individuals would not reveal their incomes, 14 of them farmers. With an N of 70, Chi square was 33.16, which is significant at the .001 level. Table 23, Appendix B, shows the distribution of respondents on the basis of gross income. The respondents' wishes for privacy regarding information about their income was honored at all times.

Finally, the three groups can be compared on the basis of access to the communication media. Radios and newspapers are used as the basis of comparison here. The importance of being able to compare market prices with those in the central cities and of having information about the labor markets and access to political news affecting the area suggests that communication media may be valid variables on which to compare the three groups for differential access to means and scarce resources. Table 24, Appendix B, shows a Chi square value of 17.37 which is significant at the .001 level, with the respondents being divided between those who have radios and those who do not.

Dividing the respondents on the basis of reading the newspapers (which come daily from the capital) or not reading them, Table 25, Appendix B, shows a Chi square of 24.12,
which is significant at the .001 level. Therefore, the groups do differ significantly on having access to two main sources of mass media in the community.

The indications based on the variables used above demonstrate some evidence that the three categories have differential access to scarce resources in the system. At this point it will be of worth to describe the research schedule used in the present study.

The Schedule

The schedule was composed of questions about the personal characteristics of the respondents, a paired comparison judgement test, several scales of the Likert type and a Thurstone scale of attitudes toward the church, as well as selected open-end questions and responses relating to agencies of change.

The research schedule is found in Appendix C of this study.

Scales

Paired comparisons.—In an attempt to elicit a hierarchy of general interests as perceived by the migrants to the area and at the same time measure the consistency of the respondents with regard to the relative importance of these interests or values, a paired comparison judgement test was administered. Utilizing six statements in 15 pairs, the respondents were asked to select the most important in each pair, "in order to have a better life for the family."
The six alternatives were selected from perceptions of local goal orientation by the pre-census interviewers regarding goal-oriented interests and from findings of a study further on in the plains in which general life goals were assessed.¹

The six responses are as follows in order of at least to most important as selected by the 90 respondents.

1. To have many children
2. To go to live in another place
3. To depend on fate and luck
4. To have more cattle
5. To have more land
6. To educate one's children

The responses were arranged in an F matrix as suggested by Edwards² and is the frequency of column statements chosen over row statements. Table 2 shows the distribution of comparisons by row and columns with the total number of comparative judgements being 90 or the total number of respondents or judges in Edward's terms. Kendall's coefficient of agreement was used as a means of determining the extent to which the group of respondents agree in the comparative judgements. A coefficient of agreement, or ω, which has any positive value indicates some measure of agreement among the judges.

¹Andrew Pearce, Social Change in Orooque, Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogota, Colombia, (In Press)

Table 2

The F Matrix for Six Goal Oriented Statements by 90 Respondents in Granada

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Two Likert type scales were used to measure anomie and identification of the respondents. These two scales had been "imported" to Colombia, translated to Spanish, and tested for internal consistency, reliability, and validity when used with Colombia respondents in several studies. The scale value difference method of testing for internal consistency and split-half method with the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula used for testing reliability.

Anomie.—Anomie refers to interpersonal alienation. Srole, who constructed the initial scale, referred to the

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variable as, "...the individual's generalized pervasive sense of 'self-to-others belongingness at one extreme compared with 'self-others distance'. ..." The following five items make up the Anomie scale:

1. Most public officials are not interested in the problems of the average man.
2. These days a person does not really know whom he can count on.
3. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
4. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
5. Most people do not care what happens to others.

The responses were in the form of a Likert response with values from one to three used. Table 3 shows the scale value difference, maximum potential scale value difference, scale value difference ratio, and the critical ratio for each item.

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2 See A. Eugene Havens, "Methodological Problems of Sociological Survey Research in Colombia," Paper given at Rural Sociological Society meetings, San Fernando State, August, 1963. Basically the usual 5 point response to a Likert scale is quite difficult for individuals of little education, therefore, the easier three category response was utilized in the present study.

3 For a discussion of the use of scale construction by internal consistency see Raymond F. Sletto, Construction of Personality Scales by the Criterion of Internal Consistency, The Sociological Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1937.
Table 3

Item Analysis Data Determined by Internal Consistency Method for the Anomie Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<th>MPSVDb</th>
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</table>

N=90

a. Scale Value Difference is a measure of discrimination.

b. Maximum Potential Scale Value Difference is a measure of variability.

c. Scale Value Difference Ratio is a measure of efficiency.

Upon observation of the interplay between the SVDR and critical ratio of each item, it was decided to include all five items. The reliability of the Anomie scale was tested and a correlation of .598 was obtained with the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. The correlation is significant at the .01 level of significance.

Identification.--Identification refers here to the degree to which an individual feels committed to the community of Granada. There is no implication of acceptance or rejection of common value systems of the community but reflects
merely a sense of commitment to the community. The following eight items constitute the identification scale:

1. I believe that I am something important in Granada.
2. One should work for the betterment of Granada.
3. I am happy being a Granadian.
4. The problems of Granada are not important to me.
5. Granada is important to me only as a place to live.
6. I am optimistic and convinced that good things will come to Granada.
7. I do not actually feel that I am a member of the community.
8. I feel pleased when I tell people that I am a member of Granada.

The responses were in the form of a Likert response with values from one to three used. Table 4 shows results of the test of internal consistency for the identification scale.
TABLE 4

Item Analysis Data Determined by Internal Consistency Method for the Identification Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<th>MPSVD&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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</table>

N = 90

<sup>a</sup>Same as for Table 3

Again on this scale all items were included on the basis of the performance of the SVDR's and the critical ratio. The reliability of the identification scale was tested and a correlation of .650 was obtained with the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. This correlation is significant at the .01 level of significance.

Attitudes toward the Church. — The following items were adapted from the original attitude toward the Church Scale constructed by Thurstone and used by Havens in several
studies in Colombia. The scale was utilized to separate negative and positive responses toward the Catholic Church, the major denomination in Colombia. They were treated as a Guttman scale by Havens and are so treated in the present study. The following items were used:

1. I believe the church is losing ground as education advances.
2. I think the Church plays a big part in fostering a good life and good customs for the people.
3. I believe the Church supports the public officials.
4. The Church is the principal support in my life.
5. I believe that the priests are involved in businesses and neglect the religion.
6. Outside of my home, I consider the Church the best thing in the world.
7. I feel that the Church furthers brotherly relations between people and nations.
8. I feel that Church attendance is a good measure of the morality of a nation.
9. I believe in the Church, but I feel that its influence is declining.

While the other two scales had responses arranged on a three point continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree, the responses for this scale were true or false to each item. Responses were coded 0 and 1 with the 1 weight assigned to the positive position with regard to attitude toward the Church and the 0 weight assigned to a consistent negative position. In this manner the items were consistently weighted in directions of positive or negative directions. Having been weighted thus, the scale was subjected to the Cornell

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method of determining what Guttman calls the coefficient of reproducibility.¹ For cutoff points, see Table 5 for
distribution of scores.² The coefficient of reproducibility represents the degree of unidimensionality of the scale.
For example, a respondent with a more favorable score should
be consistently as high or higher on each item than a re-
respondent with a lower score. The coefficient of reproduc-
bility in this case is 80.0 for the total attitude toward
the Church scale. Although this figure approaches the mini-
mum limits of reproducibility, it was felt to be of worth
in the present study.

The remainder of the schedule consisted mostly of open-
ended questions which were coded into discreet categories
during the study analysis.

The interviewers were checked periodically during the
interviewing; however, a constant check was not possible.
Therefore, there were some incomplete data collected for a
few sections of the schedule. A few errors were introduced
in the schedule by questions not applying equally to the
respondents of each of the three groups. Finally, one must
suspect that in an instrument translated from English to

¹For a discussion of this method see Allen E. Edwards,

²The responses are ranked on total scores from nine to
one. The total scores are shown by the right hand figure of
each column. The respondent's identification is shown in the
two left hand numbers. The cut-off points are shown by under-
lined numbers.
to Spanish, and finally back to English, there will be some perversions of meanings and findings. However, it is hoped that by using pretests and native interviewers that this effect was minimized.

A final step in the study was to select individuals on the basis of adequately representing each group and to secure a case study-like interview of some depth. These case studies were used to serve as illustrative materials regarding the migrants, their problems and insights regarding the community, and to offer some validity for the assumptions and development of materials in the present study.
# Table 5

Distribution of Responses To Attitude Toward The Church Scale
Showing Cut-Off Points To Establish The Coefficient Of Reproducibility

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<td>1 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 1 0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 1 0 6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 1 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=89
CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS

The methodology and measurements have been described in the previous chapter. The results were coded, put on IBM cards and analyzed. The findings are reported in this chapter.

The basic question toward which the study is oriented is: What is the nature and intensity of social integration and social conflict among three occupational groups in a Colombian community? The general hypothesis around which the analysis proceeded was: Subsystem groups selected on the basis of differential access to scarce resources will differ significantly on definitions of social situations. A number of operational null hypotheses were then developed to test for the general hypothesis.

Two operational null hypotheses were stated to test two background characteristics, age and education. Operational null hypothesis 1 states: There is no significant difference among the occupational groups with respect to age. Table 6 shows the distribution with age dichotomized at those 39 years and below and those above 40 years.
Table 6
Age Composition by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Low (39 years or less)</th>
<th>High (40 years or more)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total(^a)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Total Respondents = 88

Chi square was 2.16 with two degrees of freedom which is less than the 5.99 required for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected and on this basis it must be concluded that these groups do not differ significantly with respect to age.

Operational null hypothesis 2 states: There is no significant difference among occupational groups with respect to education. There was a low level of formal education training in the community, with 36 percent of the respondents indicating no formal education training. The total sample reported a mean of 1.77 years of education. The respondents were divided between those having two years of schooling or less and those having three or more years of schooling. It was necessary to ask for the number
of "certified years" of schooling since as a youngster, an individual could attend school occasionally for four or five years and never be certified past the first or second grade because of helping on the farm or not attending for some other reason. Table 7 shows the comparison of the occupation groups with respect to education.

Table 7

Education Attainment by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Low Education (2 yrs. or less)</th>
<th>High Education (3 yrs. or more)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total(^a)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Total Respondents = 88

Chi square was 5.09 with two degrees of freedom, which is less than the 5.99 required for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected and on this basis it must be concluded that these groups do not differ significantly with respect to education rates.
Upon inspection of the tables it can be seen that there are more farmers in the older category and in the low education category than any other group. The worker sample has the most young people and is very similar to the farmer sample on distribution by education.

Having established that the groups do not differ significantly on the basis of two personal characteristics, age and education, the three migration characteristics are considered. Operational null hypothesis 3 states: There is no significant difference among occupation groups with respect to number of previous migratory moves. Table 8 shows the distribution on basis of this variable which is broken as close to the median as possible.

Table 8

Migration by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Low migration (1 move or less)</th>
<th>High migration (2 moves or more)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}N=90
Chi square was 1.69 with two degrees of freedom which is less than the 5.99 necessary for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected and therefore, it must be concluded that these groups do not differ significantly with respect to a number of moves before coming to Granada.

Operational null hypothesis 4 states: There is no significant difference among occupation groups with respect to reasons for coming to the community. The groups were divided on the basis of whether the respondent had come because of the violence or to buy land, find work, or because of relatives. Table 9 shows the distribution on the basis of this variable.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Land or Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Total Respondents = 88
Chi square was 6.56 with two degrees of freedom which is greater than the 5.99 necessary for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that these groups differ significantly with respect to reasons for moving. The farmers and workers differed in the expected directions with more farmers migrating because of the violence and more workers as well as businessmen migrating for other reasons.

Operational null hypothesis 5 states: There is no difference among occupation groups with respect to length of time in Granada. The length of time in Granada was divided as close to the median as possible with the low amount of time being four years or less spent in the community and high amount of time being five years or more. Table 10 shows the distribution with respect to time in the community.

Table 10
Duration of Residence by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Less time (4 yrs. or less)</th>
<th>More time (5 yrs. or more)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup><sub><i>N = 90</i></sub>
Chi square was 7.23 with two degrees of freedom which is greater than the 5.99 required for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis is therefore, rejected and it is concluded that these categories differ significantly with respect to length of time spent in the community.

Again the distributions differed as expected with more farmers in the category of those having longer residence while the workers have spent less time. The businessmen, however, have as great a proportion of respondents with time in the community as the farmers. On the basis of the even split of respondents and the significant difference among the groups, this variable was used as a control variable. (See Table 20).

The respondents were asked about their preferences among goals for improved family life. Operational null hypothesis 6 states: There is no significant difference among the respondents with respect to selections of goals for family improvement.

The Kendall's $u$ in this case yielded a coefficient of agreement of .515 indicating considerable agreement among the respondents on the hierarchy of interests submitted.

To further check the significance of the $u$, the coefficient was compared on a chi square distribution. A chi square test of significance yielded a value of 714.64 which with degrees of freedom of 16 is quite significant and the probability of a $u$ of more than .196 is much less than .01 if all judges' comparisons were made at random. The null
hypothesis is rejected and although the finding does not imply there are no inconsistencies, it must be concluded that the 90 respondents show significant agreement in their comparative judgments.

It was felt that using pairs of judgments would help offset confusion about ranking many alternatives. Possibly to individuals unaccustomed to dealing with many abstract ideas, the paired comparison technique is the surest method to obtain rankings of more than a few alternatives.

It was felt that the goal of education was possibly overemphasized so the results of the paired comparisons were checked against the replies to another question: If you were to win $100,000 in a lottery tomorrow, what would you do with it? Only one individual responded with plans to educate his family. All the rest of the replies related to buying land, or some type of property, or to leave the region (Table 26). Possibly the respondents chose that answer which they felt would most impress the university students who were interviewing. At any rate, the respondents were most consistent, even in modifying their answer to impress the interviewer.

It would seem that in this particular system of interaction, there is a strain of consensus regarding general goal orientations toward a better family life. Given the different geographic areas from where the migrants came, the difference in time spent in Granada, difference in ages, etc., to say nothing of different occupation strata, the principle of goal and value consistency must be considered
in evidence here. Landecker\(^1\) would refer to this finding as representative of the cultural integration of the "compound group" or the total system. There is, on the basis of one measure, evidence to indicate the presence of integration of the respondents of the three occupational categories with regard to six goal oriented statements.

From the goals regarding family improvement, the hypotheses moved to two other major institutions in the Colombian society, the government and the Church. Operational null hypothesis 7 states: "There is no significant difference among occupation groups with respect to attitude toward the National Front. Individuals responded on the question of whether they were positive, indifferent or negative about the National Front and why. Table 11 shows the distribution of scores on the above basis.

Table 11

Attitudes Toward the National Front by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\] Total respondents = 88

Chi square was 7.06 with two degrees of freedom which is greater than necessary for significance at the .05 level. The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that these groups differ significantly with respect to attitude toward the National Front. While the businessmen are fairly evenly divided on attitudes, the workers exhibit more negative and the farmers more favorable attitudes toward the government.

Upon controlling for the amount of time the respondent had lived in the community, it was found that those with four years or less did not differ significantly in attitude toward the government, but those having spent five years or more were significantly different at the .001 level of significance (Table 27). Thus, the earlier settlers, particularly the farmers demonstrate an uninterested or
unfavorable view of the government. Contingency coefficient for attitude toward government is .27, controlled on four years or less is .20, and with five years or more is .49. The relation between occupation groups and attitude toward the National Front is stronger with those groups living longer in Granada.

Operational null hypothesis 8 states: There is no significant difference among the occupation groups with respect to attitude toward the Church. A Thurstone type scale was used, and the respondents were divided on the total score as close to the median as possible. Table 12 shows the distribution of scores on the above basis.

Table 12

Attitude Toward the Church by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Low Scores (5 or Less)</th>
<th>High Scores (6 or More)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total respondents = 89
Chi square was 11.86 with two degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 9.21 necessary for significance at the .01 level. The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that the groups differ significantly with respect to attitude toward the Church. The farmers have the greatest proportion of the three groups with favorable attitudes and the businessmen have the greatest proportion of unfavorable attitudes.

One might argue that the most unfavorable attitudes might be expected from the most relatively deprived group, but a higher proportion of workers are favorable than unfavorable toward the Church. However, when attitude toward the Church is observed with time in the community controlled, then those respondents with four years of time did not differ significantly, but those with over five years in the community differ significantly at the .01 level of significance (Table 28). It should be noted that the workers in the latter group, like the businessmen, are more notably negative regarding the Church than are their companions who have lived less time in the community. Contingency coefficient with no control is .34, controlled on four years or less is .20, and with five years or more is .46. Thus, the relation between attitude toward the Church and occupation groups is stronger with those having lived more years in the community.

Operational null hypothesis 9 states: There is no significant difference among occupation groups with respect to the degree of identification with the community. A Likert type
scale was used to measure identification, and the respondents were divided on the median score. Table 13 shows the distributions of respondents with respect to identification.

Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Low Identity</th>
<th>High Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total respondents = 89

Chi square is 28.35 with two degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 13.82 necessary for significance at the .001 level. The null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that the groups differ significantly with respect to degree of identification with the community. The workers with the least means at their disposal identify the least and the comparatively better off businessman and farmers show greater proportions or respondents in the high identification category. It should be recalled, however, that the workers also had the lowest length of time spent in town. In controlling on time in the community, call frequencies
proved to have expected frequencies less than the five required for chi square analysis.

Five hypotheses were stated in order to find if a consensus prevailed regarding the resolution of various types of interpersonal conflicts in the community. The operational null hypotheses were stated: There is no significant difference among occupation groups with respect to the resolution of:

10. A legal conflict with a neighbor
11. A worker in trouble with the law
12. A businessman in trouble with the law
13. A worker in a labor dispute with a farmer
14. A person displaced from his land by a landowner.

Tables 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 show the distribution of respondents with respect to these hypotheses. In each case, the responses were categorized into those citing resolutions that are solved with legal means such as the office of work, the mayor or a lawyer, and personal means of resolving the conflict such as using friends or relatives, letting the parties fight it out, or using the parties' own means and ingenuity.
Table 14
Resolution of Conflict with a Neighbor by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legal Means</th>
<th>Personal Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total Respondents = 82
Chi square = 11.22; df = 2; \( P < .01 \)

Table 15
Resolution of a Worker in Trouble With the Law by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total Respondents = 74
Chi square = 7.04; df = 2; \( P < .05 \)
### Table 16

Resolution of a Businessman in Trouble With the Law by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total Respondents = 73

Chi square = 34.07; df = 2; P < .001

### Table 17

Resolution of a Worker Dispute With Patron by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Total Respondents = 78

Chi square = 7.82; df = 2; P > .05
Table 18
Resolution of Worker Ejected From Land by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totala</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aTotal respondents = 73

Chi square = 5.57; df = 2  \( P > .05 \)

Null hypotheses 10, 11, 12 and 13 were rejected while null hypothesis 14 cannot be rejected; therefore, for this hypothesis the categories do not differ significantly. Inspecting the four hypotheses that were rejected in null form shows farmers and workers approximating the same proportions with regard to conflicts with neighbors, a worker in trouble with the law and a businessman in trouble with the law.

It is noted that in the latter situation, the businessmen indicate they solve their problems with legal means while the farmers and workers perceive the businessmen solving their difficulties with the law personally without legal means. Generally, however, the categories do not define the situations in the same manner, and with the exception of resolving the problem of a worker displaced from the land, the groups differ significantly in specifying the manner...
used in resolving interpersonal conflicts.

An anomie scale was used in the study and operational null hypothesis 15 states: There is no significant difference among occupational categories with respect to degree of anomie. Table 19 shows the distribution of anomie scores which were dichotomized at the median.

Table 19
Degree of Anomie by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>High Anomie</th>
<th>Low Anomie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Total Respondents = 89
Chi square is 10.17 with two degrees of freedom which is greater than the 9.21 necessary for significance at the .01 level. As suspected, the workers have the greatest proportion of respondents in the highly anomie category while the farmers have the greatest proportion of respondents exhibiting low anomie scores.

Controlling on amount of time spent in the community, it was found that those living four years or less in Granada did not differ significantly in anomie. Those having spent five years or more differed significantly at the .05 level of significance (Table 29). The farmers in the latter category of five years or more still indicate a substantial lack of anomie while the businessmen and the workers are distinctive in exhibiting a high anomie state.

In summary, the data suggest that the groups are significantly different on responses to a number of selected measures and that consensus must be qualified and specified as well as the presence of conflict in a community. Table 20 shows the summary of the findings and the effect of the control variable.
Table 20

CHI SQUARE VALUES BETWEEN EACH VARIABLE AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES WITH CONTROL FOR LENGTH OF TIME IN GRANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Chi Square No control</th>
<th>Chi Square Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 years or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Age</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Previous moves</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reasons for moving</td>
<td>6.56&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Length of time</td>
<td>7.23&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Family Goals</td>
<td>714.64&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Attitude to government</td>
<td>7.06&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Attitude to the church</td>
<td>11.86&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Identification</td>
<td>28.35&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. With neighbor</td>
<td>15.90&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Worker with law</td>
<td>7.04&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Businessman with law</td>
<td>34.07&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Worker with patron</td>
<td>7.82&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Displacement from land</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>-----d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Anomie</td>
<td>10.17&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Significant at the .001 level
<sup>b</sup>Significant at the .01 level
<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .05 level
<sup>d</sup>Call frequencies too small to compute chi value
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to investigate the nature and intensity of social integration and conflict among three occupational categories of a new community in the plains of Colombia, South America. Operationally, the analysis consisted of examining the consensus and conflict among the three categories in responding to definitions of goals, means, interests, and situations.

The community in which the samples were drawn is approximately ten years old and has a population of over 5,000 people. It is a community which is a center of a region toward which an intense immigration pattern has developed over the past fifteen years. The pattern originated during the Colombian violence or civil war. The violence as the motivating source has diminished almost totally, but the migratory pattern continues to the present with migrants seeking land and work or both.

Both public services and individuals' facilities with which to live are lacking. To live in a frontier area like the people of Granada is to live in an area of relative deprivation even by Colombian standards.
Summary

The occupational categories, workers, businessmen, and farmers were identified in order to secure categories exhibiting differential access to means in the same social system - (Tables 21, 22, 23). Thus, stratified on the basis of occupation, thirty respondents for each group was selected. The three groups were found to differ significantly on ownership of property, use of credit, gross annual income, and on access to and use of mass media of radio and newspapers. The three groups did not differ, however, on the variables of age and education. With regard to the nature and time of migration, the groups did not differ significantly on number of previous moves, but were significantly different on motives for moving and the length of time of residence in the community. Length of residence in the community was used as a control variable in the remainder of the analysis.

The respondents exhibited a considerable amount of integration when responding to paired comparisons of alternatives to goals for improving family life. The alternatives ranked by the respondents were in order from lowest to highest: (1) to have many children; (2) to go to live in another place; (3) to depend on fate; (4) to have more cattle; (5) to have more land; (6) to educate one's children. It was concluded that in view of the stratified sample
representing a differential access to means evidenced by the findings above, a considerable amount of integration among the groups is present at this particular level of goal selection.

Conflicting responses, inferred by significant differences among the groups was found for attitudes toward the Church and the government, identification with the community, resolutions of conflicts with a neighbor, of a worker in trouble with the law, and of a worker with his patron, and finally, in the degree of anomie expressed by the groups. The resolution of a worker displaced from the land was not found to be significantly different and was the only variable of the above about which the groups showed a consensus of definition.

In order to test the effect of differential access to scarce resources on members in a social system like Granada, the general hypothesis was developed as follows: Subsystem groups selected on the basis of having differential access to scarce resources will differ significantly on definitions of social situations. The findings indicate the hypothesis is generally supported. The occupational categories do differ significantly on responses to selected social situations and this is congruent with the assumptions of the conceptual frameworks discussing the effect of differential allocations of means among the members of the social system.
Conclusions

The present study generally bears out the positions of Lockwood and Rex. Rex, it may be recalled, argues that the structural functional analysis lends itself to an integrational model overly concerned with system needs and is not adequately concerned with actor motivations. Lockwood insists that the allocation of scarce resources as well as the processes that structure, express and coordinate vested interests of social system actors toward fulfilling system goals are important in social system analysis. He cautions that one is likely to find conflicting and non-normative interests using this approach. Both argue that motivation and interaction of actors in goal oriented behavior is important in social system analysis. Certainly in the present study there were non-normative expressions on the part of the occupational categories. It should be noted that Lockwood did not criticize Parsons' development of social system analysis, but only thought that Parsons did not develop the systemic approach adequately enough so as to include conceptions of vested interests and their consequences on the total system. On the basis of the present study, it would seem to be of worth to consider the differential access to means of the actors in a social system as a source of variation among subunits of the system.
Some readers may object to the use of the term conflict as it has been conceptualized and operationally defined. There is little doubt in the present author's view that the term social conflict has been an "ignored" term in the vocabulary of many sociologists for the past three decades. Although some references can be cited to the contrary, conflict has not generally been developed as a significant conceptual tool in system analysis. Within the limitations of the present study and the operational definition, there is some evidence that conflict as defined, is indeed a useful concept when discussing the sharedness of definitions by groups in a social system.

As mentioned previously, conflict was not seen as a war of all against all, but then neither does for example, the socio-psychological concept, role conflict. Rather it was defined in the sense that role conflict is often used in interpersonal relations; that is, as a consistency or sharedness of definitions and expectations, but in the present study the units were occupation groups rather than individuals.

Finally, the study was not set up to consider one other factor considered by Rex and Lockwood to be important in the consideration of a social system, that of the distribution of power. The authors consider power a form of scarce resource also. Thus, those groups controlling various forms of power will have vested interests as apart
from those groups not having access to this resource. In an implicit manner economic power was included in the differential access to scarce resources through consideration of such variables as gross income, but especially access to credit and to private property. Other sources of power such as political and/or police power was not considered. Several respondents noted a major change in the community after the arrival of the army unit stationed there.

It must be reiterated that inference of the present study be treated with some reserve. Havens developed five enumerations of particular problems of research in Colombia:  

1. The lack of reliable census data,  
2. The non-existence of sampling frames in rural areas,  
3. The extremely important regional variations impeding the use of identical question formulation,  
4. The exotic rural ethos and norms affecting structured attitudinal questions, and  
5. The difficulties of the foreigner interpreting open-end responses. The present study encountered at least these five difficulties and to what extent they were overcome by the research design and the researcher cannot be completely assessed.

An attempt was made in the methodology section to outline some of the limitations of the sampling and the interviewing. Some problems were diminished at least, by the

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1A. Eugene Havens, _op. cit._, p. 4.
precensus, the training of the interviewers, and the assistance of a Spanish-speaking assistant when coding open-end responses. To what extent the respondents felt obligation to cooperate with certain answers, the replies channeled through the "rural etiquette," and the regional variation present in replying to specific questions, affected the study, must be almost conjecture. It may be recalled that the respondents represented most of the cultural regions of the country.

The study suffered not from time limitations, but from money limitations as is the case with most research. The stipend of an exchange fellow is not designed to provide the most sophisticated design possible. This is not to belittle the considerable help given by the institutions mentioned in the acknowledgments. One of the first considerations, given more financial resources, would have been to increase the N of the samples so as to allow a more flexible manipulation of the control variables. In an exploratory study like the present one, the researcher must be able to "play" with the control variables and their measurements more than was possible with an N of 90.

In literature on Latin American social organization and structure, reference is often made to the distinctions between those who work with their hands and those who do not. In the

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community that was investigated everyone worked with their hands for a living. Yet a number of significant differences were found among subgroups within the community. Perhaps, at least in the micro-analysis of a community, the sociologist must be cautioned to consider a refinement of this basic distinction. There are, in the present study, social distinctions among groups in a system in which all the actors work with their hands. This suggests that the original distinction must be modified on small units of investigations.

In the light of the findings of the present study, other problems are brought into sharper focus. Intergenerational mobility in any developing country is a timely topic and should be studied in relation to the accesses to means and migration as a channel to acquire these means. In addition, further research should be directed toward characteristics and motives of rural to rural migrants as compared to the more prevalent rural to urban migrants. In terms of community development it would be relevant to find the effect of various contributions of groups' integration and conflict on the differential development and growth of institutional complexes in communities like Granada. Finally, of great aid to country planners would be additional research on the relation between differential access to means and future migration potential of both groups in the mountains disposed to migrate, and to groups in the frontier communities who are
disposed to continue their migratory patterns. Answers to the previous questions and the justification for the position taken in the present study, await future investigations which will, it is hoped, prove to be close at hand.
INTERVIEW WITH FRANCISCO GARZON,
A FARMER AT HIS FINCA ON JULY 29, 1964

First Notices of Granada

Francisco heard of the legends of the "riches of the llanos" and of the easiness with which people could live there from friends and intermediaries who knew the region and who lived in Villavicencio, the state capital. They spoke of Granada as the ideal place to live and to work.

Arriving at Granada

Francisco was from a town in Caldas where he had a finca and he considered that there he was fairly well established and organized. When the violence due to conflict between liberals and conservatives began to grow in that region the life changed completely. All the peace and tranquility of that region was destroyed and the people began to look for means and to areas to which they might travel. With this situation and with favorable notices that he heard over the comfortableness and the easiness of life in the plains he traveled to inspect the conditions in 1953, and found them favorable.

He talked with people who had arrived before and who had cleared some of the rain forest in the region of the vega or bottomland. One person sold him the finca which he
now possesses in the vega for 7,000 pesos or about 78 pesos a hectarea. There was only one small path through the jungle to the farm, but Francisco, who now owned this land, returned to Caldas and brought his wife out to the area. According to Francisco, when they arrived there were only some 60 houses in Granada but the migratory movement was more and more evident each day. Each day during that time there was a continual parade of families who had arrived to unload their property in the big plaza of Granada. According to Francisco, there was something admirable about that time because there was a total absence of robbers. The people would arrive with much equipment and they would remain in the park and they would put it there with all the other people's belongings while they would go to look for some place to live. At that time the region was under the command of Captain Aljure, who was very strict in procuring the mutual respect of the people and when he was informed that there had been a robbery of something, he would find the robber and make him return the object that was robbed and if this act was repeated by the individual, he would be killed immediately. Captain Aljure was a former guerilla chief in the Colombia Civil War, pardoned by the government to come to llanos and establish this particular section of the land as his own territory. He operated as on his own and was the absolute government, judge and enforcer of law in this area at that time. He is still very influential in the area of the Ariari River.
The parade toward the town site by the families arriving in the community plaza was matched daily by the people who were leaving in all directions to look for good land to base their houses and agriculture on. In the area where he lives, there were only two other habitants in that time of early 1954, and in less than two years, according to Francisco, all of the river bottom land was colonized and the land recorded.

Early Settlement

In the first days that they were there, the price of living was the major problem. They would get meat by means of hunting in the woods because in that time there was no cattle and no grass to graze cattle. The source of horses and beef cattle came from San Juan de Arama, a small village to the south on the other side of the river. As each farmer arrived, there was the work of sowing and clearing the land. There were no workmen here and only the owner-operators would be working along with their families on the land. At that time everybody was poor and there was nobody here to help with the work of the families. Other problems, of course, were those of communications. For instance, the dirt road reached only to Guamal and the road to Granada was not constructed until 1960. Trips to the larger urban centers to the north were made by horse and jeep in the summer time. In Los Andes, the local neighborhood, the people were very
good and there have been no problems at all for lack of knowledge. On the contrary, the people cooperate very much for whatever work that must be undertaken. The only active organization of community action is to be found in this neighborhood. A group of farmers were just completing a small school house at the center of the neighborhood at the time of the interview.

The Farm

Francisco and his wife have been married for some thirty years and have not been able to have children, a fact of some disappointment to the couple. They are both happy living in this area although the house is not as good a one as on their former property in Caldas. Francisco claims that he makes a better income here than he did on the other property. The Garzons have a transistor radio which Francisco listens to daily, especially for cattle prices and the daily news of the country. His wife enjoys listening to various music programs.

The farm totals 93 hectares or about 232 acres and Francisco employs four permanent jornaleros on the farm. The farm is about two and one-half miles from the town. Each growing season, or every six months, Francisco has about 40 acres of corn, and 13 acres of plantano, a cooking banana, all of which is sold on the market except for that consumed at home. He maintains 100 acres of permanent pasture on
which 80 to 90 head of cattle of various sizes graze. The rest of the farm, an amount of some 75 acres remains in rain forest to be cleared. Francisco estimates he averages about 15,000 pesos income annually. This would be $1,500.00 American dollars.

Although he has more land than most, Francisco is in many ways typical of the farmers in these three neighborhoods. He owns his own land, he was among the early arrivals to the community, he feels somewhat aloof from the problems of the community and is somewhat contemptuous of the "loafers" in town; he has come to think of this section as "home" and plans to stay permanently. To conclude the interview, Francisco was asked about the relations with jornaleros and problems of the community.

Work Relations

When a farmer needs a worker he goes to Granada on Sundays and there he can get workers. Such laborers work in contract by the day or they can contract for work by the week or by the month according to whatever the worker wishes and it also depends on whether the patrons or owners are satisfied with the work that is done. There is never any contracting for more than one day of work without having known the jornalero before. The time of major labors for the working man are the months of June, July and August which would correspond to the times of harvest. In September, October, and November, the major activity is weeding and cleaning the
fields. When the jornaleros work various days at the same farm and they are without families, they will generally live in the owner's house, but when they live with their families, they prefer to go to their houses at night and return early the next morning to begin work. Equally, the former - those who have no families, would receive meals in the owner's house, and would receive a salary of about 10 pesos or one dollar a day. Those who have families prefer to work at one salary and those who do not receive meals would receive more cash. In this area they would receive around 15 pesos a day.

Attitude Toward The Future

There will be, according to Francisco, an increase in rents and land prices in the populated parts of the local community. Now the presence of the bridge over the Ariari River which is a great work, offers a great possibility of advancement for the agricultural development of the other side of the river. In spite of this, the region in the future will be a region more of cattle than crop enterprises because the soil is being cleared of vegetation and besides, there is no campaign for the conservation of soil. In several years, he believes it will not be quite as good for agriculture as it is at the present time. Francisco is quite content with life as it is, in spite of being a stranger in this area, relatively speaking, and a native of another state.
in the country. He does not wish to return to Caldas because he said the life there was more difficult and especially more costly.

Problems

1. The roads which are really only paths, good for foot or animal transportation are very bad in the rainy season.
2. There is a shortage of water, especially in the summer.

This is very easy to solve, according to him, because the water is found no more than two or three meters of depth, but the people of this area need to have more wells. The danger here is that with such a high water table, three or four feet, the water supply is easily contaminated by human wastes and other sources.

3. There is an abundance of poor workers in the town, but in Francisco's opinion, there is also a record number of men who pass the time playing pool all year and who do not wish to work. This could be solved by the authorities, but up to the present time, there has been nothing done to remedy this situation by making them work.

4. There is a shortage of technical, and manufactured materials for the farmers. Some, for example tractors, can be contracted for by the hour. One used to be able to plow a hectare of land for 200 pesos, but this year, in 1964, the cost will be 400 pesos.
INTERVIEW WITH JOAQUIN CUBILLOS, A BUSINESSMAN
IN GRANADA ON JULY 28, 1964.

First Notices of Granada

Mr. Cubillos was born in Chipaque, Cundinamara. He was nine years old when he made his first trip to the plains, going with an uncle and some friends. His family was very poor and humble and perhaps, he says, this is the reason he has lived since he was a small boy trying to gain a living with his own hands. He knows everything about the cattle business since it was his occupation for most of his youth, and in carrying on with the cattle business, he got to almost every part of the plains. He also worked as a young man for the Tropical Oil Company, a petroleum company, prospecting for oil in the plains. He first got to know the area of Granada in 1939, when he was working in the area for the petroleum company. He came to realize the value of the land in this area. He would classify this soil along with soils of Aranquita as some of the best soil in the plains.

Arriving at Granada

Nine years later, in 1948, he decided to come to the llanos to establish a permanent living place and it was Granada that he decided to come to. He decided on Granada because of the good soil there and in addition, it was a
place not too far from the major cities like Villavicencio and from Bogota. He was aware of the difficulties of living in such an isolated region and the trouble the people had to get goods and services, so he decided to establish an almacén or grocery store where the local people could come to buy articles and other materials urgently needed.

On September 18, 1948, he began services from his store, the first that existed in this region. It was a store where just about every class of dry goods, medicines, tools, food and small articles was sold and where the people could also come to sell their products.

Early Settlement

There were many problems in the settling of this region. One of these was the problem of means of communication. On the roads one could only come as far as San Martin and from there, he would have to leave for Granada to the south by horse, or in several special trucks that ran between San Martin and the site of Granada. The "hunters" from San Juan and Uribe destroyed these in the violence. The major part of the goods were transported from San Martin to the south by mule during the winter months. The trip took about two hours and except in summer, the trucks were hardly used.

Other difficulties were the many large rivers without bridges and the roads which were very bad in the nine winter months. The people who came to the region were very few in
number at this time, and those who would come would live along the banks of the rivers whether they would work at either agriculture or sawing wood into lumber to sell. Mr. Cubillos was the first person to set himself up as a businessman offering the people of the region services of goods for the house and grain and tools for the farm.

The Business

The Cubillos recently established an agreement with what is called an intermediario, "middle man", who will bring the goods from Villavicencio to Granada and who will buy agriculture products from the people in Granada who sell them back in Villavicencio again. The intermediario will act as a buyer for goods for such things as rice, platano, and wood to be sold in Villavicencio. According to Cubillos the only thing that they really had trouble with in their experience in Granada was the "violencia" when they had to abandon his business and to leave because of official orders. Outside of this incident, he considers that the conditions of the region offer the best possibilities for progress along with hard work and dedication. He places a high value on work and believes that Granada is one of the best regions that he has known in Colombia.

As more colonists have arrived, the number of businessmen has grown in competition which is now quite strong. This fact he does not consider unfavorable because as he notes, the
the region grows as much as the commerce and agriculture
grow and more possibilities and better business potentials
are available to everyone in the region. At present, he
does quite a bit of business with Bogota by means of a mid­
dle man or salesman who has made available to him different
products available from that central city. He also buys by
means of a cooperative called Concremal, which has a system
of credit and reviews the quality of their clients carefully.
He says there is no trouble to get goods out very quickly
from Bogota, but there is a term of 30 days on these goods.

In regards to the system of sales, most are made
without intermediaries and the majority of the sales are made
on a cash basis with payment immediately. There are, of
course, some sales made in which he provides credit for friends
and customers. Some people take advantage of the terms and
there is always some trouble getting people to bring their
credit up to date.

Cubillos noted that the major peaks of the business cycle
seemed to be in the months of July and August. The reason is
that this time of the year is the time of the harvest of rice
and corn and as everywhere, people will buy more because
they have more money. On the other hand, the fiestas of
Christmas, the New Year and of the Easter week seem to be the
low points with very little movement in the terms of goods
and services in the community.

We asked Mr. Cubillos about his attitude toward the
bridge across the Ariari River and the effect on the town. For Cubillos, this seemed to be the work of greatest benefit to the community and its people that government will eventually reap a great deal from this particular investment in this region. He also noted that for other persons it might be considered a loss of money or a poor investment by the government since these particular people do not have any money to invest in business or land in this area anyway.

The Community

The school.—The first school, according to Cubillos, was founded in 1948; the first teacher was La Señorita Blanca Hernandez, who was from San Martin, and who was considered a very good educator. Presently there are schools and the people for the most part seem to care enough to send their children to the schools. Those who do not, are generally just too far away from the town and are those who have trouble with the roads in the rainy season.

The church.—There is not in Granada, according to Cubillos, a spirit of consecration to God and the few people who do attend the church do it generally just to be seen. The present priests are very good, he thinks, and are concerned for the progress of the community. They have plans to build a secondary school.

The government.—The authorities, according to Mr. Cubillos, are very inefficient as much in the manner of making
justice as in the patrolling of the crime in the community. The census of July 15th, for example, resulted very badly because of lack of organization and control. The data were taken with little care and many houses in the town remained without census.

The agriculture production and commerce.--The farmers are accustomed to taking their products to the warehouses to key ports along the river such as Port Caldas across the River Ariari. Then the businessmen go to buy the farm products. Other buyers in Granada include INA, but they are accustomed to paying prices that are quite cheap. Cubillos estimates that only about four percent of the farmers take their products to Bogota.

Mobility and prestige elements.--The people who work obtain good earnings easily in this region. Some will invest this money to improve their mode of life, the kind of foods in their diets, their dress, and others will occupy themselves with buying domestic animals such as cows and horses. Those who farm with the idea of providing for themselves only that which is necessary and those which have greater aspirations are in reality quite few. Cubillos estimates that only about five percent of the people in Granada send their children to study in Villavicencio where the boys study generally to 8th grade and the girls become school teachers, and many of these youngsters have come to prosper quite a bit. Cubillos thinks that a man must study more than a
woman. A man must dedicate himself to hard work and women should dedicate themselves more to the home to perfect the home in the domestic arts like that of a seamstress and cook. Outside of this, studies of primary education for women should be directed to the mission that they will probably end up in doing, that of being a housewife. The majority of the people who aspire to raise themselves economically, do not aspire to enter or to participate in any entity that gives prestige such as clubs or social centers, although, according to Cubillos, there is money to build clubs if they so desired. Their norm of living traditions will not permit them to do this. For them, "it is more advantageous to expand their numbers of cattle rather than to build or belong to such organizations."

Problems.—The problems most frequented in Granada are:

(1) There are large numbers of people in the town who do not like to work and who pass life dedicated to games and drinking.
(2) Robberies and burglaries in town and in the countryside are very numerous. He feels this is the main problem of the region. There are many robberies of cattle in agricultural areas and of goods from houses. Cubillos was the victim of a burglary and lost 25,000 pesos in cash and 15,000 in checks.
(3) There are a number of swindles and frauds, particularly played upon people who have newly arrived from other parts of the country. Cubillos gave the example of one case in which a woman sold the same house two times in three months.
(4) At times, there are problems concerned with the inconsistency of property boundaries such as lands that have not been measured totally and boundaries that are temporary and poorly marked. At times there will be alterations of these boundaries and where there is little knowledge of markers or where they are, there are problems among neighbors that often end up in fights both in the town and in the countryside.
The town also suffers from a deficiency of the administration of justice. The authorities are deficient in their application of justice, and when the authorities do administer justice, they are incompetent. When there is a crime, they are incompetent in applications of sanctions which control the behavior of the people. In many cases, they are immoral in carrying out their unjust sanctions.

**The future.**—Cubillos thinks that the prosperity of the town is in the hands of the authorities and of the committee of the *accion comunual* or community action which was formed about three months before and, about which, interest is now quite low. An example of some of the activities set up by the *accion comunual* committee include:

1. **Construction of the avenue** which would come together with the central highway through the city. The plans were to make a long avenue and to plant trees and to construct a bridge over the passage of the small creek that runs through the town. This project attracted a lot of attention at first, but eventually failed because of a lack of organization about the project.

2. **Construction of a park and the fixing of the street of the city.** For the future he could not show very much optimism because of the lack of organization which only the competent authorities, according to Cubillos, could present for better progress and greater order in the city. He believes that with a good mayor, Granada would soon be like Villaviciencio. Cubillos is convinced that there is need for a military base there, because in the town there is little organization and it would be better to have orders backed by force since a civil mayor is always subject to the influence of his friends.
INTERVIEW WITH JULIO GONZALEZ, A JORNALEO
ON JULY 30, 1964, AT HIS HOME IN GRANADA

Julio Gonzalez is a native of Suarez, Tolima. He arrived in Granada looking for better conditions in which to work because his native town of Suarez, according to him, was quite poor in working conditions and few positions were to be obtained for poor people. In Suarez, he was a jornalero and lived on a rented farm of a few acres. He said the conditions were, in general, poor there. He heard of Granada from some relatives who had come here looking for some land. To them, this area appeared to be very good and because of this, he decided to make the trip to come here in order to try and get land. When he arrived, however, there was no land to be had. He made the trip in August of 1963, and with what little he had brought, he put down on a small lot in town. On it, he constructed the small house where he lives with his wife and three children, the oldest of whom is 13 years old, who has attended up to the second grade, and now helps him with his agricultural labor.

The house is constructed of small poles and sticks along which is plastered a mixture of clay and mud, providing enclosed walls. There is no door at front or back, only the open doorway. Through the door, his wife can be seen cooking over the open fegon or depression in the floor. The smoke passes up to the roof which is of zinc sheets. Julio bought this lot for a few pesos and a carta de venta, or letter of
sale, from the original squatter. In the eyes of the neighborhood, the lot is now legally his.

Before arriving in Granada, Julio moved from Suarez to Ataco, Tolima, back to Suarez, then to Fusagasuga, Cundinamarca, and there began his trip to the plains. He moved from each location because of the lack of work available to men like himself. Generally, a jornalero like Julio has very few possessions. He brought no tools except a machete, just enough money to get the family to Granada, and a few things for the house including bedclothes, a few utensils for the kitchen, but no beds, no furniture, and only a few extra pieces of clothing for him and his wife. The whole family sleeps in hammocks which are strung in several rooms from the walls and ceiling.

Although his wife likes Granada less, Julio prefers the area to their old homes. The income is less than in Tolima but the house is his and he is tired of moving. If he had to move, he would return to Tolima because the rest of his family lives there. Julio lives in a barrio of invasion or a section of the town which is settled by squatters. It is a section almost totally occupied by jornaleros like Julio who have come with relatively nothing and work by the day for anyone who needs their services. It is a precarious economical existence. There are many days when there is no work and much of the work to be had in this agricultural area is of a seasonal nature when the rice, corn and cotton
harvests begin. This barrio of invasion is a point of concern for the town businessmen. They do not like so many poor families to be moving in along the outskirts of the community. Julio is aware of the concern, but philosophically notes that "one must live somewhere." Until the bridge is completed, he would not be able to move on anyway because it costs too much to cross the river.

The Working Situation

In general, according to Julio, it is to be considered as quite bad, i.e., the patrons or owners don't worry about the worker and only wish that he work all the time. The amount of time spent at work is not clearly defined, but generally, jornaleros work from Six A.M., to Six P.M. When the worker returns to his house in town, he is let off sometimes earlier, although he didn't say how much earlier. The salary, according to Julio, is quite bad. It varies between 8 and 10 pesos or 80 cents to a dollar a day. When there are children at work in the field, they are rewarded according to the appreciation felt by the patrono. The child of the interviewer is 13 years old and works with him as a worker. He gets about six pesos or 60 cents a day, and he gets meals from the owner.

When asked about the usual manner of obtaining jobs, and securing land for making some income, Julio replied that there were a number of arrangements for working land.
These are mostly variations of arrangements made with the owners of farms on near-by land. Some of these include renting, permanent renting, and companies.

Renting for crops.—When the time to plant crops arrives, the proprietors or owners of land are accustomed to rent the land by the hectarea, and these contracts are valid only for one crop at the end of which the renter must return the land to the owner. The rent for the land must be paid upon receiving the land and not at the harvest. Therefore, whoever wishes to rent lands to plant them with crops needs enough money at the first of the season in order to obtain the land. Sometimes this can be borrowed from a friend or businessman, and sometimes from the owner himself.

Permanent renting.—Here, the workers will ask for a small amount of land on the finca of the patron and there he will live with his family. Outside of paying for this land, the worker must promise to work for a time on the finca of the owner, usually a number of days in the year.

Companies.—Companies are frequent and they often are found between a worker and the owner of the land. Generally, this type of contract functions like this: The owner of the land has seeds, food, and bears the cost of the harvest. The man who does the work and harvests will give half of the crop to the owner. Julio is not very satisfied with this kind of system. He would prefer the system of renting by
crops. To rent one hectare of land for a crop would cost about 200 pesos.

There are cases where the worker can bring his wife to help him work on the finca. Therefore, both go to the fields and the woman participates in the agricultural tasks without much distinction between her husband and herself regardless of their production of work. There is one distinction in salary, however; the salary is less because it is supposed that the capacity of the woman is less for work. The salary which a woman can gain around harvest time is seven pesos a day. In other cases, both the husband and wife go to work, but the woman stays and does domestic chores around the house of the patron or the owner of the land. Gonzalez does not like to have his wife work. He prefers to have her remain in their own house and care for their children.

The principal work in which a worker is generally occupied includes cleaning and the razing of the land, helping to sow and collect crops. In harvest time, the demand for hand labor reaches its maximum, in the months of April and May the demand for hand labor is greatly decreased.

Generally, it is the owner who comes to the village or town to look for workers. The day in which the most contracts are made are on Sundays. According to Julio, there doesn't seem to be much system to looking for work or for workers. No one has much preference for any particular
patron; apparently, in their eyes, the patrons are all equal. It is Gonzalez's belief that every person has to take advantage of the times of the most work which would be the harvest times, and to work the most that he can. When the patrons don't give work to the people in the town, he thinks it is because of the following two reasons: (1) they don't wish to employ their services, (2) they don't have money to pay the workers. That, which gives him the least satisfaction about working in this particular area, is the small salary which he receives for his work.

Julio, like many of the jornaleros here in Granada, heard about the area from relatives and came, hoping to find free land or to be able to colonize a latifundia or very large holding. However, the land for miles around is already taken and for the present, Julio is satisfied to live in this and to secure that work that is available. The main problem of his family, he feels, is the lack of education. His 13-year old has all the education he will ever receive two years, and there will be no more for the other children. At the time Julio was interviewed he was "desoccupado" or out of work, and was hoping to find employment on a farm soon.
Table 21

Access to Property by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Not Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) \(N = 82\)

Chi square = 39.39; \(df = 2; \ P < .001\)

Table 22

Access to Credit by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No Credit</th>
<th>Credit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total(^a)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) \(N = 84\)

Chi square = 31.05; \(df = 2; \ P < .001\)
### Table 23
**Gross Income Level by Occupational Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Lo Income</th>
<th>Hi Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ a \, N = 70 \]

\[ \text{Chi square} = 33.16; \quad df = 2; \quad P < .001 \]

### Table 24
**Ownership of Radio by Occupational Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>No Radio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ a \, N = 90 \]

\[ \text{Chi square} = 17.37; \quad df = 2; \quad P < .001 \]
Table 25
Newspaper Access by Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Read Newspaper</th>
<th>No Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total(^a)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)N = 90

Chi square = 24.12; df = 2; P < .001
Table 26
DISTRIBUTION OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION OF SPENDING MONEY WON IN A LOTTERY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Businessmen</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy Land</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave Region</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educate Family</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27
DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NATIONAL FRONT BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES WITH TIME OF RESIDENCE HELD CONSTANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Residence</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total residents = 88
Chi square = 5.61  \( p > .05 \)
C = 34

Chi square = 14.27;  \( P < .001 \)
C = .49
Table 28

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHURCH
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES
WITH TIME OF RESIDENCE HELD CONSTANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Few Years</th>
<th>Many Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total residents = 89

Chi square = 1.83; Chi square = 12.36;

\[ p > .05 \quad \text{Chi square} = 12.36; \]
\[ p < .01 \quad \text{Chi square} = 12.36; \]

\[ C = .20 \quad C = .46 \]
Table 29
DISTRIBUTION OF ANOMIE SCORES
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES
WITH TIME OF RESIDENCE HELD CONSTANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Residence</th>
<th>Few Years</th>
<th>Many Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Anomie</td>
<td>High Anomie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Anomie</td>
<td>Anomie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Total Respondents = 89

\text{Chi square} = 3.08; \quad p > .05 \quad \text{Chi square} = 8.72 \quad p < .05

\(C = .26\) \quad \(C = .39\)
APPENDIX C

THE SCHEDULE
**ESTUDIO DE GRANADA**

Facultad de Sociología  
Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Encuesta Socio-Económica ------ Estrictamente Confidencial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encuestador</th>
<th>Grupo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fecha</th>
<th>No. DDT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Somos miembros de la Facultad de Sociología de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Estamos haciendo un estudio socio-económico en toda Colombia. La información que recibamos de Ud. será completamente confidencial. Información general de este estudio será publicada para todo el mundo y no beneficiará a ninguna persona o grupo sino al total de la población de Colombia. Nuestro propósito no es educar datos sobre su familia y finca. Su cooperación es importante para lograr nuestros fines. Es posible que algunas preguntas parezcan sin valor, pero son necesarias para la investigación.

1. Quien está a cargo de esta negocio  
   ___________  Nombre  

2. Maneja por su propia cuenta la negocio  
   ___________  Dirección  
   _____ Si  _____ No

3. Quien es el productor?  
   ___________  Nombre  
   ___________  Dirección

4. Quien dio la información  

5. Cual es la ocupación principal del productor?  

126
### 6. Censo y Mano de Obra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Los que viven en casa</th>
<th>SEXO</th>
<th>EDAD</th>
<th>AÑOS APROBADOS ESCUELAS</th>
<th>ESTADO CIVIL</th>
<th>DEPARTAM.</th>
<th>DIV. ADMIN.</th>
<th>OTROS LUGARES DONDE HAYA VIVIDO (EN ORDEN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Productor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esposa</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijos</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otros</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**OBSERVACIONES**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hijos que viven fuera de la finca</th>
<th>Edad Actual</th>
<th>Anos Aprobados Escuela</th>
<th>Lugar Nacimiento</th>
<th>En donde esta viviendo ahora</th>
<th>Edad en que dejo la familia y la finca</th>
<th>Como salio de la casa donde vive la familia y por que?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijos Muertos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Granada? _______ (anos)

9. Si ha inmigrado a Granada, cuáles fueron las razones?

_____ Violencia
_____ Buscar tierras
_____ Por parte de parientes
_____ Buscar una vida barrata

10. ¿Qué trajo con Ud. cuando vino?

a) Herramientas
b) Del hogar

c) Dinero $________

d) Otras ______________

11. En comparación a su situación antes Granada:

a) Esta Ud. ______ más ______ menos ______ igual satisfecho aquí

b) Su esposa ______ más ______ menos ______ igual satisfecho aquí

c) La casa es ______ mejor ______ peor ______ igual

d) Su ingreso es ______ mejor ______ peor ______ igual

12. En cuanto a su situación actual, quiere Ud. a)____

Quedarse ______ Irse

13. Si tuviera que salir de esta región a vivir, adónde iría?

a) ___________________________

b) Por qué? __________________________
14. Escucha Ud. el radio? No ( ) Si ( )
   a) Cuantas veces por semana?
   b) Recibe Ud. noticias importantes para su negocio?
      No ( ) Si ( ) Cuales?

15. Lee Ud. periodicos? No ( ) Si ( )
   a) Cuantas veces por semana?
   b) Recibe Ud. noticias importantes para su negocio?
      No ( ) Si ( ) Cuales?

16. Por que otro (s) medio entera Ud. de las noticias?
    _____ Revistas _____ Ministeria de Agric. Otras: _____

17. En los ultimos 3 meses ha recibido cartas. No ( )
    Si ( )

18. Ha enviado cartas? No ( ) Si ( ) Cuantas?

19. Cual es el lugar mas lejano a donde (o de donde) Ud. ha viajado?
    Por que motivo?

20. Con quien consulta Ud. sobre aspectos de su negocio?
Necesidades

21. Cual es la principal necesidad de su explotacion?__________________________

________________________________________________________

Como cree que podria solucionarse?________________________

________________________________________________________

22. Cual es la principal necesidad de Granada?________________________

________________________________________________________

Como cree que podrian solucionarse?________________________

________________________________________________________

La Violencia

23. Que paso en este sitio en la violencia?________________________

________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________

24. Que paso en otros sitios donde Ud. estuvo?

a) ______________________________________

______________________________________________

b) __________________________________________

______________________________________________

25. Que sucedio en otros lugares?_______________________________

_______________________________________________
Valores
26. De las siguientes alternativas, cuáles están la más importantes para tener una vida mejor?

a)  _______Irse a vivir a otra parte  
   _______Educar sus hijos
b)  _______Tener más tierras  
   _______Tener muchos hijos

c)  _______Depender en la suerte  
   _______Tener más vacas
d)  _______Tener más tierras  
   _______Irse a vivir en otra parte
e)  _______Educar sus hijos  
   _______Tener muchos hijos
f)  _______Tener muchos hijos  
   _______Irse a vivir en otra parte
g)  _______Educar sus hijos  
   _______Depender en la suerte

h)  _______Tener más tierras  
    _______Tener más vacas
i)  _______Tener muchos hijos  
    _______Depender en la suerte

j)  _______Depender en la suerte  
    _______Irse a vivir en otra parte
k)  _______Tener más vacas  
    _______Educar sus hijos

l)  _______Irse a vivir en otra parte  
    _______Tener más vacas
m)  _______Tener más tierras  
    _______Educar sus hijos
n)  _______Depender en la suerte  
    _______Tener más tierras
o)  _______Tener muchos hijos  
    _______Tener más vacas
Autoridad

27. Si un amigo tiene un conflicto de forma más o menos legal con un vecino, a quien acude para resolver el problema?

28. Si un trabajador de una explotación grande tiene problemas con la ley, por quién y cómo se resuelve el problema generalmente?

29. En situación similar a la de arriba, si la persona es un comerciante independiente que pasa?

30. Si un trabajador tiene un conflicto laboral con su patron (p.e. sobre salario, condiciones de trabajo, etc.) a quien acude para resolver el conflicto y cómo?

31. Si un propietario ha desalojado a un ocupante de una parcela de tierra a quien acude este ocupante para hacer la demanda, y con qué resultados?

32. Si es víctima de un robo, acude, a la policía, y, en este caso recibe ayuda?

33. Cuáles son las entidades más importantes que ayudan a los:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trabajadores</th>
<th>Propietarios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
34. De los nombres de las personas más respetadas y con quienes tiene mayor confianza?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombre</th>
<th>Ocupación</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. La Iglesia

C F 1. Creo que la Iglesia está perdiendo terreno a medida que la educación avance.

C F 2. Pienso que la Iglesia tiene importancia en las buenas costumbres y buen vivir de las gentes.

C F 3. Creo que la Iglesia de apoyo a los empleados públicos.

C F 4. La Iglesia es la ayuda principal en mi vida.

C F 5. Creo que los aceradores tienen muchos negocios y descuidan la religión.

C F 6. Considero que para mi, la Iglesia después de mi familia es lo más importante.

C F 7. Siento que la Iglesia adelanta relaciones hermanables entre pueblos y nación.

C F 8. Siento que la asistencia de la Iglesia es un buen medio a la moralidad de la nación.

C F 9. Soy creyente en la Iglesia pero creo que su influencia está declinando.

C = Certo  F = Falso

Observaciones: ____________________________________________

_________________________________________________________
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grupo a que pertenece el entrevistado:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agricultores o Ganaderos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Comerciantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jornaleros</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>36. Los_ pueden tener los comerciantes</th>
<th>Amigo Enemigo Indif.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>como:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 37. Los_ pueden tener los hacendados  |
| comme:                               |

| 38. Los_ pueden tener los soldados   |
| comme:                               |

| 39. Los_ pueden tener los agricultores|
| comme:                               |

| 40. Los_ pueden tener los jornaleros  |
| comme:                               |

| 41. Los_ pueden tener los empleados del gobierno |
| comme:                              |
## Actitudes Hacia Las Agencias de Cambio

Indique en su respectiva columna si la actitud del encuestado es Positiva (P), Indiferente (I), Negative (N).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entidad</th>
<th>Encuestado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P  I  N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Esucelas y los profesores</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Accion Communal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>44. Puesto de Salud y Hospital</td>
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<td>45. INA</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Ejercito y los militares</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>47. La Iglesia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>48. Frente Nacional</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. Caja Agraria</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50. Intermediarios</td>
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</table>
51. **Anomía**

Ala mayor parte de la gente del gobierno no le interesa los problemas de los demás.

La gente debe preocuparse por lo de hoy, no por lo de mañana.

Hoy en día no se sabe en quien se puede tener confianza.

A pesar de lo que dicen algunos, la situación está empeorando y no mejorando.

La mayor parte de la gente es indiferente a lo que pasa a los demás.

| 1. Totalmente en acuerdo |
| 2. De acuerdo |
| 3. Indiferente |
| 4. En desacuerdo |
| 5. Totalmente en desacuerdo |

52. **Identificación**

Creo que soy algo importante en Granada.

Se debe trabajar por el mejoramiento de Granada.

Estoy contento de ser de Granada.

No me importa nada los problemas de Granada.

Solo me importa Granada únicamente para vivir.

Estoy muy contento y convencido que vendrán buenas cosas en Granada.

No me siento actualmente un miembro de Granada.

Me siento feliz diciendo que soy de Granada.
53. Ha tratado de conseguir más tierra en los dos últimos años?

_____ Sí  _____ No

Cómo?

54. ¿Cuál es el precio de la tierra cerca a su finca? $_______
(Valor en el mercado)

55. Si hay tierra en la explotación que no es propia, o si hay tierra que otra persona está manejando describa el tipo de contrato, plazo, etc.

______________________________
______________________________
______________________________

56. Cuantos trabajadores permanentes hay en la explotación?

57. Haga abajo un croquis de la explotación con los cultivos, pastos, rotaciones, etc.
PROPIEDAD Y EXPLOTACIÓN

(incluya todas las parcelas, predios, o lotes que forman la unidad de explotación en 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ubicación</th>
<th>Superficie</th>
<th>Tipo de Tenencia</th>
<th>Adquisición de la Propiedad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
59. **Uso de la Tierra en los últimos 12 meses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Superficie</th>
<th>Ahora Has</th>
<th>Semestre Anterior Has</th>
<th>Observaciones</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Cultivos Anuales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Pastos Naturales y Art.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Cultivos Permanentes</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Descanso, Barbecho</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Bosques, y Montes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Sin valor agricola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Otros</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Area Total de la Finca</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Superficie 1964</td>
<td>No de Arboles</td>
<td>Edad Aprox</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Cafe</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Platano</td>
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<td>c. Cana</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Cacao</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Banana</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Arboles para lena</td>
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<td>g. Fique</td>
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<tr>
<td>h.</td>
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<tr>
<td>i.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Creditos

61. Solicita adelantos sobre su cosechas? Sí ( ) No ( )
A quién y en qué proporción? ____________________________

62. Ud. ha obtenido crédito en plata? Sí ( ) No ( )
De quién? _______________ Cantidad? $______________
Plazo? _______________ Interés? __________ Carantía? __________

63. A Ud. le fían? Sí ( ) No ( ) Quién? ___________
Cantidad? ___________ Cosas? ______________
Plazo? _______________ Condiciones? __________

64. Por qué usa o no el crédito de la Caja Agraria? ________________

65. Si necesita dinero prestado para lo siguiente donde va a conseguirlo?
   a) Para un enfermo en la familia? ________________
   b) Para abonos y semillas? ________________
   c) Para comprar tierra? ________________
   d) Para un funeral? ________________

66. Si en el futuro Ud. gana $100,000 en una lotería que va a comprar?
Fuentes de Ingreso Familiares

67. Cual es la fuente mas importante de ingreso para la familia?

68. Describa otras ocupaciones que el productor tiene?

69. Cual es el ingreso de estas ocupaciones?

70. Describa otras ocupaciones que tenga la familia del productor?

71. Cual es el ingreso de estas ocupaciones?

72. Cuales son las ocupaciones de la esposa e hijos que viven en la finca?
   Reposa?
   Hijos?

73. Que otra fuente de ingreso tiene la familia?
   Cantidad?

74. Cual es el problema mas grave de su familia?
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