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THE TAMING OF THE FRONTIER:
SOCIAL CHANGE AND MIGRATION IN PEJIBAYE, COSTA RICA

DISSERTATION

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

By
James Sewastynowicz, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1979

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Approved By

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Anthropology
A don Humberto Elizondo y doña María Badilla,
y a todos los otros colonos valientes que
lucharon incansablemente contra la montaña
para crear que hoy en día es Pejibaye
VITA

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the social and economic changes that have taken place over the last forty years in the lowland region of Pejibaye in southwestern Costa Rica. One aspect in particular serves as the focal point of this analysis: the changing pattern of migration. In seeking to explain this social process, three broad and interrelated goals have been established. The first is to uncover the local, regional and national forces which in combination have shaped the composition of the migration stream, its direction and intensity, and the adaptive strategies pursued by migrants upon arrival in a new environmental setting. The second is to determine the several local and external forces of change which have systematically altered the social and physical landscape of Pejibaye and of the nation as a whole. The final and overall objective of this study is to determine the exact nature of the relationship between the processes of social change and migration in this area. It shall be shown that there is a clear and patterned relationship of mutual causality prevailing between these two phenomena. As the structural configuration of the community and nation varies over time, so too does the pattern of migration to the former. On the other hand, as this pattern of migration changes, new types of migrants, with different goals and resources, are themselves responsible for bringing about community change.
The village and district of Pejibaye\(^1\) is located in a region of the country known as the Valle de El General. At the time of its initial settlement by Spanish-speaking Costa Ricans in 1942, practically all of Pejibaye's 210 square kilometer territory was covered by a dense forest growth. The only inhabitants were a small number of Boruca Indians who lived an isolated existence divorced from the mainstream of national life.\(^2\) Under such conditions the first colonists developed an egalitarian society based upon the subsistence production of maize, beans and rice. By 1952, a small nucleus of twenty families had settled in the central part of the district, and in that year they founded the village of Pejibaye. Isolated pockets of colonists had meanwhile settled to the north and to the south of this town.

Development proceeded slowly with short periods of rapid change alternating with long periods of slow growth. New waves of migrants continued to augment the area's human resource base until by 1977, there were almost 10,000 people living in the district. The centro had grown from nothing more than a few ranchos (thatched huts) in 1952, to a prosperous commercial center of 400 inhabitants. So important has this village become that in an official report the government of Costa Rica classifies it as one of the three regional centers of the Valle de El General (Instituto de Fomento y Asesoría Municipal 1975a).\(^3\)

\(^1\)In order to distinguish between the two, the term "Pejibaye," unless otherwise indicated, shall be used only in reference to the district; the village, meanwhile, shall be referred to as the "centro."

\(^2\)For further details of the lifestyle of the Boruca, see Stone (1949).

\(^3\)The other two are San Isidro and Buenos Aires.
At present, much of the surface area of the district has been deforested and farms and cattle ranches cover the major part of the landscape. Roads have been built, bridges erected, government services provided, and the foundation laid for a prosperous future. In short, the entire region has been almost completely transformed in the space of thirty-six years.

This thesis is concerned with explaining how and why such pervasive change has taken place in Pejibayé, and how and why there has been a corresponding change in the pattern of migration in this area. As we shall see, Pejibayé has gone through a developmental cycle consisting of three distinct periods. During the first, or colonization period (1942-1951), initial settlement took place and migrants attempted to construct a viable economic and social organization in response to the wilderness environment. During the second, or formative period (1952-1965), social and economic behavior crystallized into a stable pattern, towns were founded, and regular contact with the rest of the nation was established. During the third, or integration period (1966-1977), pervasive governmental influence began to have far-reaching effects upon the social and economic structure of the district, and integration into the national society was essentially completed.

During each of these three periods, the social, political and economic organization of Pejibayé has varied considerably. From an essentially egalitarian society based upon subsistence farming during the colonization period, Pejibayé has developed into one characterized by economic inequality based upon a mixed agricultural-herding complex.
In much the same manner, the pattern of migration has undergone drastic changes. Although the geographical origins of in-migrants remain fairly constant throughout the period studied, their personal traits and numbers differ considerably from one period of time to the next. During the colonization period, the pace of migration was slow. Migrants were attracted primarily by the availability of free land and consisted largely of members of the lower socioeconomic strata of Costa Rican society. During the formative period, migration to Pejibaye reached its peak. Individuals oriented more to commercial activities supplemented the large number of peones, or landless agricultural laborers, who migrated to Pejibaye at this time. During the integration period, a new type of migration began - government induced migration. Significant numbers of government employees came to the region to staff the growing number of government enterprises such as banks and schools. This period was also marked by important population shifts within the district as wealthier and more socially influential individuals began to migrate to the several small villages in the district, especially the centro, to take advantage of the services available there. Finally, it was during this period that for the first time Pejilaye became an area of net out-migration. This was due primarily to the disappearance of free lands and certain changes in land utilization which lessened the need for agricultural labor and significantly decreased the opportunities available for economic advancement.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that this study deals primarily with the category of rural-rural migration and, to a
lesser extent, with that of urban-rural migration. During the initial period of time under investigation, we shall furthermore be dealing with a special type of rural-rural migration. This can best be termed "frontier colonization" since it involves the settling of uninhabited or sparsely inhabited wilderness regions. The study of frontier colonization is particularly interesting because at the outset of the colonization process, there are no established forms of social or economic life to which the migrant must adapt. Rather, such forms must be created on the spot as more and more individuals settle in the region and are faced with the need to meet basic subsistence requirements, and to relate to other individuals whose presence must be taken into consideration. The process of frontier colonization, then, involves the basic process of social formation, and before we can consider later changes in Pejibaye, we must discover how this process took place.

The analysis both of this incipient stage of social formation and of the later social and economic changes that have transpired in Pejibaye rests heavily upon the "transactional" model of social organization developed by Fredrik Barth (1966, 1967). The process of frontier colonization involves the readjustment by individuals of their repertoire of culturally patterned behaviors and attitudes to a new environmental setting. Barth's model is useful precisely because it specifies the relationship between cultural values and social and ecological constraints to action, on the one hand, and final social behavior, on the other. It does so by viewing social behavior as a transaction involving the reciprocal exchange of valued goods and services between the participants, each of whom attempts to maximize his personal gain. In striving to successfully
complete a transaction, an individual must evaluate the situation and choose the proper behavioral strategy from among a set of alternative courses of action. The gains people attempt to maximize are determined by the cultural values of the society. The optimum strategy is dictated by the structural and ecological constraints relevant to the situation and by the strategies of other individuals.

In frontier areas of recent colonization it may well be that people will attempt to maximize the same gains that they had previously attempted to maximize. Since an individual does not shed his cultural tradition upon entering the frontier, this is to be expected. But since the ecological constraints determining the success or failure of the behavioral strategies designed to achieve these gains will be vastly different from those previously experienced, the range of alternative strategies possible will also differ. For this reason one would expect different forms of social behavior to emerge on the frontier even where the cultural values of the colonists remain parallel to those of the non-frontier regions in which they were enculturated. This was shown to be the case by Barth (1967:665-668) when he demonstrated that the form of Fur households varies under differing ecological conditions even though household members attempt to maximize the same cultural values.

Barth's transactional model is also useful in that it explains how social behavior is institutionalized in a society and how particular patterns of role behavior are affixed to particular social statuses. This process of institutionalization is what I have elsewhere referred to as "social formation," the development of stable patterns of social interaction on the frontier.
Behavior becomes institutionalized because individuals are constantly evaluating the rate of "payoff" of alternative strategies. Society consists of an aggregate of individuals, each of whom is acting in a self-interested manner. Through repeated social transactions these individuals can better judge which strategy is likely to succeed, and which to fail, since the results of past transactions are available for inspection. Since each individual is acting in a self-interested manner, each will eventually modify his behavior in the direction of the optimum. In this way statistical regularities in behavior, or social patterns, are formed. As Barth explains this process:

technical and ecologic restrictions doom some kinds of behavior to failure and reward others, while the presence of other actors imposes strategic constraints and opportunities that modify the allocations people can make and will benefit from making (1969:663)... it will be the rates and kinds of payoffs of alternative allocations within that system that determine whether they will be adopted, that is, institutionalized (1969:668).

The social and ecological constraints to action in the Pejibaye of 1942 differed greatly from those of the regions from which the first colonists had come. Land was free and covered by dense jungle vegetation rather than divided into small parcels and intensively cultivated. Roads were crude or nonexistent and the influence of external social, economic and political forces was minimal. Just as important, there were no social "superiors" to exert control over one's behavior, nor were there social "inferiors" over whom one could exert control. In fact, when the first colonists arrived in Pejibaye, there was no differentiation in social status at all, only the common denominator of "colonist."
The first question to which we must address ourselves, then, concerns the processes through which social differentiation developed on the frontier. It is likely that as time passed the types of statuses characteristic of the society from which the colonists originated would be reproduced as social contact intensified and social forms crystallized into a coherent pattern. But the vagaries of the frontier situation, with its different ecological constraints to behavior, would more than likely lead to the appearance of new status positions, or at least to the modification of the role behavior associated with old ones. Again, Barth's model is valuable in shedding light upon this process:

The same problems of impression management arise for all incumbents of a status. The punishments and rewards of varying degrees of success will make a majority modify their performance in the direction of the optimum; and the more a certain type of behavior is statistically associated with a status, the more it will be reinforced through serving as an idiom of identification (1966:3).

Once this social formation took place on the frontier, the stage was set for the later development of Pejibaye. It shall be shown in this thesis that the alternative strategies available to people constantly shifted through time as the social and ecological constraints to behavior were altered. The optimum strategy for maximizing a particular gain during one phase of the history of Pejibaye was not the optimum strategy of the next phase. For this reason individuals modified their behavior through time, and this is reflected in the large degree of social and economic change which Pejibaye has witnessed during the past four decades.

The introduction of new alternative behavioral strategies in Pejibaye originates from both internal and external sources, the former being more
important in the early history of the district, with the latter becoming more important as time passed. Strategies chosen by individuals at one point in time profoundly affected the social and ecological constraints to behavior in Pejibaye and thus changed the rate of "payoff" of different strategies later on. A good example of this type of internally induced change involves the strategies pursued in maximizing gains of a purely economic nature. At the outset of the colonization period the possibilities of upward economic mobility were extremely limited. One could, first of all, claim a vast tract of fertile land; however, since this land was forested and communication with external markets was difficult, even this did little to assure economic success. Thus, during the colonization period the only way one could earn money was to raise pigs, a commodity more easily shipped to market than agricultural produce.

As the population increased, however, strategies for maximizing economic gain greatly expanded during the second, or formative period of Pejibaye's history. Since the most productive lands had already been claimed, land scarcity emerged as a new constraint affecting human behavior. Land speculation, marked by the rapid buying and selling of properties, thus provided one avenue to personal enrichment throughout the formative period. Another was provided through the more intensive exploitation of large estates by means of the surplus of agricultural laborers who had flocked to Pejibaye in search of economic opportunity. Yet a third viable strategy consisted in opening retail establishments to supply the burgeoning population with the basic articles which they had previously imported from outside the region. Finally, a whole new class of agricultural middlemen who buy local produce and specialize in
transporting it to external markets for resale developed in Pejibaye. In much the same manner, economic strategies became altered in the third, or integration period, although these alterations are related more to externally induced changes.

The importance of forces outside the immediate locality in inducing change is well-documented in the peasant literature (see Redfield 1955; Wolf 1966; Foster 1967; Gamst 1974). In Pejibaye, these go hand-in-hand with changes brought about by development of a purely local nature. As the population and economic importance of the region increased, the government of Costa Rica became more and more involved in the everyday life of what was rapidly becoming a vital part of the nation. It was through government-sponsored road building projects, for example, that Pejibaye became more intimately involved in the network of national social relations as communication with other parts of the country intensified. The rapid expansion of the cattle industry in Pejibaye can be directly attributed to government loan programs devoted to this end. The presence of government-operated stores and the enforcement of national labor laws have furthermore had a profound effect upon the organization of local business activity. Finally, the efforts of government-employed extension agents have resulted in the introduction of new agricultural inputs and techniques into the local economy.

Thus, we must look beyond the local community to fully explain developments occurring within it. At the same time Pejibaye has been changing, so too has the national society of Costa Rica, and these two events are intimately related. Since 1948, the predominant political philosophy of
the government has been oriented toward state intervention in local affairs and the growth of the "welfare state" attitude. It is because of this philosophy that the government has initiated social welfare programs in Pejibaye, and it is because of this philosophy that it has come to play such an important role as an agent of change.

Just as local change is intimately related to national change, so too is the pattern of migration in Pejibaye a function of change at both of these levels. The position taken in this study is that structural variables operating in the area of migrant origin and in the areas of migrant destination are the most important determinants of the resulting pattern of migration. In other words, migration to Pejibaye is dependent not only upon local forces of attraction, but also upon the forces of repulsion operating elsewhere in the nation, forces which are responsible for leading individuals to migrate in the first place. In Costa Rica, there have been several such forces which have operated to stimulate a high level of migratory movement. Among these are a high rate of population increase, land consolidation in the hands of a small minority of the population, and the development over time of a large class of landless agricultural laborers who have become increasingly marginal in their places of residence.

In a similar vein, a high rate of out-migration from certain areas of Costa Rica does not necessarily imply a high rate of in-migration to Pejibaye. The potential migrant has numerous possible destinations to which he can relocate himself and his family. Whether or not he decides to migrate to Pejibaye depends upon a number of factors but, in the final
analysis, hinges largely upon his perceptions of the availability of economic opportunities, housing, educational and health facilities and the like. In other words, the "attractiveness" of Pejibaye and thus the rate of in-migration is a function of the structural configuration of the community at any given point in time - the social relations among men and the relations of men to factors of production. These too have changed over time in Pejibaye and, in combination with changes at the national level of Costa Rican society, have resulted in drastically different patterns of migration at different periods in the history of Pejibaye.

The central purpose of this study, therefore, is to determine the causes of social and economic change in Pejibaye and in the nation and to correlate these with the pattern of migration in Pejibaye over time. We shall begin at the initial stage of frontier colonization and describe the processes through which social and economic adaptation was made by colonists in response to the wilderness environment. At this stage of the analysis the physical environment of Pejibaye constitutes the independent variable under investigation: the colonists were forced to change their behaviors in response to the exigencies of the situation. But as the human element left its mark upon this physical environment, there developed a relationship of mutual causality: the social behavior which in the initial stages of colonization developed in response to the physical environment, had the effect of modifying this environment. Such environmental changes in turn resulted in further changes in social behavior, and so on. As time passed, external forces became an increasingly important element in the equation and these too acted to bring about
local change in Pejibaye.

The same situation prevails with respect to migration. As the structural configuration of Pejibaye and of the nation changed, different types of migrants were affected by the forces of repulsion operating in the areas of out-migration, and different types of migrants were attracted to Pejibaye. Thus, migrants arriving in Pejibaye during each of the three periods in her history came with different goals and different resources, and pursued different strategies of behavior. In striving to maximize their personal gain, these individuals brought about further change in Pejibaye, change which altered the basis of migration in later periods.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: chapter II describes the theoretical background upon which this study rests while chapter III explains the research techniques employed during the course of actual fieldwork; chapters IV and V discuss the national and regional setting within which Pejibaye operates; chapter VI, meanwhile, briefly describes contemporary life in the district, including the pattern of social relations, economic activities and political organization; chapters VII and VIII deal with the historical development of Pejibaye and with the causes of socioeconomic change, respectively; chapters IX and X consider the major characteristics of migration in the district and the relationship of this pattern to local and national change; finally, chapter XI presents a summary of the findings of this study, as well as their implications upon migration and frontier theory.
II. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The first chapter outlined the major areas of concern which will be dealt with in this study. As we have seen, these involve three interrelated topics: migration, frontier colonization and social change. The present chapter describes the theoretical basis upon which research into these topics was conducted in Costa Rica. We will consider each of the three in turn, summarizing and evaluating the corpus of knowledge which has developed as a result of past research. In addition, we will consider a fourth area in this chapter - the relevant features of "peasant" or "folk" society. It shall be shown that while Pejibaye does not correspond perfectly the description of a "classic peasantry," parallels are sufficiently strong to warrant the utility of this model, particularly in the analysis of social change in the district.

Migration

Migration involves the physical movement of an individual or individuals from one locality to another. One of the three major demographic processes which determine population size, density and distribution, 2

1 Analysts vary widely in their specification of how permanent a move must be, and how sharp a break with former community affiliations take place, before it is considered an act of migration. The polar extremes of this issue are represented by Bogue (1959) and Goldscheider (1971).

2 The other two are fertility and mortality.
migration does not occur in a social vacuum, but is closely related to other aspects of the social structure. This simple observation is nothing more than a reaffirmation of the belief that human behavior is shaped by the cultural and social context within which humans operate. Yet it is an observation too often overlooked in migration studies (Browning and Feindt 1970; Goldscheider 1971; Romero and Flinn 1976).

To describe this approach to the study of migration, Goldscheider (1971) has coined the phrase "sociological demography." It differs from the traditional emphasis upon "population descriptions, demographic measurement and techniques, (and) the statistical manipulation of population data" in that its goals are to "identify, illustrate, and analyze systematically and rigorously the junctures of social and demographic processes" (Goldscheider 1971:5). In other words, while this approach recognizes that delineation of the specific features of the aggregate migration pattern is a necessary first step of any research, it asserts that this exercise alone does not suffice to explain migration. To do this, we must treat migration as a subsystem of the larger society, specifying the ways in which migration is shaped by the contours of the other subsystems of society and how these, in turn, are affected by migration.

A cursory review of the literature reveals, however, that with certain notable exceptions, this perspective has not always been systematically applied in the study of migration. In an effort to illustrate this point, let us therefore examine the basic approaches traditionally espoused by migrationists, and the relevant findings of past research. Our discussion is divided into three sections dealing with: (1) the causes of migration;
(2) the selectivity of migration and; (3) the social context of migration.

Due perhaps to the fact that it is the most elementary of questions, and due also to the fact that it touches upon all aspects of the migration process, the problem of determining the causes of migration has served as the major focus of most research (Greenwood 1975). Theories concerning the causes of migration have almost as wide a range as do human behavior and interests themselves. Thus, migration has been explained as the outcome of the desire for novelty and adventure ("bright lights" theory; Gulliver 1955); the striving for personal achievement on the part of high risk-takers psychologically equipped to adjust to a variety of settings ("dynamic risk-taker" theory; Kuznets 1964); family considerations ("emotional support" theory); and purely rational pecuniary concerns ("economic man" theory; Sjaastad 1962).

Despite this seeming diversity of factors which have been granted causative influence in migration behavior, the consensus view clearly favors an economic interpretation of migration. At the aggregate level, this position is supported by a number of studies which demonstrate that migration streams flow from areas of lower income and lesser economic opportunity, to areas of higher income and greater economic opportunity (Tarver and Gurley 1965; Beals et al. 1967; Courchene 1970; Greenwood and Gormely 1971; Rabianski 1971; Summers and Suits 1973; Caravajal and Geithman 1974). At the level of the individual, the most popular form of analysis views the decision to migrate as the outcome of highly rational economic calculations regarding future earnings potential at

3 On the other hand Caldwell (1969) reports a higher rate of out-migration from the wealthier villages in the area he studied.
point of origin as compared to alternative residences (Sjaastad 1962; Herrick 1966, 1970; Sahota 1968; Speare 1971; Caravajal and Geithman 1974). This model employs the cost-benefit frame of analysis and interprets migration "as a form of personal investment where a decision to migrate from place 'i' to 'j' involves a calculation of higher returns to be gained by residing at place 'j' (i.e., higher wages, less risk of unemployment) than costs to be incurred and opportunities foregone by leaving place 'i'" (Shaw 1976:2). The major advantage of this approach is that the decision to migrate is seen as predicated upon the calculation of future rather than present earnings differentials, a supposition which helps explain the long-noted preponderance of the youthful element in the migration stream.

An alternative to this approach views the decision to move and the choice of destination as sequential but separate stages in the decision-making process (Wolpert 1965, 1966; Speare 1974; Shaw 1976). Termed by Ritchey (1976:396) the "adjustment-to-stress" approach, this model posits that:

... differential perception and assimilation of information pertaining to migration as a means of altering or improving one's state "S" at place "i" are not likely to occur unless dissatisfaction with "S." exists. By "dissatisfaction" (is meant the) emergence of noxious events at place "i" (e.g., absolute or relative deterioration of a neighborhood, or loss of job), or ingrained ambitions and aspirations which cannot be fulfilled at place "i" (e.g., the inability of educated youngsters to put their skills to work in traditional rural-agricultural settings). An important implication of this assumption is that unless motivation to migrate exists, serious decisions about whether or not to migrate are not likely to occur (Shaw 1976:36).

4These include the "psychic" costs of abandoning friends and relatives.
Thus, migration is viewed as one possible remedy to a deterioration in the personal status quo, or to the blockage of personal ambition. Until either or both of these situations arise, the individual is unlikely to consider migrating. This approach, it should be noted, does not necessarily contradict the cost-benefit model, but relegates it to a secondary stage in the decision-making process. In other words, it assumes that the decision to migrate and the choice of destination occur separately, whereas in the cost-benefit model these processes are inseparable. There is, however, an important difference in emphasis: while the cost-benefit model stresses the voluntary nature of migration and the migrant's initiative in seeking out opportunity in different geographical locations, the adjustment-to-stress model proposes that the migrant can best be viewed as a more pawn reacting to the dictates of forces beyond his control.

If migration is indeed the expression of economically rational cost-calculating decisions, then it goes without saying that it must also be selective of certain types of people whose background gives them an advantage on the job market. It has already been noted, for example, that one of the best-established features of migration is that younger adults exhibit a much higher level of residential mobility than do older adults. Presumably, this is due to the fact that they have a longer period over which to reap the benefits of migration while their moving costs are less than those of older people who have established more extensive community ties and who own more property.
For similar reasons, it has long been supposed that migration is positively selective of the more highly educated segment of the population since, on the one hand, their skills are in greater demand on the job market and, on the other, they would tend to have greater knowledge of distant locales and the opportunities available there. This supposition would seem to be borne out by an impressive list of studies which report a positive, linear relationship between education and migration (Lansing and Mueller 1967; Sahota 1968; Bogue 1969; Herrick 1970; Caravajal and Geithman 1974). However, an equally impressive number of studies report a J-shaped relationship with selectivity greater for the most educated than for the least with the intermediate category lagging behind both (Suval and Hamilton 1965; Shryock and Nam 1965; Zodgekar and Seetharam 1972; Long 1973); a U-shaped relationship with selectivity greatest for both most and least educated (Ducoff 1963); and a negative relationship with selectivity greatest for the least educated (Romero and Flinn 1976).

The same mixed results characterize studies of the relationship between migration and occupation, and migration and income. Thus, although it appears that white-collar workers are more mobile than are blue-collar workers (Lansing and Mueller 1967; Bogue 1969), Ritchey (1976:382) notes that "the association between migration and education is stronger than the association between migration and occupation." The relationship between income level and migration, on the other hand, is even less consistent. Bogue (1969), for example, reports that intermediate-income persons are most prone to migrate, followed by high- and then by low-
income persons. Rogers (1968), meanwhile, finds that both low- and intermediate-income persons migrate more often than do high-income individuals.

A third major concern of migration studies centers upon the influence of social factors at all stages of the migration process. Those who view migration from a strictly economic point of view tend to downplay the role of non-economic factors in their analyses, relegating them to a secondary level of importance, or introducing them as extraneous variables which skew the accuracy of predictions derived from economic models. However, a growing body of literature strongly suggests that this is an entirely inadequate procedure and that social factors are at least as important as are economic ones in determining migration. As Browning and Feindt (1970:48) summarize this development in the field:

Much of the recent history of economics and political science has reflected the "discovery" of man as a social animal. The same thing seems to be happening with respect to migration. Probably the most glaring deficiency of older conceptions of migrant man was their neglect of the importance of family and kinship relationships at all stages of the migration process.

Studies of the social nexus of migration tend to center upon three closely related areas: (1) the importance of family and friends in providing the potential migrant with information concerning alternative destinations; (2) their importance in performing adjustment functions on behalf of the migrant following his arrival in the community; and (3) their roles as causative agents of migration.

A number of studies indicate that the presence of relatives and friends exerts a powerful influence in determining the directionality of migration, with the majority of moves being made to places where members
of these social networks have previously taken up residence (Lansing and Mueller 1967; Tilly and Brown 1968; van Es et al. 1968; Browning and Feindt 1970; Price 1971; Choldin 1973; Hendrix 1975). Two factors appear to account for this pattern. The first is that relatives and friends play a major role in channeling to the potential migrant information concerning distant communities, information which is instrumental in selecting a destination. Several studies demonstrate that it is through these types of personal contacts, rather than through the impersonal media (newspapers, radio, etc.) or potential employers, that the majority of migrants learn of the places in which they eventually settle (Wilkening and Bosco Pinto 1966; Lansing and Mueller 1967; Tilly and Brown 1968; Browning and Feindt 1970; Price 1971).

A second and equally important reason why migration is often directed toward areas previously settled by relatives and friends is that the newly arrived migrant can depend upon their aid in adjusting to the new situation, and this aid lessens the risks involved in the venture. The provision of aid in such forms as shelter, food, loans and employment has been well-documented (Lewis 1952; Firth 1956; Abu-Lughod 1961; Butterworth 1962; Cornelius 1970; Browning and Feindt 1970; Uhlenberg 1973; Whiteford 1976).

It appears, however, that the presence of relatives and friends has an opposite effect upon the social assimilation of the migrant. While kin and friends aid in the economic adjustment of the migrant, most studies find that they hinder his social integration into the wider

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5 As used here, "assimilation" refers to the number and intimacy of contacts with other members of the community, and to the degree of participation in community organizations.
community (Brown et al. 1963; Wilkening et al. 1967; Rieger and Beegle 1974). This is due to the fact that so long as it remains possible for the migrant to continue to associate with members of his former community, he has little incentive to establish contacts with persons outside this intimate circle.

Finally, a number of arguments suggest that under certain conditions family organization reacts strongly with economic incentives to stimulate migration to a significantly larger degree than would the latter alone. This is one of the implications of the tendency of kin and friends to extend aid to migrants - such aid enables many persons to migrate who would otherwise lack the financial wherewithal to do so. Several studies, moreover, report a more direct input into the migration process by the family group. On the one hand, migration may be motivated primarily to earn money to fulfill social obligations at home or to promote the welfare of the family (Wilkie 1973; Connel et al. 1976). On the other hand, kinsmen often finance the migration of selected members of the group with a view toward utilizing the remittances sent back to fortify their economic position in the community (Williams and Williams 1965; Philpott 1973).

Perhaps the most obvious point which emerges from this review of the literature is the extreme lack of agreement among researchers on a number of aspects crucial to the migration process. This observation is nothing new. It was made as long as forty years ago by Dorothy Swaine Thomas (1938) who noted that the studies of her day had succeeded in "proving" that: (1) migrants come from the superior elements of the parent population; (2) migrants come from the inferior elements; (3) migrants
come from the extremes, both superior and inferior; and (4) migrants represent a random selection of the parent population (see also Flinn and Buttel 1975).

A number of factors account for these discrepancies in research results, as well as the general inability of analysts to develop a comprehensive "theory" of migration more sophisticated than the "push-pull" model commonly employed.\(^6\) One of the most important flaws of much migration research is a notable lack of conceptual clarity (Goldscheider 1971:33-38). The study of migration behavior, it should be pointed out, can be approached on either of two levels: that of the individual, where the focus is upon personal traits and aspirations; and that of society, where the focus is upon the structural features of sending and receiving areas as they relate to migration.\(^7\) Thus, one may logically speak of "individual" causes and effects of migration, and "societal" causes and effects of migration, the two being related by the obvious fact that all people are members of one or another society, yet analytically distinct since they take place at different levels of generalization. A common tendency in migration studies is the failure to pay strict attention to the methodological requirement to rigidly separate these different levels of analysis. Thus, the cause of migration - a macro-level question - is often determined solely by the motives which led

\(^6\)The fullest elaboration of the push-pull framework is represented by Lee (1966).

\(^7\)Ideally, of course, a study would deal with both of these levels, specifying the articulation between the two.
persons to migrate - a micro-level answer (Hawley 1950; Goldscheider 1971). On the other hand, the cost-benefit model proposes that migration takes place as a result of rational cost calculating by the individual - yet its proponents test its validity by looking at whether or not aggregate migration streams flow toward areas of greater economic opportunity rather than by demonstrating the use of this procedure in individual decision-making (Ritchey 1976).

Alternatively, migration is explained with reference to personality or other traits of the individual - at best, a form of psychological reductionism and, at worst, an exercise in circular argumentation (i.e., individuals migrate because they are "dynamic risk-takers" and it is determined if an individual is a "dynamic risk-taker" by whether or not he migrates). Thus, Sly (1972:616) correctly observes that "one must bear in mind that values and motives are themselves part of the behavior, and as such, should be explained rather than be used as the explanation ... explanations (of this type) likewise are seldom tied to more general frames of reference and tend to be ad hoc, descriptive or ex post facto."

This last point leads us naturally to consideration of a second set of factors which explains the current lack of consensus in research results. Traditionally, much migration research has centered upon the individual as the unit of analysis, either completely ignoring or inadequately specifying the relationship between the individual and society (Romero and Flinn 1976). This bias has led to a strange twist in the "all men are equal" doctrine - migration behavior is assumed
equivalent the world over, regardless of the culture or society of which the migrant is a part. On the one hand, this conceptualization of migration would seem to imply a denial of the underlying validity of the social sciences in general, and anthropology and sociology in particular. On the other, it has led to the search for generalizations universally valid for migration at all times and in all places, a search which has met with very limited success (Petersen 1969; Startup 1971; Flinn and Buttel 1975).

As noted in our discussion of the social context of migration, analyses which fail to take into account the relationship of the migrant to family and friends present a skewed picture of the migration process. Treatment of the migrant as a social isolate and as a persistent and rational calculator of his financial well-being does not suffice; a number of studies report that so strong is the influence of social factors that at times they override economic considerations to the detriment of the migrant (Browning and Feindt 1970; Hendrix 1975). Thus, it has been stated in reference to migration to the city of Monterrey, Mexico that "migration begets migration in a way not directly related to the economic allure of Monterrey" (Browning and Feindt 1970:67).

When comparing migration cross-culturally or diachronically, this dictum is just as valid as when migration is analyzed synchronically within a single society. As Flinn and Buttell (1975:1) point out, "an obvious explanation for these variations in research results lies in the social structural conditions which differ not only at the point of origin of the migrant but also with the passage of time." Thus, migration must be viewed as historically and situationally specific: generalizations
valid for the United States in 1779 are no longer valid in the United States of 1979; formulae which have explanatory value for migration in the United States have no such value when applied to Latin America migration.

Increasing realization of the soundness of this observation has developed among students of Latin American migration within the past decade, causing many to question the logic of routinely applying to this area the methodological tools and theoretical assumptions developed from studies of migration in the United States (Boch and Iutaka 1969; Cornelius 1970). One of these assumptions is that most migration consists of "free mobility" where at least some individual choice is operative. However, this assumption would appear to be in need of revision when viewed against the background of Latin American migration.

As Romero and Flinn (1976:36-37) interpret the situation:

Migration, seen as part and parcel of the overall process of socio-economic change, shows that much of what appears as a voluntary, free decision is in reality forced migration. For the peasantry of many rural areas faced with increasing agricultural commercialization, declining incomes, poor employment opportunities, and loss of land, migration is much more accurately described as forced mobility.

Rather than migration as a result of a voluntary decision based upon the cost-benefit calculus, what we are dealing with here is a situation in which, due to the loss of employment or an unacceptably low level of poverty, the individual has no choice but to leave his community. In other words, "rural people who attempt to migrate to the city are probably motivated more by sheer desperation in the countryside than by the attraction of higher wages in the city" (Thiesenhusen 1965:5).
We began this section by pointing out that migration does not occur in a social vacuum and that any proper interpretation of this form of behavior must specify its functional integration into the social fabric. The remainder of the discussion has been devoted to demonstrating the need for such an approach, and the pitfalls inherent in ignoring it. What has emerged from this analysis is the importance of addressing migration studies to the solution of two major questions: "In what ways are the processes of population structure and change shaped by the contours of the social system, and how do population processes condition and determine the other elements or subsystems of society?" (Goldscheider 1971:19). Viewed from a more strictly diachronic perspective, these questions can be reformulated as: "In what ways are changes in the pattern of migration created by changes in the contours of the social system, and how do changes in migration behavior themselves effect changes in the other elements or subsystems of society?"

The present study of Costa Rican migration does not claim to have all the answers to those very difficult questions. However, it is from the perspective outlined above that the problem shall be approached. Thus, we will attempt not only to describe what has taken place in Pejibaye, but why it has taken place. This shall be accomplished by demonstrating how the migration behavior of Pejibayense is a function of the basic elements of Costa Rican culture and of the relevant structural features of donor and recipient communities; how, in fact, migration behavior cannot be understood apart from a consideration of the sociocultural context in which it occurs. It shall furthermore be demonstrated how
changes in the structural configuration of Pejibayense society have resulted in changes in the pattern of migration, and how the pattern of migration itself has led to certain important changes in Pejibayense society.

**Frontier Colonization**

Frontier colonization is a specialized form of rural-rural migration, much as rural-rural migration is a specialized form of migration itself. As such, the same basic frame of analysis, and many of the concepts derived from the study of other types of migration, can be applied with little modification to the analysis of this phenomenon. These were described in some detail in the first section of this chapter.

Frontier colonization, however, is much more than merely a specialized form of migration. It is also a form of social change. It involves the grafting of a given cultural tradition onto a new environmental background. In the process, individuals are forced to modify their social behaviors if they hope to cope with the constraints imposed upon their actions by an entirely new set of environmental imperatives. This result follows logically given the efficacy of Steward's "cultural ecological" model and Barth's "transactional" model of social organization (see Steward 1955; Barth 1966, 1967). Both view culture (and the resultant social behavior) as a form of adaptation to the environment; in this sense, culture is systematically articulated with a particular environment and change in either will result in change in the other so as to bring the system as a whole into equilibrium. In frontier colonization, the environment is what has changed; cultural values, or at the very least, social behaviors, must also be modified to remain adaptive.
The idea that the colonization of frontier regions involves an important element of social change is neither very surprising nor very original. As long ago as 1893, the American historian Fredrick Jackson Turner advanced his now famous "frontier hypothesis" as a means of explaining the development of certain unique features of American culture (see Turner 1920). Briefly, Turner believed that Americans are more inventive, more practical and more materialistic than are their European contemporaries. American society is more "open" to change, more democratic and allows greater possibilities of upward social mobility. These differences, he postulated, are partially the result of the reshaping of the European cultural traditions brought to America by its early settlers under the dynamic conditions of the frontier. The existence of a large area of free land meant that any man might grasp hold of the opportunity to rise to social and economic heights undreamed of in Europe or, later, along the eastern seaboard of the United States. The common lifestyle of hard work and the shared poverty of pioneer settlers, as well as their common interests and pursuits, fostered an attitude of egalitarianism and democracy on the frontier. Cut off from the "civilized world" and from government control, frontier communities were forced to develop mechanisms of local government, and were free to experiment with more democratic forms of political life. The small size of the population of frontier communities, and their wide distribution of property rights, encouraged direct participation in the political process by all citizens. In sum:

During each advance men not only shed "cultural baggage" and adjusted themselves to an unfamiliar physiographic
environment; they also sloughed away many of the complexities of civilization. The primitive outposts that they planted along the frontier required fewer social, political or economic controls than the compact settlements of the East, just as the people within them found little time for cultural pursuits as they devoted their energies to subduing the forest. Eventually, as newcomers drifted in, these communities struggled back along the road to maturity, but the resulting civilization differed from that of the East, its institutions modified by the strange environment, the accident of separate evolution, and the contributions of the divergent groups constituted the social order. An "Americanization" of men and their society had occurred (Billington 1967:3-4).

This interpretation of American history was generally accepted until the 1930s, when a barrage of criticism was unleashed against it. Although this debate continues within the circle of American historians, recent studies have tended to vindicate the essential validity of Turner's basic propositions, while at the same time modifying many of his more specific statements concerning the course of frontier colonization in the United States, and the effects of such colonization upon the development of American social institutions (see Burt 1957; Billington 1967).

Like many great controversies in the social sciences, that involving the frontier hypothesis was characterized by a great deal of sophistry, concentration upon minor details, and outright misrepresentation of the opposing point of view. Opponents of the hypothesis bemoaned the imprecision of Turner's definitions, his lack of logical consistency and his frequent reliance upon unsubstantiated generalizations. They

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8Early attacks upon Turner's thesis include Wright (1931) and Shannon (1945).
pointed to the faultiness of many of the data he used to support his claims, and his failure to consider the significance of the continuing influence of the Old World upon the New, and the East upon the West, throughout the course of the colonization of the United States. As Billington (1967:6) points out:

The validity of many of these criticisms cannot be disputed. Turner did pen unsubstantiated generalizations; Turner did allow his poetic instincts to lead him along metaphorical by-paths that obscured rather than defined his exact meanings. He did overemphasize geographic forces, although he was not, as often charged, a geographic determinist. He did generalize too widely on the basis of limited observation. He did minimize the continuing influence of Europe's civilization on that of the United States, just as he did the impact of industrialization, urbanization and immigration. But the question remains: did these attacks on Turner's presentation of the frontier hypothesis prove the hypothesis itself to be wrong?

Clearly this last question must be answered in the negative. Part of the problem with the frontier hypothesis is that too much was expected of it. Both Turner and his followers saw it as capable of explaining most, if not all, of American sociocultural development over a three hundred year span. Taking the hypothesis one step further, it was thought by many to apply with little modification to frontier development the world over, rather than just to that of the United States. Judged by these stringent and unrealistic criteria, the frontier hypothesis must be considered a total failure; judged by more modest criteria, it fares considerably better.

A number of studies demonstrate that the frontier experience has led to a democratization of society not only in the United States, but
also in other parts of the world. Treadgold (1956) shows this to have occurred in Siberia where some 7,000,000 Russian peasants carved out plots of land from the wilderness during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the absence of tsarist control and of the aristocratic institutions common to the rest of Russia, these peasant communities developed a democratic and egalitarian social and political organization. After visiting the Siberian frontier in 1910, the Russian prime minister Stolypin expressed fear that the "enormous, rudely democratic country" taking shape would eventually "throttle European Russia" if left to develop unopposed.9

The same democratization and leveling of social distinctions appear to have taken place during the colonization of New France. In outward appearance, this would seem to be far from being the case since the feudalistic seigniorial system of the mother country was present also in French North America. However, closer examination of the situation shows that the seigniorial system was present in name only. Social and economic distinctions between seigniors and habitants were minimal: both had to labor in much the same manner for their livelihood. Aristocratic prerogatives were nowhere enforced and church efforts to impose a tithe upon the colonists of New France were time and again defeated by popular resistance. Local authority was invested not in the seignior, but in a popularly elected militia captain in each parish. So great was this "rugged individualism" of the French Canadian that when the monarch proposed the introduction of a direct levy in 1704, his officials in Quebec chose to

9 Quoted in Billington (1967:12).
ignore the command rather than risk rebellion or mass flight into the nearby forest (Burt 1940, 1957).

Neither in Siberia nor in New France did frontier tendencies toward democracy and egalitarianism develop as far as they did in the American colonies, nor did they persist to as great a degree. In Siberia, the new communist leaders of the country soon squashed any democratic feelings that may have formed; in New France, church and state reasserted their authority in the decades following the English conquest in 1763. What this indicates is that quite apart from the geographic features of the frontier itself, two additional factors must be considered crucial in determining the final product of the frontier experience: the socio-cultural base from which change begins, and the length of time during which the frontier society is allowed to undergo independent evolution. Both Siberia and New France were populated by colonists from countries with autocratic social, economic and political institutions. The United States, on the other hand, was initially populated by English colonists who, in theory at least, enjoyed far greater liberties than did commoners in either of these two countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that a more democratic and egalitarian social organization developed on that frontier settled by colonists from a society with initially stronger leanings in these directions.

In essence, what appears to occur is that on all frontiers imported institutions are modified in the direction of greater popular participation in the political process, a more even distribution of economic resources, and a more egalitarian social structure (Billington 1967:13). In other words, a given social fabric transplanted upon new soil becomes
more "open" and less rigidly structured. One of the more recent attacks upon Turner's frontier hypothesis, for example, was made by an anthropologist who, based upon data from Brazil, claims that:

... it should be clear that one well-vaulted characteristic of frontier society in general, and the North American frontier in particular, occurs only to a limited degree in Ouro Verde, and presumably in the other counties of the region undergoing similar changes. This is the theory made famous by the American historian Fredrick Jackson Turner, that the frontier exerted a strong democratizing force in United States history, and that each new frontier provided "a gate of escape from the bondage of the past" (Margolis 1973:214).

Yet the data upon which this conclusion is based is clearly liable to a different interpretation. Margolis herself points out that:

Unlike other regions in Brazil, in Ouro Verde, socio-economic differences are not consistently reflected in actual patterns of behavior. Strong deferential attitudes on the part of lower-class members toward the upper class have been documented at length in many of the ethnographies dealing with Brazilian communities ... Traditional patterns of behavior such as these do exist in Ouro Verde, but since class lines are not drawn as sharply as in many areas of Brazil, interclass behavior follows less rigid paths (1973:192-193) ... many of the residents of Ouro Verde deny that there is discrimination of any kind against the poorer members of the population, some vehemently insisting "we are all equal here." This claim is made most frequently by people from the Northeast who are quick to note the differences between the classes sociais (social classes) in their home states and those in Ouro Verde (1973:195).

The second factor determining the permanence of changes wrought in the frontier society is the length of time during which it is isolated from direct control by the "homeland" of the colonists. Time is required for change to become institutionalized and habitual. Given sufficient
time, it is probable that the social change which has taken place on
the frontier will not be completely undone once integration with the home-
land is achieved; in the absence of sufficient time, such change is likely
to be short-lived. In this respect, the American frontier experience is
perhaps without parallel. In Brazil, for example, frontier development
was never independent to the degree it was in the United States (although
even here it was not completely independent from external forces). From
the very beginning, colonization activities were controlled by land
companies and this, combined with the initially more rigid structure of
Brazilian society, goes a long way toward explaining the different results
of the frontier experience in the two countries.

The Latin American Frontier

Understanding of the process of frontier colonization, which the
frontier hypothesis and other conceptual frameworks attempt to achieve,
is directly relevant to explaining the contemporary nature of many Latin
American societies. Those unfamiliar with the physiognomy of the area
may be surprised to learn that even as this work is being composed, much
of the landscape of South and Central America falls within the category
of the "frontier." Important colonization movements involving large
numbers of individuals have taken place in recent decades not only in
Costa Rica (Nunley 1960; Sandner 1962; Buarque de Hollanda y Raabe
Cercone 1975; Hall 1976), but also in the nearby nations of Nicaragua
(Taylor 1969; Jarquin 1975), Guatemala (Carter 1969; Orellana et al.
1975), and Honduras (Molina Chocana 1975); in Brazil (van Es et al. 1968;
Margolis 1973), Venezuela (Crist and Nissly 1973), Colombia (Tinnermeier 1964; Hegen 1966; Parsons 1968), Ecuador (Hegen 1966; Crist and Nissly 1973), Peru (Hegen 1966; Crist 1969; Crist and Nissly 1973), and Bolivia (Crist 1963; Fifer 1967).

Most research on this topic has been conducted by geographers and, to a lesser extent, by sociologists. It is therefore not surprising to find that the geographic features of colonization have received relatively more thorough treatment in the literature. Especially emphasized has been the role played by roads and other systems of transportation both in stimulating the initial settlement of frontier regions, and in influencing their subsequent development. Frontier penetration into the eastern Andean and Upper Amazon regions of South America, for example, became possible only with the access provided by the construction of roads into the jungle (Crist 1963; Hegen 1966; Crist and Nissly 1973). This same cycle in which the development of a transportation network is followed almost immediately by an influx of pioneer settlers has been documented for Costa Rica by Robert Nunley (1960). Here, railroad building in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the early part of the twentieth, dictated that colonization take place along an east-west axis from the central highland region of the nation, following the route taken by the railroad. Beginning in the 1930s, construction of the Interamerican Highway dramatically altered the direction of Costa Rican colonization which would henceforth follow a predominantly north-south direction, again corresponding to the route taken by this new transportation system.
It can be safely stated that the access provided by the construction of overland systems of transportation is the single most important factor determining where colonization will take place. Throughout Latin America, in every case where a road or railroad has been extended into the frontier, it has soon been followed by a wave of colonists who at first settle directly along its course, and later extend their occupation farther and farther inland. It is not really very difficult to understand why this should be so. For one thing, the presence of cheap transportation into the wilderness significantly lowers the initial costs of colonization, making this a more feasible option to a greater number of people. More importantly, however, is the fact that with roads, and access to markets, the attractiveness of the frontier is significantly enhanced. Land speculators are presented with the opportunity to buy lands cheaply and later sell them at an enormous profit. For the poorer, peasant segments of the population, the only purpose of migrating to the frontier is in order to improve one's economic status. In the absence of cheap transportation to market centers, the possibility of upward economic mobility is practically nil, so any logical reason for migrating to the frontier is immediately ruled out. With the penetration of roads and railroads, however, the situation is quite different, and this explains why colonization movements so often take place in the wake of their construction.

This also explains why the state of the transportation network is so crucial in determining later development along the frontier. Unless the road system is maintained and expanded to serve new communities that may arise on virgin soil, further economic progress is unlikely to be
forthcoming. Time and again, hordes of peasant colonists have flocked to recently opened territories in Latin America only to eventually discover that, except for those whose farms are located adjacent to the major highway, transportation of agricultural goods to market is economically prohibitive. Crist and Nissly (1973) demonstrate that for the eastern Andean region of South America, the end result of an inadequate road system is economic stagnation. Sandner (1964) does the same for Costa Rica as he conclusively demonstrates the rather direct correlation between cheap transportation and economic development regardless of other environmental features. Hill et al. (1964) focus their analysis upon one specific colony in Costa Rica, that of San Vito de Java, located in the southern part of the country. Founded in 1951 as a refuge for poor and landless Italian peasants, San Vito was born in a spirit of optimism as the planned trajectory of the Interamerican Highway was to take it through the territory of this colony. Unfortunately, the government of Costa Rica reneged on this commitment and the highway was constructed following an alternative route, one which did not pass within fifty kilometers of San Vito. The colony persists to the present, but the bright promises of rapid development have gone unfulfilled; most of the original Italian colonists went bankrupt and have long since departed, their places taken by native Costa Ricans.

Four social types predominate in the colonization process in Latin America: The campesino (peasant) and peon; the speculator; the hacendado; and the foreign corporation. In terms of numbers, the first type is far and away the most important; in terms of their influence upon the colonization process, each has played a significant role. This is not meant
to imply that on any given frontier, all four types make their appearance. While this is probably true of campesinos and peones, as well as speculators, the last two types are more limited in their distribution.

The campesino migrates to the frontier in order to avail himself of the plentiful supply of cheap land. He clears a small plot of land and plants sufficient crops to feed his family and, conditions permitting, a small surplus to ship to market. Some members of the campesino class, and some members of other socioeconomic classes, take advantage of the situation by claiming as much land as they possibly can, while productively exploiting only a small portion of it. These speculators bide their time until the arrival of the next wave of colonists raises land values, at which time they sell their fincas at whatever price the market will bear. A significant number of speculators have been reported along all major frontiers in Latin America and, in fact, in much of the rest of the world (Sandner 1962, 1964; Crist and Nissly 1973). Whether they precede or follow the arrival of campesinos is unclear, but the two types of colonists make their appearance upon the frontier so close together in time that this point is probably unimportant.

Where the ecological conditions are right, along some frontiers the hacendado makes his appearance. This only rarely, if ever, occurs during the initial stages of colonization. The hacendado is a man of some capital who devotes his energies to large-scale cattle ranching. After campesinos have cleared the forest and some infrastructural development has taken place in the frontier zone, the hacendado arrives and begins buying out these campesinos, as well as any speculators that may
remain in the area. The prices he pays for land are cheaper than in non-frontier zones, but appear attractive to the campesino. Once these have lost their land, some migrate elsewhere, while others remain behind and form the wage labor force by which the hacendado exploits his newly formed cattle finca.

Unlike the hacendado, the foreign corporation, in the form of the banana or sugar plantation, is often the initiator of the colonization of the region in which it is found. With an influx of capital, the groundwork is laid for large-scale commercial agricultural activities. Colonists are attracted by the relatively high wages paid; in a short time, the typical socioeconomic structure of the plantation is formed. In Costa Rica, this process has taken place along both the Atlantic and Pacific coastal plains.

Of the social context of colonization, our sources are relatively silent - with one notable exception. This consists of Sandner's (1962, 1964) valuable and detailed study of the colonization of Costa Rica, especially those regions settled in the present century. His findings, as well as those of other analysts of Costa Rican society, will be presented in chapter IV.

Peasant Society

Anthropological concern with the analysis and description of peasants dates from the publication of the Mexican village studies of Manuel Gamio (1922), Robert Redfield (1930) and Elsie Clews Parsons (1936) in the first third of this century. In recent years, interest in this social category has waned considerably, perhaps due to the growing awareness of
the extreme diversity of peasantries the world over and the consequent inadequacy of many of the earlier formulations concerning the nature of peasant society. Nevertheless, it does not follow that the model itself should be completely discarded. There are certain important implications which derive from the structural relations characteristic of such social types, and insofar as Costa Rica can be fit into the mold of the ideal peasant society, we can understand its workings with reference to this model.

In common with most other anthropologists, I prefer to define peasant society in terms of its structural relations to the larger political unit of which it is a part, rather than in terms of occupational, cultural, or personality characteristics. Thus, a peasant society can be viewed as "a part of a larger social unit (usually a nation) which is vertically and horizontally structured. The peasant component of this larger unit bears a symbiotic spatial-temporal relationship to the more complex component, which is formed by the upper classes of the pre-industrial urban center" (Foster 1953:163).

Peasantries came into existence with the development of state organization, of which they form the rural agricultural component. The peasant differs from the farmer in that he "does not operate an enterprise in the economic sense; he runs a household, not a business concern" (Wolf 1966:2). He differs from both the farmer and the tribal agriculturalist in the nature of the ties binding him to external units; among peasantries, these ties are asymmetrical. In other words, "control of the means of production, including the disposition of human labor, passes from the hands of the primary producers into the hands of groups that do not carry
on the productive process themselves, but assume instead special executive and administrative functions, backed by the use of force" (Wolf 1966:3). Peasants, then, lack the group autonomy of the tribal agriculturalist, and the degree of control exerted by the farmer over his personal destiny. They are subservient to the demands of the controlling elite segment of the society, and many of the decisions affecting their lives are made elsewhere. As Foster (1967:8) views this relationship:

... the critical common denominator is that peasants have very little control over the conditions that govern their lives. Occupying as they do a very low socio-economic level in the states of which they are a part, they find that the basic decisions that affect their lives are made from outside their communities, and have always been so made. Peasants are not only poor, as has often been pointed out, but they are relatively powerless.

Not only are peasants politically and economically dependent with respect to the elite classes of the state society, they are culturally dependent as well. Kroeber (1948:284) long ago noted that "peasants constitute part-societies with part-cultures." This concept was most fully elaborated upon by Robert Redfield (1955, 1956) who distinguished between the "Great Tradition" of the elite few, and the "Little Tradition" of the peasant masses. While there is a constant exchange of elements between these two traditions, borrowing flows heavily in one direction - from the Great Tradition to the Little Tradition. As Redfield (1955:25-26) notes:

The culture of a peasant community ... is not autonomous. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilization of which it is a part ... to maintain itself peasant culture requires continual communication to the local community of content of thought originating outside of it. It does require another culture for its continued functioning.
The core features of peasant society, then, revolve around the structural ties binding it to other segments of the state society. In their relations with the latter, peasants are politically, economically and culturally dominated. The question, however, is whether or not these traits typify the rural dwellers of Costa Rica. In answering this question, we will focus upon three aspects of the peasant dilemma: his cultural, political and economic subservience to external social units. Since we are primarily concerned with determining whether or not Pejibaye can be described as a peasant community, we will naturally concentrate our analysis upon this particular part of the nation. In view of the notable lack of cultural differences in Costa Rica (Sandner 1964; West and Augelli 1966), it is quite probable, however, that the conclusions reached apply to most or all of the rest of the country.

Little evidence exists for the presence of divergent cultural traditions between urban elite and rural peasants in Costa Rica. One factor stymieing the dichotimization of Costa Rican culture is the relatively high level of educational attainment of the population - in 1973, approximately 92 percent of all Costa Ricans were literate. This has allowed widespread dissemination of information via printed media such as books, newspapers and magazines. Other mass media channels are equally influential in developing and maintaining a homogeneous national culture in Costa Rica. A number of Pejibayense, for example, own their own television sets; in every town in the area there is at least one set located in a commercial establishment which is available for public viewing. Almost every home possesses at least one radio and many housewives are accustomed to playing it while attending to their domestic chores. For
all of these reasons it is more appropriate to think of Costa Rica in terms of the development of a "Mass Tradition" (Weingrod 1969), where differences in lifestyle and outlook are based upon occupational and rural-urban residential differences, rather than upon cultural rifts between different segments of the population.

In their economic behavior, many Pejibayense more closely resemble the peasant norm. Most, for example, earn a living by farming their small plots of land. On these plots, traditional techniques of cultivation and harvesting are applied. The only mechanization involves a tractor which some of the more affluent farmers rent for the purpose of completing the spring plowing. The use of fertilizer is only now being adopted by some on their fincas; terracing and contouring are all but unknown. At the same time, it would not be stretching reality very greatly to claim that for the majority of the agricultural population, the major economic decision-making unit is the family and the survival of this unit, rather than the generation of mere profit, is the major concern of this group. However, caution must be applied here since although many Pejibayense cannot be considered agricultural entrepreneurs, and although their economic behavior cannot be totally explained in terms of the capitalistic notion of profit, it also cannot be explained in isolation from this notion. Many economic decisions are made solely with reference to the pricing mechanisms of the marketplace - the decision to cultivate coffee rather than some other crop, for example. At the same time, many Pejibayense, especially those owning the few large coffee fincas and the many cattle ranchers, do, in fact, run their fincas as a business enterprise and gear production entirely to the demands of the market.
These could by no stretch of the imagination be referred to as "peasants."

Perhaps the most serious objection to classifying the rural inhabitants of Pejibaye into this social category involves the nature of political life in the village and the nation. Because of the asymmetrical ties of power between peasants and elite, "peasant leadership in normally weak; it is truncated and ineffectual in meeting other than the most traditional and routine demands" (Foster 1967:8). This is far from being the case in Pejibaye. Political activity in Costa Rica is cast within a democratic framework; elections, based upon the principle of universal and compulsory suffrage for citizens over the age of eighteen, are held every four years for national and local governmental positions. Competition for local political influence is keen, and these leaders are highly effective in carrying out their duties. While it may be true that many individuals feel helpless before the power of outside forces, this is not true of the village itself. Not only is local leadership well-developed, but the community exerts important influence upon decisions made at the national level. Such influence contradicts the essential condition of the peasant.

If we were to classify Pejibaye as a peasant community, we would thus be forced to concede that it is unlike any other peasant community described in the literature. Yet while Pejibayense do not quite fit into the peasant mold, neither do they behave exactly as do modern farmers, among whom economic decisions are totally divorced from domestic considerations. Perhaps the best way of dealing with this situation is by viewing Pejibayense as "postpeasants," a social type which comes into being as peasant societies begin to modernize and their peasantries become
increasingly transformed into rural farmers. According to Camst (1974: 11) "As agricultural civilizations across the globe modernize into industrial urban civilizations, their peasants become what may be called post-peasants, having only some of the attributes of peasants..."

Whether viewed as peasants, postpeasants or farmers does not alter the basic fact of life of Pejibayense: much of what takes place in the community is a function of events occurring outside the realm of the local system. As part of a state-level political organization, all three must respond to economic forces originating elsewhere in the country and elsewhere in the world which directly impinge upon their activities. All three must obey laws dictated by the state, pay taxes, and adapt to the consequences of government action or inaction. Community structure, in other words, is not a result solely of local forces, but is to a significant degree determined by constraints imposed from without. The implication of this is that change in community structure is primarily the result of modification of these externally imposed constraints. In other words, modernization in peasant or postpeasant communities is not in any meaningful way related to decisions made at the local level, but rather to decisions made by the government and other national groups. In Costa Rica, national political, social and economic institutions have undergone radical changes during the past forty years, as has the nature of the interaction between government and community. These changes at the national level have had serious consequences upon the social and economic context of life in Pejibaye, a theme which shall be more fully explored in chapters VII and VIII.
Summary: Social Change in Postpeasant Society and its Relationship to Migration and Frontier Colonization

Social change takes place in response to a variety of factors, and can be analyzed from a number of different theoretical perspectives. As stated in chapter I, social change in Pejibaye will be viewed from the perspective of Barth's transactional model of social organization. Briefly stated, Barth views social behavior as an instance of exchange involving two or more individuals, each of whom attempts to maximize personal gains, while acting under the influence of certain constraints. The gains which the individual attempts to maximize are fairly standardized within a society at any given point in time and can be summarized under the rubric of "culture" or culturally valued items. The constraints he works under include the role behavior appropriate to the situation, economic and other resources in his possession, ecological factors which reward certain strategies while defeating others, and the behavior of other individuals similarly attempting to maximize their personal gain. Within this framework of constraints, the individual is obliged to evaluate the efficacy of alternative behavioral strategies and select that which he believes most likely to lead to the ultimate achievement of his personal goals.

The results of past transactions indicate the likelihood of success or failure for particular strategies, and this is the primary basis upon which the individual decides which set of behaviors is most effective in a given situation. As an aggregate of individuals acting in a self-interested manner attempt to modify their actions in the direction of the optimum, statistical regularities in behavior are produced which we refer to as "social patterns."
The implications of this model are clear: change the constraints under which individuals operate, and the outcomes of their behavior will also be changed. In attempting to maximize gains, they will be forced to reevaluate their behaviors, and modify them so as to account for these new constraints under which they are operating. As more and more individuals do this, the statistical frequency with which different alternative strategies are chosen will be altered, with the result that the social patterns of the group will have changed.

In a postpeasant society such as Pejibaye, most of the constraints placed upon individual behavior are the result of actions undertaken elsewhere in the nation. In seeking the causes of change in the local system, we should thus focus our attention upon changes taking place at the national level, changes which directly affect the efficacy of behavioral strategies adopted by the local villager.

The degree to which world market prices determine agricultural production in peasant and postpeasant societies has been heavily documented in the literature (see Wolf 1966; Ortiz 1973). This constitutes one rather direct way in which peasant behavior is directed by forces emanating from outside the system. Changes in world market prices for different agricultural goods naturally call into play a response from the peasant, who must consequently alter his agricultural production if he hopes to maximize his economic gain.

From the point of view of Pejibaye, perhaps the single most important external agent of change in the local environment has been the government of Costa Rica. It was the government which wrote into legislation the inheritance laws partially responsible for the fragmentation of
landholdings in the core areas of settlement, a factor directly related to out-migration from these areas, and the later colonization of Pejibaye. Legislation relating to the claiming of government lands along the frontier greatly influences the pattern of settlement in such areas, and thus their later development. It is the government which undertakes the construction of roads which, as we have seen, are instrumental in determining the economic growth of frontier areas. Through government controlled banks, loans are selectively made in order to stimulate growth in certain areas of the economy, and certain areas of the country, to the detriment of others. Finally, it is the government which provides educational and health facilities, police protection and postal service, each of which greatly influences the attractiveness of particular areas to migrants, and their potential for economic development.

While certain actions undertaken by individuals and institutions located outside the local system effect changes in the community in a rather direct fashion (such as when the government builds a new road and this leads to a greater production of commercial corps), the significance and outcome of such external action often depends upon the responses of the local villagers. As Wolf (1966:1) points out: "What goes on in Gopalpur, India or Alcala de la Sierra in Spain cannot be explained in terms of that village alone; the explanation must include consideration both of the outside forces impinging on these villages and of the reactions of villagers to these forces" (emphasis added).

Land-claim laws in Costa Rica, for example, have traditionally been quite liberal, allowing an individual to take possession of large tracts or virgin land. In Pejibaye and elsewhere in the nation many individuals
responded to this externally imposed constraint by claiming as much land as possible. The result of this - the quick disappearance of free land on the frontier - is quite different than would have been the case had other responses been chosen. In other words, in analyzing change in Pejibaye, we must bear in mind that we are not dealing with a simple case of "external action A" leads to "local change A". The situation is much more complicated than this, for the response of the villagers themselves to externally imposed constraints modifies the significance of these constraints. The effects of liberal land laws in one period of time, for example, can be negated in the next due to the behavioral strategies chosen by individuals to cope with them.

The social changes brought about by the act of frontier settlement have already been discussed in the preceding section of this chapter. Again, however, it would do well to keep in mind that the pattern of colonization itself, as well as the nature and timing of changes that subsequently take place, are to a large degree determined by forces emanating from well beyond the pale of the frontier. Rather obviously, the cultural mechanisms by which settlers adapt to the frontier were molded elsewhere in the nation. In the same manner, factors such as national land-claim laws, government road building, and others previously enumerated, significantly influence the changing pattern of life on the frontier.

Migration in post-colonization times is also related to the social and economic structure of the community, and responds to changes in this structure. In our discussion of migration in the first section of this chapter, we emphasized the role of migration as a dependent variable,
changing in response to changes in national and community structures. Causality, however, also flows in the opposite direction, with migration bringing about important changes in community structure. The most obvious way in which this occurs is through the sheer increase in the community's population as a result of in-migration. The role of population growth in stimulating significant and long-term socioeconomic change has been long noted in the anthropological literature (see Boserup 1965; Dumond 1965; Binford 1968; Flannery 1969; Carneiro 1970). While certainly nothing of comparable magnitude has taken place in Pejibaye, the increment of its inhabitants resulting from continued in-migration has made possible a number of important developments. Among these are the proliferation of commercial undertakings, the rise of the cattle and coffee industries, and the restructuring of relations both among Pejibayense, and between Pejibaye and national institutions.

At the same time, as the community structure has changed, individuals with different resources, and of different socioeconomic backgrounds have migrated to Pejibaye. Adopting different courses of action upon arrival than had previous in-migrants, the consequences of their actions have had ramifications upon the future development of the community. In other words, community structure influences the pattern of migration; the size of the migration stream, the characteristics of in-migrants, and their activities upon arrival in Pejibaye then effect changes in the community structure - with the result that the pattern of migration in the next period will be significantly modified.

All aspects of this study, then, deal in one way or another with the concept of social change. Change in the community structure of
Pejibaye, and in its pattern of migration, has been pervasive since the days of its initial settlement thirty-six years ago. Understanding why this change has occurred requires that we determine the relationship among different aspects of the community structure, and between this and the external forces affecting the structure of life in Pejibaye. This shall be done in the following pages of this dissertation.
III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The first two chapters were devoted to outlining the research goals of this study and discussing their broad theoretical interest to anthropology and other social sciences. The present chapter will consider the next logical step in the research process: formulation of a research strategy designed to satisfy these goals. The importance of specifying the manner in which data were gathered in the field is obvious yet worth mentioning: determination of the patterns of social life and migration in Pejibaye, as well as the historical changes in these patterns, are only as accurate as are the data upon which they are based. At the same time, the explanatory power of theoretical statements generated from analysis of these patterns is rendered superfluous should the patterns themselves be misconstrued. In other words, the validity of all later theoretical statements made in this thesis hinges in the first instance upon the validity of the data collected in the field. Since this is in large part a function of the research techniques employed, we shall now consider these techniques and the field situation itself. In doing so it is hoped that a firm basis may be formed for evaluating the scientific accuracy of this study.

The Field Situation

One of the important factors determining the success or failure of field research is the ability of the ethnographer to secure the
cooperation and good-will of the members of the community he is studying. Often, the attainment of this goal is determined by factors beyond his control. In some societies, people are reluctant to reveal information to an outsider, are suspicious of his motives, and only begrudgingly tolerate his presence among them. Because there may be no social role of "ethnographer" in their society, and no tradition of social scientific inquiry in their culture, people may be quite confused regarding the purpose of the ethnographer's visit. His attempts to elicit confidential information from them may thus arouse anxiety and resentment. Under such circumstances it is extremely difficult to establish the personal rapport with community members necessary to yield useful information. Much time and effort must be spent by the ethnographer convincing people of his sincerity and good intentions, and the reliability of informant statements must be constantly questioned during fieldwork.

Fortunately, this description does not apply to rural Costa Rican society. Many researchers fondly recall their field sojourn in the country. West and Augelli (1966:436) refer to it as a "delightful country." Carolyn Hall (1976:181) points out that "fieldwork is one of the most agreeable chores for any geographer in Costa Rica (because of the) almost invariable willingness of Costa Ricans to cooperate in any geographic study ... As far as contemporary themes, there remains little doubt as to the validity of the farmers' responses."¹

It was quite evident from the very start that these were not isolated experiences, but applied equally well to the working conditions of

¹Author's translation.
Pejibaye. After having decided to take up residence in the centro, my wife and I visited it one morning to check into the possibilities of obtaining housing. We arrived in Pejibaye at around 9 a.m. and shortly thereafter stopped into a soda to purchase a few soft drinks. While drinking these, we asked the proprietor if he knew of any houses for rent. Fortunately, we were overheard by another customer, and she directed us down the street to a house which had recently become vacant. Throughout the process of settling in the community, the helpfulness of this woman went beyond the bounds of simple courtesy. Not only did she secure living quarters for us, but she also helped us clean the house prior to moving in. Later that day she directed us about town, showing us where we could purchase different types of food and other articles. Not being very knowledgeable in the practicalities of everyday life in the country, my wife and I greatly appreciated her sound advice on how to adapt to our new situation.

In the next few days, we made a number of purchases in the local stores. Shopkeepers and customers alike acted in a very cordial manner, and were quite interested in knowing what a pair of gringos were doing in town. Everyone we encountered tried to make us feel as welcome. One shopkeeper casually gave us a sack of oranges which he had just picked; others made gifts of bananas, tapa dulce (lumps of semi-refined sugar), and papaya. Yet another woman lent us a few pieces of furniture to use as long as we wished. In short, the reception my wife and I received from the people of Pejibaye was more than I could have reasonably expected.

After these first few days of frenzied activity, life settled down to a more normal routine. For the first month after our arrival, I
deliberately attempted to play a low-key role in the community. I made a point of wandering about town during the day so that my presence would become familiar to the townspeople. I engaged in small talk with several people, sounding out potential informants and explaining the purpose of my visit. Since education is highly valued by Costa Ricans, and the educational system is similar to that in the United States, most people could understand my explanation that I was conducting research for my doctoral thesis. They could also vaguely understand the nature of the research I was conducting, especially the aspect dealing with the historical reconstruction of the area. I was surprised to find that a number of people, especially males, considered this work important and were quite willing to assist me in any way possible.

During this first month of residence in Pejibaye, we received numerous visits as curiosity was at a high level in the town. Most of these were from high school and grammar school children, and from neighboring Pejibayense. We were also visited by one of the mayordomos, or sacristans, and by the three nuns who had arrived in town the day after my wife and I. One visit, however, proved to be of particular significance. A woman living on a nearby street took it upon herself to act as our unofficial "hostess" in Pejibaye. She introduced us to numerous people, invited us to parties, and supplied invaluable information about the town which later helped me to focus in on important aspects of community life. Through a fortunate coincidence, it turned out that her father-in-law had been one of the first settlers in the area; his knowledge of the historical development of Pejibaye was extraordinary, and he soon became my major informant on this subject. Her brother's father-in-law, meanwhile, was one of the
wealthiest cattle ranchers in that part of the country. Her own father had been foreman of the work crew that ballasted the road to San Isidro in 1965, an event that had great impact upon the development of the region. One brother-in-law was a school teacher; another was a mayordomo. Her husband was foreman of the local beneficio, or coffee processing plant. She also owned one of two salones (dance halls) in town, and because of this knew a great many more people than most Pejibayense, and was on friendly terms with almost everyone. I could not have asked for a more helpful benefactoress.

After the first month in Pejibaye, I felt that a sufficient basis had been laid for the initiation of more formal research procedures. One of the first things I did was to visit each household in the centro, introduce myself and explain the purpose of my visit to those whom I had not previously met, and administer a questionnaire containing questions relating to economic and social behavior, kinship, and migration. More will be said concerning this questionnaire in the next section of this chapter. For now, suffice it to say that as a result of the information gained through this means, certain patterns began to emerge, and I became aware of social traits and historical events which I had not anticipated. I was also able to develop an awareness of which persons possessed special knowledge on particular subjects, and in this way singled out specific individuals to act as key informants.

Fieldwork thus began on a high note and continued in this fashion throughout the remainder of the ten months spent in Pejibaye. Never was I refused an interview, and seldom did people seem reticent about revealing
information. In fact, the situation was quite the opposite. As time passed, complete strangers living in remote parts of the district occasionally approached me and asked if I were going to visit their homes before I left. Other persons approached me because they felt the need to tell "their side of the story" of Pejibaye's history. In a few cases such persons proved valuable informants. I was often chided by Pejibayense for failure to visit them often enough; those whom I did not visit immediately after my arrival in town expressed disappointment at this behavior and told me that they thought I'd "never get around to visit them."

Part of our extreme popularity in Pejibaye was doubtless due to the good-will left behind by three Peace Corps workers who had been assigned to the region ten years ago, and to the genuine feelings of affection felt by most Pejibayense toward Americans. When we first arrived in Pejibaye, many people assumed that my wife and I were Peace Corps workers; until our very last days in the village, some people were still asking us if this were the case. Evidently these three Americans had been extremely popular in Pejibaye and people were forever talking about them. Some of this popularity rubbed off on the new Americans who came to live in the village.

While there is a growing anti-American attitude in the urban areas of Costa Rica, this is not yet affected the countryside, where Americans are generally accorded a high social status. Most Pejibayense look upon Americans as being a kind and generous people; many still speak with pride of former president John F. Kennedy's visit to Costa Rica in the early 1960s. Consequently, many people felt extremely flattered that an
American would take such a personal interest in their lives. A number of Pejibayense found it difficult to believe that I had not been sent to the village by some higher authority, but had chosen to live there of my own accord. One teacher in the colegio (high school) could not understand why I had chosen to conduct my study in Pejibaye "where there is no culture," rather than in a more developed area which possesses more of the comforts of life. Throughout the course of fieldwork people expressed amazement that I would be willing to forego the "good life" in the United States to deal with the "hardships" of living in a town without electricity, supermarkets and, most importantly, without my kinsmen. The general attitude was that because we were not used to dealing with the inconveniences of life in the country, my wife and I were having a hard time of it - and that if we were willing to sacrifice so much to learn about their lives, they would cooperate in any way possible.

One of the more politically-minded individuals in Pejibaye, it is true, had a more practical reason for aiding me in my research; despite my assertions to the contrary, he was firmly convinced that a U.S. government official would read my "report" and, realizing that Pejibaye was in need of better roads, take prompt action to remedy this situation. Fortunately, this was a rare attitude in the village. Few people expected anything more than my gratitude and friendship in return for the long hours they spent talking to me. In fact, one good friend jokingly remarked that I was "the only American ever to have come to Pejibaye and do nothing of material benefit for the people."

There is one other aspect of the field situation in a town like Pejibaye that deserves mention. This deals with the specific settings of
interviews and conversations with the inhabitants. During weekdays, there is little visible activity in the centro. Except for an occasional shopper or two, the streets are virtually deserted. Men are busy at their jobs, and women are working in the home. Under such circumstances, it is rather difficult to "get to know the people," since it is difficult just to find them. For this reason, I found it necessary to visit people in their homes, and this is where I obtained much of the information contained in this thesis. Because of the daily rhythm of life in Pejibaye, interviewing was restricted primarily to the afternoons. During the mornings, men are busy in the fields or at other activities, and women do most of their housework. Although it was not possible to visit people in their homes in the morning because of the inconvenience it would cause them, it was possible to speak to shopkeepers and others who worked in the town during this part of the day. There are also at least a few men relaxing or conducting business in town in the morning who were more than willing to engage in idle conversation. "Appointments" were usually made with key informants in advance of visits so as to assure arrival at a convenient time.

During Sundays the pattern of life changes dramatically in Pejibaye. After mass, people congregate in the plaza to watch the soccer game, dance in the salones, or visit the cantinas. This presented an ideal opportunity for conducting a great deal of interviewing, especially of those individuals who live far from the centro, and visit it only on this day to take advantage of the entertainment facilities available.
In addition to the home, the streets, and business establishments, there was one other locus where extensive interviewing was conducted. This is the cantina. In Costa Rica the cantina, a place where alcoholic beverages are served, is a focal point of male activity. Business is greatest on Sundays and Mondays, and throughout the harvest season, when men come into town to sell their produce to local merchants. In the cantina, male comraderie is emphasized and men discuss agriculture, their personal problems, and women. Many mornings, which are otherwise slack periods of data collection in Pejibaye, were spent in the most frequented cantina, talking to the patrons of this establishment. These discussions provided much valuable information for this study.

Research Techniques

In gathering data pertaining to frontier colonization, migration and social change in Pejibaye, a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques were utilized. The former include participant observation and key informant interviewing; the latter consisted primarily of an orally administered questionnaire.

Five interrelated topics were emphasized in this research: migration, social behavior, economic behavior, political behavior, and the historical development of Pejibaye. In the remainder of this section we will consider the ways in which data pertaining to each of these topics were collected in the field.

Quantitative migration data were obtained primarily through a questionnaire administered to household heads. This questionnaire contained
questions relating to numbers, dates and motives for residence shifts; occupational history of the respondent; information sources; the formation of migration chains; social and economic adjustments following migration; and the migratory history of relatives. It is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix A.

At first, this questionnaire was administered only to each of the adult residents of the centro. From the responses of these individuals it soon became clear, however, that the colonization of much of the district had taken place as part of a single process. Areas to the south, for example, had been directly colonized from the village of Pejibaye. Many of the centro's inhabitants had furthermore migrated several times within the district before finally settling down in their present location. This new information revealed a glaring weakness in the original decision to restrict this study to the village alone. For this reason the geographic scope of research was expanded and the unit of study which was finally settled upon included the district as a whole.

Completed questionnaires were eventually obtained from nearly 220 households, representing approximately 18 percent of those in the district.\(^2\) The sample of households surveyed is not, however, a statistically valid one since it was not randomly selected from among the population as a whole. There are several factors which made selection of a completely random sample infeasible in Pejibaye. First, the usefulness of such a step hinges upon there being important differences in migration related to such features as the personal traits of occupation, age

\(^2\)The 1973 census lists 1,245 households in the district.
and sex, and to the structural traits of settlement size, natural resources and exploitative patterns. In other words, it would have been necessary to construct a stratified sample, and this requires a fairly extensive knowledge of regional variation.\(^3\) Needless to say, it was only during the course of actual research that differences such as these became known.

The difficulty of sheer physical mobility also ruled out from the beginning any consideration of applying rigorous statistical sampling techniques to the administration of this questionnaire. The terrain of much of the district is extremely rugged and access to many areas is quite difficult. Except for a few small population nuclei, a scattered settlement pattern is characteristic of the region. The time and effort required to visit such isolated households would have seriously hampered work in other aspects of this study, such as the reconstruction of the historical development of Pejibaye, or determination of its social structure. In fact, the locations of many households were not even known and thus could not be included in any random sample of the district.

The result of surveying a non-random sample of households is that some social categories and geographic areas are over-represented in the sample, while others are underrepresented. The application of rigorous statistical testing procedures would therefore seem to be out of the question.

However, it must be borne in mind that the goal of researcher is not merely to obtain a completely random sample of behavior, but rather

\(^3\)See Pelto (1970:165-166) for further discussion of the uses of stratified sampling procedures.
to obtain a representative sample of behavior. This is what I set out to accomplish, and this is what I believe I succeeded in doing. Not only were the inhabitants of each of the district's three major pueblos (Pejibaye, El Aguila and Las Mesas) nearly completely canvassed during research, but so too were those living in several smaller pueblos (for example, Achiotal and Barrio Nuevo). These pueblos represent each of the four major settlement types in Pejibaye: large nucleated cluster; small nucleated cluster; concentrated line settlement; and scattered line settlement. At the same time, a sizeable number of people belonging to each major socioeconomic category of Pejibayense society were interviewed during fieldwork.

In terms of the historical pattern of migration, the high frequency of intra-district mobility made it possible to gather a great deal of data pertaining to the colonization of areas not completely canvassed by the questionnaire. Many of the people presently living in the centro, for example, had been among the first to settle in pueblos such as Zapote, Gibre and San Gabriel, areas where little direct interviewing was conducted. At the same time, the majority of these had come as parts of "migration chains"; since it could reasonably be expected that most of the other members of these chains had been of similar socioeconomic backgrounds, indirect evidence as to the types of people colonizing other parts of the district was relatively abundant.

4The validity of any random sample depends, of course, upon the items analyzed being randomly distributed, a situation rarely encountered when dealing with human behavior.

5See Figure 4, page 136.
There is, however, one unavoidable bias in the data. Out-migration from Pejibaye has been a salient demographic feature of the region since the days of its first colonization. Consequently, many in-migrants have since left the district, leaving us with only the "success stories" of Pejibaye upon which to base our analysis of in-migration. However, bias of this sort was minimized by the utilization of several lines of evidence revealing the characteristics of out-migrants; when these are compared to the in-migration data collected from contemporary Pejibayense, few differences are noticeable. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the in-migration data are internally consistent both with respect to the types of in-migrants one would expect to find attracted to Pejibaye at different points in its development, and to the qualitative statements of informants regarding the actual situation. Nevertheless, the effects of this source of error are taken into account wherever possible in the final analysis of the data.

The proper study of migration, however, requires more than just a statistical collection of miscellaneous migrant characteristics. It also requires an understanding of the social and economic context in which migration takes place. This is especially true in the present study, which proposes to relate migratory behavior to local development.

By means of the questionnaire, it was possible to determine the basic framework of the social and economic structure of Pejibaye. An entire section was devoted to questions pertaining to economic activities,

6See Chapter X, pages 320-323.

7For further discussion of the research techniques employed in the study of migration in Pejibaye, see Chapter IX, pages 248-252.
land tenure, kinship, interpersonal relations, and the like. It is also pertinent to point out that the questionnaire was administered in a highly informal manner. After a short period of time I had managed to memorize the content and it was no longer necessary to refer constantly to a printed schedule. Since it is unwise to trust memory of numerical data, a few figures were scribbled on a notepad during the course of the interview, but such questions were always asked in a set pattern, so that their meaning would later be clear. In this way I attempted to create as relaxed an atmosphere as possible. Interviews were always treated as social visits, both by myself and by my hosts. Coffee was usually served and every opportunity was taken to obtain information not specifically asked in the questionnaire. The length of this initial stay, of course, varied from one individual to another according to his inclination to be hospitable at the moment. Follow-up interviews of greater length, and relating to different topics, were conducted throughout the duration of the field stay.

Once the basic framework of social and economic life in Pejibaye had been determined by the information made available in the questionnaire, it was then feasible to construct questions designed to "fill in the gaps" of this basic outline. From administering the questionnaire to a large number of community members, I also came to an awareness of which individuals possessed special knowledge of specific topics of interest to this study, and was eventually able to select key informants based on this knowledge.
With respect to social relations, especially among family members, I attempted to interview as wide a range of individuals as was feasible in the time allotted for field research. The most common format of these discussions was the open-ended interview involving the use of hypothetical questions and the elicitation of actual examples of behavior in the lives of the informant, or acquaintances. The verbal information supplied by informants was heavily supplemented by personal observation of social behavior. Where the two did not correspond, I went back and sought further explanation which would account for the discrepancy. My wife and I also became quite close to a number of persons and by spending a great deal of time with them, were able to gain more insight into family relations in Pejibaye than would otherwise have been possible. As often as time allowed we attended parties, dances and other social events, including the Sunday mass in the Catholic church in Pejibaye. Because of the pattern of relations between the sexes in Pejibaye, my wife was able to gather from female members of the community some information to which I would not have had access; in fact, many of the initial interviews conducted in the homes of Pejibayense took place in the early afternoons, when the only persons home were the wife and children. Only my wife's presence on such occasions made these visits socially acceptable in the eyes of the inhabitants of Pejibaye. On the other hand, I spent a number of hours in the cantina, formally chatting with the clientele, and in this way was able to better understand the male point of view in Pejibaye.

The collection of relevant data pertaining to social behavior, political behavior, and local history proceeded in much the same manner. Reliance was placed upon interviews carried out with key informants and
heavily supplemented by informal discussion with many other members of the community. By obtaining the points of view of large numbers of persons, it was felt that internal consistency in their statements would indicate with a high degree of assurance that the particular phenomenon under consideration was being correctly interpreted; lack of such consistency would indicate that I had as yet failed to comprehend the subtleties of the situation and needed to conduct further research in this area.

In all areas of investigation, several key informants were utilized. In the political sphere, for example, several members of the community have held elective office or have served on one or more community organizations. Extensive discussions were held with each of these individuals, although perhaps more time was spent with four or five of the most politically active and important persons, than with others falling into this category.

Politics was also discussed with many politically non-active residents of Pejibaye, so as to obtain the point of view of the "average citizen" regarding the political system and the performances of those involved in it. In a similar manner, the selective use of key informants, combined with the quantitative data supplied by the questionnaire, provided the basis for formulating statements concerning the economic system of Pejibaye.

The time element constitutes a critical variable in this study of social change and migration. Many of the data already mentioned provide clues pertinent to the reconstruction of the historical development of Pejibaye. The questionnaire, for example, gives us details of migratory activity that took place in a particular historical period. A word of caution should be sounded, however, on the subject of eliciting
evaluative statements concerning past social behavior from informants. During fieldwork in a Mexican village, Frank and Ruth Young (1961) tested the degree of informant reliability with respect to various categories of information. They found that informants were most accurate when giving information concerning: physical geography and public buildings; institutions and institutional roles; and dates of important community events. On the other hand, there was much less agreement among informants when asked questions requiring subjective evaluation such as "were neighbors more friendly toward one another in the past?" For this reason, questions concerning past social behavior were stated as concretely as possible, and emphasis was placed upon the behavior and attitudes of the informant, rather than upon his opinion of the behavior and attitudes of others. In this way it was hoped that the purely subjective element would be minimized in the reconstruction of past social behavior.

Because there are substantially more data concerning contemporary social behavior, and these data are more reliable, it is often impossible to make as precise a comparison with past social behavior as would have been desired. For example, there is near-unanimous agreement that the institution of compadrazgo is less important now than it once was. However, it can only be stated in approximate terms how much less important it is at present, since some degree of memory lapse on the part of informants in the intervening years will surely have biased the data in one direction or another. This is not to say that such statements are scientifically invalid - only that some measure of precision has been lost.
In reconstructing past economic behavior, environments, and the dates of important community events, this study is on a much sounder footing. These are features which require little subjective evaluation on the part of the informant, and which were of great significance to his personal life. As Hall (1976:181) points out in discussing her field research in Costa Rica: "Qualitative information is, in general, reliable; a farmer vividly recalls, for example, how year after year he had to struggle to take his carts of coffee to the beneficio until the time that the road was (finally) paved."\(^8\)

The dates given in this thesis for historical events of importance in the development of Pejibaye were, for the most part, supplied by local informants. Nevertheless, I believe that the degree of error is, in nearly all cases, negligible or entirely absent. I was quite fortunate, for example, in that a male resident of Pejibaye with a nearly infallible memory for such material was quite willing to cooperate in the task of drawing up a history of the area. Two women in town were almost as helpful in this pursuit, although they did not possess as wide a range of information as did my key informant. Most persons in town remembered the dates of at least a few events of community interest and there was a great degree of agreement among all these sources. I naturally attempted to verify important dates against historical records and in the five or six cases where this was possible, there was perfect agreement with those provided by local informants.

\(^8\)Author's translation.
All of the lines of evidence enumerated above converge to produce the findings presented in the remainder of this thesis. We shall now present these findings, starting first with the national and regional context, and then turning to the pertinent aspects of life in Pejibaye itself.
IV. THE NATIONAL SETTING

As was pointed out in the last chapter, understanding of life in Pejibaye requires that we expand our scope of analysis far beyond the narrow limits of the district itself. To no small degree, Pejibaye is the product of the same forces that have shaped the nation as a whole; it is part and parcel of the Costa Rican experience, one which is unlike any other in Latin America. To be a Pejibayense is to be a Costarricense, a member of a unique cultural tradition and a specific political unit. What goes on in San Jose impinges upon the lives of those in Pejibaye, just as it does upon the lives of those living in other communities in Costa Rica. For this reason we shall now summarize the major features of Costa Rican society so that Pejibaye can be understood within the context of the nation of which it is a part.

Geography, Climate and Population Distribution

The Republic of Costa Rica is one of six nations occupying the Isthmus of Central America. On two of its flanks it is bordered by bodies of water: the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Caribbean Sea to the east. The northern frontier is formed by Nicaragua; the south-eastern by Panama.

In terms both of its physical dimension and its population size, Costa Rica is a small country. Its surface area measures only 50,900
square kilometers and within this territory there live only 1,871,780 people, a density of approximately 37 inhabitants per square kilometer.\(^1\)

In the whole of the Western Hemisphere, only nearby El Salvador and certain island-nations of the Caribbean possess smaller national territories. Among Central American nations, only Panama has fewer inhabitants, although the population densities of Panama, Nicaragua and Honduras are lower.

In spite of its small territorial extension, the geography of Costa Rica is quite complex. The rugged, mountainous terrain of much of the country makes travel difficult and greatly expands distances. As the geographer Gerhard Sandner (1962:9) notes: "Volcanic cones and massifs, mountain chains of sharp profile, wide plains in the lowlands, eroded mountain ranges, and closed mesetas and basins, articulated in the manner of a mosaic, form the basic frame of the physical structure of the country."\(^2\)

Such geographic complexity, combined with wide variations in climatic patterns, explains the staggering multiplicity of microenvironments found in Costa Rica, as well as the large number of life forms which thrive within its boundaries. Within a radius as small as five or ten kilometers wide variation in geography, climate and biota is often apparent even to the untrained observer. This was what led the geographer H. Nuhn (1973:1) to assert that: "Taking into account ... the profound differences in the basic geography and socioeconomic structures which

\(^{1}\)1973 census figures.

\(^{2}\)Author's translation.
condition its division into areas with divergent potential, this small country compares favorably with much larger countries."³

The physical structure of Costa Rica is dominated by a series of cordilleras, or mountain chains, which run along the central axis of the country. To the north lies the Cordillera Volcanica de Guanacaste, a series of highly eroded volcanic mountains which run in a northwest-south-east direction for 112 kilometers.⁴ In the central part of the nation the Cordillera Volcanica Central extends for 76 kilometers in an east-west direction. Also of volcanic origin, this chain is younger and more rugged than are the mountains to the north, and several of its peaks reach above 3000 meters. The southern mountain chain, the Cordillera de Talamanca, was formed by the intrusion of a batholith of granitic rock. This chain extends in a northwest-southeast direction for 320 kilometers and with a width varying between 40 and 80 kilometers, it is easily the longest and most massive of Costa Rica's three cordilleras. The country's highest peak, Cerro Chirripo (3819 meters), as well as five others over 3000 meters in altitude, lie within this range.

Located both within and between mountain ranges are a number of valleys and intermontane basins which constitute important nuclei of human settlement. By far the largest and most important of these is the Valle Central, which measures some 40 by 120 kilometers in radius (4800 square kilometers). Located in the central part of the nation, the Valle Central lies between the Cordillera Volcanica Central to the north, the

³Author's translation.

⁴See Figure 1, page 75.
Figure 1. Costa Rica: Basic Geography.
zone of Turrialba and Tuis to the east, the Cordillera de Talamanca to the south, and the Monte de Aguacate in the vicinity of San Ramon to the west. Altitudes within this highland region vary between 500 and 1500 meters, climate is predominantly temperate and the soil is volcanic in origin, and therefore extremely fertile.

Within the Valle Central a smaller region, perhaps one-third as large and important from an historical point of view, can be delimited. This is the Meseta Central, which consists of two small intermontane basins. The western, or San Jose Basin, is located between Turrucares and Tres Rios. The eastern, or Cartago Basin, lies between Cartago and Paraiso. Between these two basins lie the Cerros de Ochomogo which forms the Continental Divide at an altitude of approximately 1550 meters above sea level.

To the east of the central mountain chain of Costa Rica lies the Atlantic coastal plain. This is a hot, humid lowland region which extends inland for 200 kilometers at places. Climate is marked by heavy yearly precipitation (4000-5000 millimeters) and the absence of distinct dry and wet seasons. The natural vegetation of this area is tropical rain forest, and many parts are covered by malaria-ridden swamplands.

The Pacific coastal plain is narrower and less humid. In the southern and central portions of this plain, the Fila Costeña (Coastal Mountain Range) parallels the coast a few kilometers inland. Precipitation averages between 2000-3000 millimeters annually, while the dry season extends for between two and five months of the year.

In the northern part of the country the Pacific plain extends for some distance inland, where it becomes the plains of Guanacaste. This
is one of the largest tracts of level land in Costa Rica. Because of its relative aridity, most of Guanacaste is a grassland or savanna region. Average yearly precipitation is between 1000-2000 millimeters.

There are 23,091 kilometers of roads in Costa Rica, of which only 1,648 are paved. The major arteries of transportation run along a north-south and east-west axis across the country. The north-south system consists of the Interamerican Highway which extends from the Nicaraguan border through the Valle Central and southward into Panama. The east-west system consists of two state-operated railroads which meet in the capital of San Jose and form a transportation network linking the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. Air transportation is also of some importance in Costa Rica. Much of the country is dotted with small landing strips at which light craft regularly touch down. The country’s sole international airport, Juan Santamaria, is located near the city of Alajuela, 16 kilometers from San Jose. Since most rivers in Costa Rica are short and shallow, water transportation is of little significance in the country.

Most of Costa Rica’s inhabitants live within the confines of the Valle Central. In 1973, this was true of 54 percent of Costa Ricans, and in the past this figure was much higher. Like most developing nations of the world, the majority of Costa Ricans live in rural regions of the country - only 41 percent were urban dwellers in 1973. As is the case with the population itself, most urbanized areas of Costa Rica are located in the Valle Central - in order of size, these include the cities of San Jose
(125,000), 6 Alajuela (31,000), Heredia (25,000) and Cartago (24,000). The metropolitan area of San Jose itself contains a population of 480,000 inhabitants - 25 percent of the population of the entire nation! The only other important cities in Costa Rica are the ports of Puntarenas on the Pacific coast, and Limon on the Atlantic coast.

Administrative Divisions

Costa Rica is divided into seven provincias (provinces), the largest administrative unit in the nation. These include: San Jose, Cartago, Alajuela, Heredia, Puntarenas, Guanacaste and Limon. The cabeceras, or capitals of each have the same name as does the province, with the exception of Guanacaste whose capital is the city of Liberia.

Each province is further subdivided into a variable number of cantones (counties) of which there were 80 in 1974. The canton, in turn, is made up of a number of distritos (districts). In 1974, there were 406 districts in Costa Rica.

Economy

The economy of Costa Rica is heavily dependent upon the production of two major export crops: coffee and bananas. Of the two, coffee is the more important both because it is more heavily taxed and because its production is primarily in the hands of nationals - most banana plantations are owned by American corporations and even where they are not, as

6 Traditionally, the city of San Jose includes only the districts of Carmen, Merced, Hospital and Catedral. If the entire canton of San Jose is considered equivalent to the city, as it often is, then its population rises to 220,000 living in an area of 45 square kilometers.
along the Atlantic coast, marketing is controlled by these foreign interests.

Most of Costa Rica's coffee is grown in the Valle Central, where soil, elevation and climate are nearly ideally suited for this crop (Hall 1976). This region produces not only the largest amount, but also the highest quality beans in the nation. Other important coffee producing regions include Tarrazu, located just to the south of the Valle Central (noted especially for its high-quality beans), the Valle del Rio San Carlos, located to the north, and the Valles de El General and Coto Brus, situated in the southern part of Costa Rica.

Banana production is localized along both coasts. At the present time the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, a subsidiary of United Brands, operates a number of plantations in the Golfito-Quepos area along the southern Pacific shoreline. African Oil Palm and a few other tropical plants are also cultivated on these plantations. In the past few decades production of bananas has resumed along the Atlantic coast, where it had been abandoned in 1942 following the appearance of Panama Disease in 1913, and Sigatoka in 1938. Here bananas are grown on a small scale by Costa Rican farmers, who sell their produce to the Standard Fruit Company, which then exports them for sale abroad. Cacao, another major export crop of Costa Rica, is also grown in the Atlantic coastal region.

Other important Costa Rican exports include sugar and cattle. Significant amounts of sugar cane are cultivated in the lower elevated regions of the Valle Central. The major cattle raising region of the nation, on the other hand, is Guanacaste, with the Valle de El General attaining some importance in this activity in recent years. Like coffee, however,
both cane and cattle are produced on some scale throughout Costa Rica.

The major food crops are maize, rice and beans. A large portion of Costa Rica's rice cultivation takes place along the Pacific coastal region, where this crop is grown on large-scale, capital intensive plantations. Maize and beans are produced in many areas of the country, but primarily in regions other than the Valle Central, which specializes more in coffee and sugar cane production. Especially noted as a "breadbasket" of Costa Rica is the Valle de El General.

Manufacturing is as yet little developed in Costa Rica. For the past twenty years the share of the gross national product created by the industrial sector of the economy has hovered at around 12 percent. As in other less developed nations, manufacturing activities in Costa Rica center around the theme of "import-substitution" with a heavy concentration in the areas of textile manufacturing, food processing and the elaboration of semi-manufactured goods. Because it is mineral-poor, heavy industry is nonexistent in Costa Rica.

Most industrial activity in Costa Rica is centered in the metropolitan area of San Jose. Over one-half of Costa Rica's industrial output is produced by factories located within this area. Industrial production elsewhere in the country is either on a very small scale, or heavily oriented toward agriculture - or both.

In comparison to other Latin American nations, Costa Rica is a relatively prosperous country. While its gross national product was only $10,164,400,000 ($1,200,000,000) in 1973, per capita income for

7The unit of currency in Costa Rica is the colon, worth approximately 8.6 American dollars.
that year reached 6,400 ($630). This is the highest in Central America and the sixth highest in Latin America, being surpassed only by Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, and Argentina.

Also notable is the fact that in no other country in Latin America is income so evenly distributed among the population as in Costa Rica. This is not to say that there are not wide variations in wealth, for this is certainly the case. But in Costa Rica the "rich" are less rich than elsewhere in the region, and the "poor" are less poor. Of particular importance is the existence of a large middle economic sector in Costa Rica, a sector only weakly developed in many other countries of Latin America where economic contrasts between upper and lower strata are very marked.

Much the same situation prevails with respect to land ownership. Costa Rica is commonly characterized as "a nation of small farmers" (James 1959; West and Augelli 1966). Relative to other Latin American nations, this is an accurate description of Costa Rica's land tenure system. Viewed in absolute terms, however, this appraisal must be slightly modified. Thus, not only is there a large class of minifundistas in Costa Rica, but also a small but important class of latifundistas. Land concentration is particularly marked in the areas of cattle raising and, to a lesser extent, in the coffee industry. Less than two percent of coffee growers, for example, produce more than half the crop (Facio Brenes 1942; West and Augelli 1966). On a regional basis, latifundios predominate in the cattle producing region of Guanacaste, in the banana zones along the Pacific coast and in certain coffee growing regions of the Valle Central, especially in the vicinity of Turrialba; by no means,
however, are they restricted to these areas. Minifundios, on the other hand, are especially common in the Valle Central.

**Government and Politics**

At the present time Costa Rica is perhaps the only well-functioning democracy in Latin America. Important government posts are filled every four years through the process of freely-held elections. Suffrage is universal and compulsory for those over the age of eighteen. Claims of election fraud have not been registered in over thirty years, and in this same period of time freedom of the press has gone unchallenged. The army plays no role in the political life of the country for the very simple reason that Costa Rica has no army - it was abolished in 1949 and has never risen from its ashes.

The central government of Costa Rica consists of three independent branches: the executive, legislative and judicial. The executive branch is represented by the president of the republic, popularly elected to a four year term, and by the several government ministries. Executive power is also vested in "autonomous institutions" which might be considered a fourth branch of the central government. Theoretically independent of the executive branch, these institutions were created in the early 1960s and their activities are coordinated by the Oficina de Planificacion. These entities dedicate themselves for the most part to specific tasks of social and economic development, including the operation of state-run

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8 See Kantor (1958) for a discussion of the constitutional provisions which safeguard the Costa Rican democracy.
businesses.

The Legislative branch is represented by the Asemblea Legislativa (Legislative Assembly), composed of 57 diputados (deputies). The judicial branch, on the other hand, is represented by the justices of the Corte Suprema de Justicia (Supreme Court of Justice), located in the capital of San Jose.

Both the president of the republic and the deputies of the Legislative Assembly are popularly elected for four year terms, but the voting procedure for these two positions differs greatly. While the president is selected by direct votation, with the candidate obtaining a plurality of all votes cast being declared the winner, the selection of deputies is more complex. Each of the country's seven provinces is allotted a number of seats in the Assembly in proportion to its share of the national population. Each political party then submits an ordered list of candidates in each province. At election time voters cast their ballots not for individual candidates in their province, but for the party slate as a whole, or more appropriately, for the party itself. In proportion to their percentage of the popular vote, political parties are entitled to seats in the Assembly in any particular province. A party that gains 50 percent of the vote in a province with 20 seats in the Assembly, for example, wins 10 of these seats. An important feature of this system is that candidates named to the party slate are ordered in terms of preference from 1 ... n. In the above example, the first 10 names on the slate are declared "winners" and the rest are defeated. From the point of view of the candidate, then, prospects for election depend as much upon his position on the party slate as upon the vote-getting ability of his party.
Gaining the first position even for an unpopular party is likely to lead to election while being named to the tenth position for an extremely popular party will almost invariably lead to defeat.

As elsewhere in Central America, political control is highly centralized in Costa Rica with most important decisions being made at the national level. Important local governmental bodies do, however, exist in the country, although most of their financial resources and, hence, their effective power, is derived from organizations operating within the central government (Baker et al. 1971; Stone 1976).

In terms of local government, the province serves no meaningful function. There is no provincial assembly or other body with political jurisdiction over the province as a whole. Its major purpose seems to be to serve as a unit for national planning and for the allocation of seats to the Legislative Assembly. Even this first function has recently been usurped by the development of a regional division of the country which is now used by the central government for planning future activities. A number of government-sponsored studies have, in fact, advocated a redivision of the administrative units of Costa Rica on a more rational basis and the abolition of the provinces as presently constituted (Kalnins 1968; Nuhn 1973).

This situation differs with respect to the country's 80 cantons. Each canton in Costa Rica has its own municipal council. This council is composed of two types of elected officials: regidores and sindicos. Regidores are elected on an at-large basis by the voters of the canton as a whole. The procedure is much the same as for the election of deputies
at the national level - each party submits an ordered list of candidates and seats are awarded to each party on the basis of its proportion of the popular vote. At council meetings, regidores have both a voice and a vote. Sindicos, on the other hand, represent the interests of specific districts within the canton and are selected only by the voters of the district which they represent. While the sindico has a voice in council deliberations, he does not possess voting privileges. Both the regidor and the sindico are elected for four year terms corresponding to those of the president and deputies of the central government. Both are unpaid positions, although a small stipend is granted for each session of the municipal council attended.

In a recent study by Baker et al. (1971), the effectiveness of cantonal government is seriously questioned. Baker and his colleagues point out that the municipal council lacks the basic autonomy necessary for effectively dealing with local problems. In 16 of the 25 cantons they studied, over half of municipal revenue was derived from the central government in the form either of legally established subventions, or of partidas especificas (specific grants) made at the discretion of the Legislative Assembly, government ministries or autonomous institutions. The ability of the municipal council to undertake independent action is also hindered by the inconsistency of Costa Rican laws which allocate to central government organizations many of the same powers granted to the canton. Finally, because financial remuneration for council positions is small, these organizations of local government have great difficulty in attracting qualified individuals. Many regidores look upon council membership as a means of entering national political life and fear making unpopular decisions
which might jeopardize this goal. In most cantons, sindicos rarely attend council meetings and in a few, do not even know that they have been elected to this post! The result is that the functions of the municipal council center more upon carrying out mundane administrative duties, rather than in undertaking important projects to stimulate local economic growth and development.

Local governmental functions are also embodied within the Consejo de Distrito (District Council) which operates within each of Costa Rica's 406 districts, the lowest-level administrative unit in the nation. The district council is composed of the sindico of that district, who serves a four year term as its president, and of other members elected for two year terms at a district assembly held for just this purpose. The district council is supposed to mirror the municipal council at the district level, dedicating its efforts to the task of basic social and economic development. In effect, the district council is a committee or subunit of the municipal council. The majority of its operating expenses are allocated by the canton, although appeal can be made directly to the central government for additional funds in the form of partidas especificas.

Since 1948, the government of Costa Rica has dedicated itself to the task of promoting economic development, social equality and a fair redistribution of the nation's wealth (Stone 1976; Hall 1976; Araya Pochet 1976). This has resulted in a basic restructuring of the relationship of the government to the individual during this period of time. Traditionally, a high percentage of government funds has been spent on education, and the rate of literacy of the Costa Rican population is one of the highest in the world, reaching 92 percent in 1973. Aside from
this narrow scope of governmental activity, however, a *laissez faire* orientation prevailed in Costa Rica through the 1930s, an orientation thoroughly replaced by the "welfare state mentality" in the years following 1948. In all aspects of his life, the Costarricense is now feeling the effects of government policy and action. Although the majority of state funds are still being spent within the confines of the Valle Central, and especially in the metropolitan area of San Jose, the government is becoming directly involved in the countryside of Costa Rica for the first time in its history. By building roads, staffing schools and legislating social security, minimum wage and other measures affecting life in rural villages, the government is playing a crucial role in directing the development of the country. The significance of this role is a factor to be reckoned with in understanding contemporary Costa Rican society.

As was hinted at in our discussion of Costa Rican elections, political activity in the country is to a large extent carried out within the context of well-organized political parties which operate at the national level. The development of "modern" political parties is an event which has taken place only rarely in the history of Latin America, where most parties have traditionally served merely as vehicles for promoting the candidacy of particular individuals. Upon the political fortunes of the candidate rest those of the party; once it has served its purpose, or the candidate has been defeated, the party ceases to exist.

In Costa Rica, however, political parties have succeeded in institutionalizing their structure in the postwar era to such a degree that they have attained a high degree of permanence. Like modern political
parties in the United States and elsewhere, those in Costa Rica exhibit organizational continuity which allow them to survive after important leaders have departed the scene, are well-organized at the local level, and are based upon distinct ideologies. The first party of this type to emerge in Costa Rica was the Partido Liberacion Nacional (National Liberation Party) which was formed in October, 1951. This is still the best organized and largest single party in the nation today. According to English (1971:13): "There are at least four (more or less) permanently organized political parties with some structuralization." Three of these evolved as an adaptive response by those opposed to the political program of Liberacion Nacional against which they could not compete at the polls except by organizing along similar lines.

It is only through the national political parties that individuals can hope to aspire to positions of political influence. It is furthermore only through party connections that an individual, or a village, can obtain favorable government treatment. It is for this reason that in describing the political system of a village such as Pejibaye, or in seeking to understand government activity and its effects upon the local environment, the role of the political party is of undeniable significance.

Culture and Society

In discussing the economy of Costa Rica, it was pointed out that income and the control of productive resources are more evenly distributed among the population than is true elsewhere in Latin America where sharp contrasts exist between the fabulously wealthy few and the dirt
poor masses. The same description applies to social differences in Costa Rica which are important yet less marked than in any other country in the region. In the development of contemporary class relations, the philosophies both of social elitism and social equality have played important roles; indeed, "it is precisely the delicate balance between 'elitism' and egalitarianism which characterizes Costa Rican society" (Stone 1976: 202).9

The population of Costa Rica can be roughly divided into three major socioeconomic classes: upper, middle and lower. The upper class holds a position of economic predominance in Costa Rican society, thanks primarily to its control of the coffee industry. But membership in this class is not based solely upon economic criteria. Many members of the upper class are, for example, less affluent than are some members of the middle class in Costa Rica. Membership in the upper class is based rather upon descent from a small number of noble families of the colonial era. Stone (1976) details how the descendents of these noblemen used their social ascendancy to gain control of lucrative economic enterprises during the colonial period and, later, during the republican period. When coffee became the chief source of wealth in Costa Rica beginning in 1840, it was the upper class that monopolized this industry and its riches. Not only this, but after independence from Spain in 1821, this small group of individuals for many years monopolized control of the government of Costa Rica. Although other classes have since come to participate in the political process, members of the upper class still function as a political elite and form the leadership class of the government.

9Author's translation.
Thus, Stone (1976) documents how 33 of Costa Rica's 44 presidents are descended from only three noble families of the colonial era. From the conquistador Juan Vasquez de Coronado are descended approximately 300 deputies and 29 presidents; from Antonio de Acosta Arevalo come 140 deputies and 25 presidents.

Nevertheless, this upper class does not form a homogeneous and unified body. For well over 100 years it has been growing in numbers and differentiating in terms of interest and economic activity. At present it is composed of a number of distinct segments, active in all spheres of the economy, and distributed all along the political spectrum, from extreme right to extreme left. While unified action no longer characterizes the upper class, there does exist an important element of class consciousness in that members are very aware of who is and who is not a member of this class.

The middle and lower classes of Costa Rican society are based primarily upon economic criteria and form less distinct segments of the population than does the upper class. The middle class includes medium and some small farmers; lawyers, doctors and other professionals; and a large group of government officials of all types. The lower class consists of small farmers and minifundistas, peones, and lower income urban workers.

Sandner (1964:13-17) discusses class differences in the rural areas of Costa Rica and distinguishes among four major categories: the peon; the campesino or "concho"; the gamonal or hacendado; and the merchant. The first three classes differ with respect to their relation to rural property. The peon is a landless, salaried farm worker. The campesino,
on the other hand, possesses a small finca on which he and his family labor. Occasionally he may rent additional land, or work as a peon to supplement family income. The campesino is characterized by his "sobriety and relatively strong love of the land" (1964:14).

The hacendado or gamonal is the biggest landowner of the three, possessing a medium or large finca. As Sandner (1964:15) points out: "the influential gamonal is more an able businessman than a simple campesino." His economic ascendancy in the rural community provides him the means with which to establish social and political ascendancy. One of the major features of rural Costa Rica is "gamonalismo" or bossism, wherein a single individual or a few individuals dominate local political life and exert virtual control over the political behavior of others in the community (Gutierrez 1961; Sandner 1964; Stone 1976).

Finally, the merchant class is distinguished from others on the basis of economic activity. Many of this class are among the most affluent members of the community. Because of the key position their establishments play in the social and economic life of the community, their political power is second only to that of the gamonal.

Among all social classes in Costa Rica, family ties are of extreme importance. This is hardly surprising in light of the traditional rural orientation of Costa Rican society. The Costa Rican sociologist Carlos Jose Gutierrez writes that:

There is no form more characteristic of our social life than the family ... it is understood among us in a very wide sense which includes not only ascending and

10 Author's translation.

11 Author's translation.
descending relatives but a great number of collaterals as well. Much of Costa Rican behavior and social conduct, the considerations which inspire the personal progress of the members of the community, and the limitations and virtues of our people are fundamentally encountered in the almost universal consciousness which the Costa Rican has of being, above all, an integral part of a family (1961:165).

It is within the family circle where the major portion of the social manifestations of sadness and happiness are fulfilled. Among the rural Costa Ricans and even in the urban centers the majority of social gatherings do not have as their motive events of national or local interest but rather one or another of the basic successes of life of one of the members of the family - birth, marriage, death - which are celebrated in association with all of the relatives and nearby friends (1961:165).

In gamonalismo, that form so characteristic of the social organization of our pueblos, we encounter a projection of the family sentiment. The gamonal is no more than the head of the most important family whose greater economic capacity leads his neighbors to view him as the person most qualified to give them counsel in their small and large problems of daily life and to lend them aid when this is imperative. He has some of the same characteristics of the head of a clan and his power extends as far as the intimate life of his neighbors who see in him, more than in the political authorities, the true leader of the community (1961:168).

Even today ... we maintain our life full of allusions of this familialism which predominates in our idiosyncracy. Expressions such as "we are all brothers" continue to enjoy popularity and politicians refer repeatedly to "the unity of the Costa Rican family" (1961:168).  

These excerpts illustrate the underlying importance of familial sentiment in the scale of values of the typical Costa Rican. While this sentiment is more strongly felt and more commonly expressed in actual behavior in rural areas of the country, it is nevertheless important even in the cities. In recent decades, however, the importance

12 Author's translation.
of family ties has been on the decline, perhaps due to the rapid urbanization of the nation which has altered the basic rural orientation of Costa Rican society, and the increasing intervention of the state in affairs normally handled through family and personal channels. Relations between patron and peon in the rural coffee growing areas of the Valle Central, for example, have traditionally been cloaked in the atmosphere of family sentiment, with the patron in the role of the benevolent patriarch. This relationship often took the form of the "dyadic contract" described by Foster (1961, 1963) with the establishment of ties of compadrazgo between patron and peon (Stone 1976:109). At present, this form of relationship is only rarely encountered, as the state has enacted minimum wage and compensation benefit legislation legally establishing the relationship between these two individuals. At the same time, ties between relatives outside the circle of the nuclear family have been considerably weakened in the past forty years, although nuclear family ties maintain their customary strength throughout Costa Rica.

Similar to family ties are those created by the Catholic institution of godparenthood. At certain religious ceremonies - baptism, confirmation and marriage - religious sponsors are required for the initiate. Participation results in the formation of spiritual bonds of padrínazgo (godparenthood) between sponsor and initiate and of compadrazgo (co-parenthood) between the sponsor and the parents of the initiate. According to Catholic theology, the only ties of significance are those between godparent and godchild. The baptismal godparent, for example, is responsible for the physical and religious upbringing of the godchild in the event of the death of the latter's parents. In much of Latin America,
however, the important ties are those between the sponsor and parents who become *compadres*. This relationship is surrounded with expectations of mutual aid and the assumption of deferential and formalized forms of behavior between the *compadres*. In some countries, kinship terms are used when addressing one's *compadre* and his relatives (Mintz and Wolf 1950).

In Costa Rica, the institution of *compadrazgo* has never been elaborated to the degree seen in some parts of Mexico and Guatemala, for example, nor has it ever been as important in structuring social relations.

The only religious sponsors of any importance in Costa Rica traditionally have been baptismal sponsors. Like extra-nuclear family ties, the meaning of the *compadre* relations formed at baptism have become greatly diluted over the past three or four decades. Even in many rural areas of the country, *compadres* do not treat one another very differently than they do individuals with whom they do not possess this relationship.

At a more narrow level of analysis, it has long been claimed that the typical Costa Rican is highly individualistic in orientation (Barahona 1953; Gutierrez 1961; Sander 1962; Stone 1976). This individualism has been used as an explanation for the apparent inability of Costa Ricans to form permanent extra-familial associations such as labor syndicates and cooperatives until recent times. It has also been used to explain the distaste held by many *campesinos* for cooperative endeavor and direct involvement in community affairs.\(^{13}\) However, it would be a serious

\(^{13}\) However, as Gutierrez (1961:140-144) correctly notes, there is a logical inconsistency in explaining social forms with reference to psychological orientations.
mistake to deduce from this that the Costa Rican campesino can best be viewed in terms of Lewis' (1951) conception of the peasant. As Sandner (1964:4) points out, the Costa Rican campesino is noted for his "sobriety and relatively strong love of the land." One of the highest values held by the campesino is ownership of a piece of land and economic independence from the control of the patron (Sander 1964; Hall 1976). This attitude helps explain why settlers have chosen for hundreds of years to brave the wilderness rather than migrate to the city as has been the case elsewhere in Latin America. Only in the past two decades, at a time when most frontier lands have been settled and claimed, has rural-urban migration reached sizeable dimensions in Costa Rica.

A characteristic uniquely Costa Rican, and one which continues to hold great sway over the popular imagination is a complex of beliefs and values associated with the cultivation of coffee. The Costa Rican economist Rodrigo Facio Brenes (1942:106) refers to this as the "mito cafetalero" (coffee myth). Its origin lies in the historical role played by this crop in the development of Costa Rican society. Coffee constituted the first source of wealth in post-colonial Costa Rica; for many decades following 1840 it was the only source of wealth and even at the present time the national economy is heavily dependent upon this single crop. Because of this there gradually developed in the popular mind a rather direct equation of coffee with wealth and financial well-being. Regardless of the ecological conditions of his land, many a campesino feels that all he need do to ensure prosperity is plant some coffee trees.

14 Author's translation.
The purely economic factor, in other words, "produce(d) another which reinforces the first and even comes to replace it in times during which the purely economic influence is very doubtful, as in recent years; we refer to the factor of the collective psychology; while beans, vegetables and rice conserve their plebian sentiment, coffee is transformed into the symbol of the gentry" (Facio Brenes 1942:50).\(^\text{15}\)

So large does this psychological factor loom in the historical development of Costa Rica that Carolyn Hall (1976) interprets the colonization of virtually the entire country largely in terms of the search for new coffee lands. As she points out:

> Once the economic infrastructure of the coffee industry was established, its successful cultivation in the Meseta Central, where there are excellent ecological conditions for its production, and the lack of competition from other commercial crops created in the Costa Rican people the illusion that coffee alone could provide them with a permanent and rapid wealth. The persistence of this industry in the center of the country around the capital city reinforced through the years this enormous confidence in the "grain of gold" such that agricultural colonization consisted for the most part of a search for those regions where farmers hoped they might produce excellent harvests (1976:71).\(^\text{16}\)

In any complex society there are important regional differences in social and economic organization, as well as important differences in behavior among individuals belonging to different social classes. But in Costa Rica differences such as these are not complemented by cultural differences in different parts of the nation, or among different segments of the population; one of the major features of Costa Rican society has been the development of a relatively uniform national culture. Only

\(^{15}\)Author's translation.

\(^{16}\)Author's translation.
three exceptions violate this rule of cultural homogeneity: Guanacaste, a region historically more closely related to Nicaragua than to the rest of the nation; the Atlantic banana zone, populated in the late nineteenth century by Jamaicans who until the early 1950s were legally isolated in this enclave; and the Pacific banana zone, populated as much by Nicaraguans and Panamanians as by Costa Ricans. The behavior of the remainder of the population, which constitutes the vast bulk of Costa Ricans, can be explained in terms of Barth's transactional model as attempts to maximize the same cultural values under conditions of differing individual constraints.

To understand the formation of this national culture, as well as the specific social, economic and political patterns which characterize present-day Costa Rica, we must turn to the unique historical conditions under which it was molded.

Historical Development

Three factors, more than anything else, explain the development of contemporary Costa Rican society. These are the poverty and isolation of the colonial period, the emergence of coffee to a preeminent position in the national economy beginning in approximately 1840, and the political revolution of 1948.

The first European contact with Costa Rica came in 1502 when Columbus landed at the sites of Cariay, present-day Limon, and Veragua along the Atlantic coast during his fourth and final voyage. It was not until 1564, however, that Juan Vasquez de Coronado founded the first permanent Spanish settlement in the country. This was Cartago, located in the eastern portion of the Meseta Central. Throughout the colonial period Cartago was
to serve as the capital of the province; it lost this position to San Jose shortly after the assumption of independence from Spain in 1821.

Costa Rica was thus the first discovered and the last colonized of the Spanish possessions in Central America. The lack of interest shown in gaining control of this land is explained by the fact that Costa Rica possessed none of the attractions which drew the Spaniards to the New World; neither minerals nor large nuclei of sedentary Indian populations were to be found in the country. At the time of first Spanish contact, there are estimated to have been 27,200 Indians living in Costa Rica (Thiel 1902). Many of these were extremely warlike, and even until the last years of the colonial period managed to avoid subjugation by the Spanish. Those who did not, however, met the same fate as befell Indian groups throughout the Spanish empire in the New World - within a hundred years after the conquest, most of the Indian population had been decimated by disease and exploitation. For this reason the Indian racial and cultural influence has never been of much importance in Costa Rica, nor did the cultural diversity and blending that occurred in Guatemala and Mexico ever take place in this country. At present less than one percent of the Costa Rican population is of Indian descent while over eighty percent claim pure Spanish blood.

Because of this absence both of mineral wealth and an exploitable Indian population, the typical social patterns and forms of economic activity which developed in much of the rest of Latin America never took hold in Costa Rica. The extremely mountainous terrain isolated the colonists in the Meseta Central and hindered the development of commercial enterprise. Commerce was also stifled by the fiscal measures of the
Spanish crown, which hindered free trade and imposed heavy taxes upon such activity. Even more detrimental to the growth of trade were the measures dictated by the colonial authorities in Guatemala, under whose jurisdiction the province of Costa Rica had been placed. Finally, beginning in the early part of the seventeenth century, English buccaneers and Zambo Mosquitos initiated annual raiding expeditions along the Atlantic seaboard, effectively cutting off this route to the sea.

Costa Rica thus became the "forgotten land" of the New World, developing in almost total isolation from the outside world. Rather than extensive cattle raising or cultivation by forced Indian labor, a totally subsistence agriculture characterized by small holdings developed among the largely peasant population of the Meseta Central. Because of the lack of exportable items, imported goods were rare, as was money. Cacao beans, in fact, circulated as the medium of exchange in colonial Costa Rica, and as late as 1845 were more commonly used than was metal currency (Facio Brenes 1942:33-34).

During this period Costa Ricans lived in the midst of poverty of the most extreme kind. The province was, in the words of the Spanish governor Diego de la Haya Fernandez (1719) "the poorest and most miserable in all of America."17 This shared poverty of the Costa Rican masses led to the quick disappearance of social differences among the inhabitants, and to the development of an egalitarian society and ideology in Costa Rica. As the last Spanish governor of the province, Tomas de Acosta, noted in an official report to the crown in 1803:"the farmer,

17 Quoted in Stone (1976:65); author's translation.
the artisan, the merchant, the noble and the plebian; all cultivate
that which is needed for the sustenance of their families."

It was during this period of enforced isolation and shared poverty
that Costa Rican nationhood slowly gestated. At independence from Spain
in 1821, 80 percent of the country's inhabitants lived within a 300
square kilometer radius in the Meseta Central, further reinforcing the
development of a uniform cultural tradition. During this period Guanacaste
was at times a separate political unit, and at other times politically
linked to the province of Nicaragua. This explains why even today the
social, cultural and economic patterns of this region more closely
resemble those of Costa Rica's northern neighbor than they do those of
the rest of the country.

Costa Rica did not take part in the events leading to independence
from Spain. In fact, it was several months before news of this political
action even reached the new country. But when independence did come,
Costa Rica was more prepared to deal with the problem of self-rule than
were any of her neighbors on the isthmus. Over 250 years of isolation
had given her valuable experience in managing her internal affairs, and
this experience was put to good use as there soon developed a tradition
of stable government in Costa Rica. Isolation conferred an added advan-
tage to the young country - it shielded her from the internecine warfare
and internal strife which immediately followed the beginning of the repub-
lican period in Central America, and which plagues many of her neighbors
to the present day. Transfer of governmental authority in Costa Rica

18 Quoted in Sandner (1962:34); author's translation.
during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may not have been very democratic, but it was usually accomplished by legal means, and without bloodshed.

As documented by Stone (1976), control of the governmental apparatus of the new nation was immediately established by a small group of the colonial nobility. In spite of the leveling of social distinctions that had taken place during the colonial period, these noblemen had managed to conserve a slight social ascendancy over the mass of the population; this they put to good use during the first decades of the Republican Era.

At independence the country was still extremely poor and commerce was little developed. This all changed with the establishment of a direct market for Costa Rican coffee in England in the early 1840s. Overnight the country was transformed. The social ascendancy which the noble elite had used to gain control of the reins of government was now used to gain control of the coffee industry, and its vast wealth. Social and economic divisions heretofore unknown in Costa Rica began to emerge during the course of the next several decades. Large estates came into being, and with them were created for the first time a class of landless agricultural workers, or peones. Pioneer settlement of surrounding zones began as the search was on for new lands to plant in coffee, the "grain of gold." The huge demand for labor to work the coffee fields led to a rapid increase in natality which in time created a glut in the labor market, and this too gave impetus to the colonization of unsettled portions of the nation. Large farmer and small attempted to outdo each other in planting more and more land in coffee as each fell under the spell of the "coffee myth." The result - a recurrent crisis in the supply
of basic foodstuffs - soon made itself felt upon the nation.

All of these changes were wrought by the wealth introduced into the country as a result of the export of coffee. From the poorest nation in Central America, Costa Rica rose within a few decades to the status of richest. It must be recalled, however, that all of these social and economic changes began from a base of almost absolute egalitarianism. This explains why social and economic differences in Costa Rica are still much less sharply drawn than they are in any other country in Latin America, and why the spirit of egalitarianism still pervades the Costa Rican ethos.

The drift away from the egalitarianism of colonial times continued, however, until suddenly reversed by the political events culminating in the "Guerra de '48" (War of '48). Since the early part of this century, several important changes had been quietly taking place in the political system of Costa Rica. Taken as a whole, these changes had the effect of limiting the concentration of power in the hands of a small minority of the population, opening up participation in the political system to the masses of Costa Ricans.

Throughout the nineteenth century control of government had been monopolized by the elite class by virtue of the structure of the electoral process. Stringent property and educational requirements restricted office holding and voting privileges to at most ten percent of the population. Suffrage was indirect and took place in two stages: citizens chose "electors" who then selected the president and members of the Legislative Assembly. The secret ballot was not practiced, and this allowed the elite to control the voting behavior of those socially and economically
dependent upon them.

The first sign of change in this system occurred during the 1909 presidential election. Two candidates, both descendents of Juan Vasquez de Coronado and members of opposing factions of the elite class, vied for this post. Traditionally, presidential campaigns had been waged in the cities because this was where elite residence and power were concentrated. But one of the candidates, Ricardo Jimenez Oreamuno, appealed to the countryside and utilized the political influence of the gamonal in the rural areas of Costa Rica to secure victory in the election. From this time forward, the outlying rural areas of the country began to participate directly in the political decision-making process. After 1909, many rural leaders began making their appearance as deputies in the Legislative Assembly, ending the stranglehold long held by the elite upon elective office.¹⁹

This trend was further intensified by the institution of direct suffrage in 1913, and the secret ballot in 1928. Both measures seriously undermined the ability of a small minority of the population to monopolize control of government.

Meanwhile, social and economic pressures began to mount as a result of the two world wars and the intervening depression era. The closing of Costa Rica's traditional coffee markets and the sharp decline in coffee prices during much of this period occasioned a series of national crises. One result of these pressures was the enactment of a plethora of social welfare measures, especially during the administration of Rafael Calderon Guardia (1940-1944). Dissatisfaction with the totalitarian

¹⁹ See Stone (1976:126-128) for further discussion of these events.
measures and political corruption of Calderon Guardia and his colleague and successor, Teodoro Picado M. (1944-1948), mounted nevertheless. These came to a head with the refusal of the government in 1948 to turn over the reins of power to the legally-elected opposition candidate, Otilio Ulate. The elections were annulled and Calderon Guardia installed in the presidency. The result was armed insurrection.

Within a matter of weeks the rebels, led by Jose Figueres Ferrer, later founder and titular head of the Partido Liberacion Nacional, toppled the government. A new constitution was drawn up in 1949, and the "Second Republic" was established. Since this time Costa Rica has been a model democracy. The new constitution enacted strict measures to ensure that power could never again become concentrated in the hands of a single individual, or a group of individuals (Kantor 1958). The welfare measures begun during the 1940s have been greatly expanded and for the most part the government has taken an active role in stimulating and directing national development. State control over the economy has become more pervasive, as has the involvement of the government in the daily life of all Costa Ricans, in all parts of the country. In a sense, modern Costa Rica dates from 1948.

Frontier Colonization I: History

The colonization of Costa Rica, which began with Columbus' discovery of the country in 1502, is only now reaching its climax. While some frontier zones still remain in parts of the nation, and many others are sparsely populated, frontier movements at present are few and involve
Figure 2. Costa Rica: Frontier Colonization.
relatively small numbers of individuals. As recently as twenty years ago this was not the case. In 1960, for example, only about sixty percent of the nation's surface area had been settled (Nunley 1960). In the present section we shall briefly outline the geographic spread of Costa Rica's population through the course of her history, first as a Spanish colony and later as an independent republic.

In accordance with Sandner (1962), we can divide the colonization of Costa Rica into seven distinct chronological periods. To these we can add an eighth to describe the period of time following the publication of Sandner's study.

1502 - 1700

Following Columbus' discovery of Costa Rica several unsuccessful attempts were made to establish an effective Spanish presence in the new territory. It was only in 1564 that Juan Vasquez de Coronado founded Cartago, the first permanent village site in the country. For the next two hundred years, settlement was heavily concentrated in the eastern basin of the Meseta Central.

Early in the seventeenth century, however, a small number of cattlemen crossed the Ochomogo Hills and settled in the western basin of the Meseta. The village of Mata Redonda was founded in 1607, and that of Pacacua in 1629. Although these first settlers were soon followed by others from the eastern basin, the population to the west remained small throughout this period.

1700 - 1800

This phase was characterized by a considerable flow of migrants from the eastern to the western basin of the Meseta Central. In 1706,
colonists founded the village of Cubujuqui (later Villa Vieja and present-day Heredia). In 1736, the village of Villa Nueva de la Boca del Monte (present-day San Jose) was founded and between 1769-1780, La Lajuela (later Villa Hermosa and present-day Alajuela) came into being. By 1800, the western basin of the Meseta Central was more heavily populated than the eastern, and the center of national activity shifted to this area.

Elsewhere in Costa Rica, the old settlement of Esparta, located near the Pacific coast, fell into a state of decline following its destruction by English buccaneers. The future port of Puntarenas, however, was constructed in 1797 at a site not far removed. In Guanacaste, technically not part of Costa Rica at this time, several small villages sprang into being, notably, Santa Cruz in 1782, and Guanacaste (present-day Liberia) in 1788-89.

1800 - 1850

At independence in 1821, the population of Costa Rica was 50,000 (Thiel 1902) and eighty percent of these lived in the Meseta Central. Only a little more than two percent of the nation's surface area had been colonized. Beginning in 1830, an important wave of settlement began in the western part of the Valle Central in the area extending from Alajuela to San Ramon. Sabana Larga (present-day Atenas) had already been formed in 1823. In 1838, the town of Grecia was founded; San Ramon was formed between 1830-1835, and Palmares between 1834-1840. The impetus leading to this colonization was the construction of a road leading westward from San Jose to the port city of Puntarenas, completed in 1846. The road was built in order to ship the growing coffee production of the
Meseta Central to its overseas markets. The colonization movement itself was composed of families of campesinos in search of new lands, primarily coffee lands.

1850 - 1880

Migration to the western portion of the Valle Central continued and as the population between Grecia and Palmares grew denser, the village of Naranjo was founded in this area in 1865. Meanwhile, important waves of settlers were migrating to the eastern portion of the Valle Central, in the areas composed of the Valles del Reventazon and Turrialba. Eastward migration was stimulated by the beginning of construction of a railroad line extending between San Jose and Limon, on the Atlantic coast, in 1872.

Important waves of settlers also migrated from the Valle Central southward and southwestward to the predominantly mountainous zones of Puriscal, Tarrazu and Dota. San Marcas de Tarrazu was founded between 1850-1860; in 1863, the first settlers arrived at the site of present-day Santa Maria de Dota. Some colonists drifted even farther to the south, crossing the Cordillera de Talamanca and settling in the Valle de El General. Beginning in 1872, a weak migration was initiated from the Valle Central and Guanacaste to the Atlantic coastal region in response to the growing demand for labor on the incipient banana plantations organized in this region. Initial colonization of the Atlantic zone in this period was primarily the result of the importation of large numbers of Negro workers from Jamaica.
1880 - 1915

This was perhaps the most explosive period of colonization in the history of Costa Rica. Migration to the south of the Valle Central continued and the first caserios were formed in the Valle de El General. Important waves of settlers began migrating northward from the Valle to the San Carlos lowlands. Meanwhile, settlement began of the mining zone of Abangares, to the northwest of the Valle Central. This movement led to the formation of the towns of Manzanillo, Las Juntas, La Sierra, and San Juan. An independent settlement also began just to the east of Abangares, in the zone of Tilaran. As in San Carlos, most of the settlers were from the province of Alajuela.

In Nicoya, native Nicoyans began settling the coastal regions and also the mountainous interior zone. At the same time, large numbers of "Cartagos," or natives of the Valle Central, appeared along the margins of the highland regions. In the eastern part of the country, numerous Costa Ricans, especially Guanacastecos, were drawn to the lowland region between Limon and Santa Clara to work in the banana plantations.

1915 - 1934

This period was one of less intense colonization than was the preceding one. To the west of the Valle Central, settlement intensified along the Rio Grande de Tarcoles, situated near the railroad to Puntarenas. From Puriscal, small waves of colonists began moving to the south, covering the zone of Turrubares. Migration from Alajuela to Tilaran and Abangares to the northwest continued. The Banana zone of Limon on the Atlantic coast continued to receive inhabitants, and that of Parrita on the Pacific coast witnessed the first arrival of settlers.
1934 - 1960

In 1936, a new migratory movement was initiated to the Valle de El General as the result of the commencement of construction on the section of the Interamerican Highway between Cartago and San Isidro. Migration to this region became especially strong during the decade following its completion in 1948. Elsewhere in the southern part of the country, the United Fruit Company established its banana plantations along the Pacific coastal plain in 1934. In that year more than 21,000 people settled in the canton of Parrita and 33,000 more in Golfito. Most of these were Nicaraguans and Panamanians, but Costa Ricans soon joined in the colonization movement. The Italian colony of San Vito de Java was founded in 1952, and the first settlers arrived later that year. This was followed by the arrival of Costa Ricans, and during the next few decades colonization of the extreme southern portion of the country slowly intensified.

In the west-central part of Costa Rica, considerable tracts of virgin forest were cleared and settled in Turrubares, situated to the southwest of the Valle Central. Most of these colonists were from the canton of Puriscal, colonized in the period between 1850-1880.

In the northern part of the country, completion of a highway between Ciudad Quesada and Naranjo, earlier linked by road to San Jose, spurred renewed settlement of the San Carlos lowlands. Beginning in 1950, waves of colonists pushed northward to the area north of the Arenal Lagoon, eventually reaching the Rio San Juan and the Nicaraguan border. Most of these migrants were from the old mining zone of Abangares which in this period of time was in a state of economic decay.
In the past twenty years, colonization has proceeded primarily along two distinct fronts: along the vast lowland area extending across the northern portion of Costa Rica, and in the southern extreme of the country, near the Panamanian border. The two areas of greatest migrant attraction and colonization activity during the period between 1934-1960, the Valle de El General and the San Carlos lowlands, were regions of net out-migration in the intercensual period between 1963-1973. Only in the southern part of the Valle de El General did the numbers of in-migrants surpass the numbers of out-migrants during this period of time.

As long as unclaimed lands remain in Costa Rica, frontier colonization will continue to take place. But its importance as an instrument of population redistribution, socioeconomic mobility, and agricultural expansion has waned considerably in the past two decades. Its role as the basic demographic feature of Costa Rican society has been replaced by rural-urban migration, especially to the metropolitan area of San Jose. As recently as 1970, migration experts claimed that very little rural-urban migration was taking place in Costa Rica (Alberts 1970). This is far from being the case at present. In a conference of population experts held in 1977 in San Jose, it was estimated that by the end of this century, eighty percent of the nation's inhabitants will be living in the San Jose area (Excelsior 1977). This recent development runs counter to the trend of population movement which has prevailed in Costa Rica throughout the course of her history and which basically consists of movement out of the Meseta Central and an increasing decentralization of her population. This historical pattern has been reversed in the past
decade as more and more rural Costa Ricans are flocking back to the metropolitan area of San Jose, a region which roughly corresponds to the Meseta Central.

**Frontier Colonization II: Basic Features**

The only in-depth description and analysis of the social and economic concomitants of frontier colonization in Costa Rica consists of a two volume work by the German geographer Gerhard Sandner (1962, 1964) as well as a number of shorter articles written by the same author (1959, 1961). Much of the historical summary of frontier movements in Costa Rica outlined in the preceding section relies heavily upon Sandner's work. The same holds true, only to a greater extent, with respect to the analysis to follow which largely consists in a reiteration of the results of Sandner's research into the causes and socioeconomic features of frontier colonization in the country. The importance of discussing Sandner's work lies in its rather direct relevance to the goals of the present study. As it will become clear in chapters VII and VIII, many of the social and economic aspects of frontier colonization described by Sandner in diverse parts of Costa Rica apply equally well to the course of settlement which took place in Pejibaye. Sandner's work therefore not only helped guide the formulation of hypotheses to be tested in the field, but provides independent confirmation of many of the conclusions reached regarding frontier colonization in Pejibaye.

According to Sandner (1964), Jimenez Castro (1956) and Hall (1976), the colonization of much of Costa Rica took place in a spontaneous and undirected fashion and the migration stream was heavily composed of family
groups and individual campesinos emigrating from the more densely populated sections of the Valle Central and from previously colonized rural zones of the nation. The major goal of these campesinos was to acquire land and to free themselves from the economic dependence upon the patron.

As all stages of the colonization process, ties of kinship and compadrazgo were important factors in determining the extent of in-migration and the economic strategies pursued by migrants upon arrival to the colonization zone. It was primarily among relatives and compadres that news of economic opportunity was disseminated; often a relative or compadre would provide the new colonist with food, shelter and, not uncommonly, with a plot of land. In other words, most colonists did not venture onto the frontier alone nor were they complete strangers upon arrival. It was rather the case that they had a good idea of what to expect in the new environment and were greeted by previous acquaintances who then helped them to become established on the frontier.

Colonization in Costa Rica typically proceeds in two stages. During the period of initial settlement, colonists employ slash/burn techniques to clear the forest cover and prepare it for agricultural use. Settlement is extremely scattered although in time a line pattern forms as colonists situate their homes alongside the roads that are eventually constructed. Such social differences as existed among the colonists previous to their arrival in the frontier zone rapidly disappear and an egalitarian social structure is formed.

The initial settlers are usually replaced by a larger secondary wave of colonists who arrive some time thereafter. In newly colonized regions, transfer of land ownership is quite frequent. Often the original
colonists sell their property to newcomers and migrate to new zones of frontier colonization. To the degree that this occurs, the original population is replaced by a secondary population.

It is usually after the arrival of this secondary wave of colonists that population nuclei come to be formed on the frontier. Towns are formed around some central location: the church, escuela (primary school) or pulpería (general store). The timing of this event depends heavily upon the individual initiative of one or a few colonists. Often it is a single colonist who owns land in a strategic location who lays out quadrants, establishes a pulpería and donates land to the community for the construction of a church, escuela and town plaza - who, in other words, founds the town.

Three factors seem to be instrumental in determining the later development of the frontier region: the amount of capital at the disposal of the colonists, the appearance of good roads linking the region to external market outlets, and the private initiative of the colonists. The importance of roads in allowing the development of a commercially-oriented agriculture has already been discussed.20 Roads, however, are important not only in an economic sense, but also in a social one. As Sandner (1964:21) notes: "the appearance of roads establishes social differences upon giving the colonists the opportunity to enrich themselves through contact with markets."21 Social differentiation in frontier zones, then, is directly related to improvements made in the communications

20 See chapter II, pages 36-38.
21 Author's translation.
network connecting these areas with the national economy.

Private initiative and capital are also of some significance in directing the course of development experienced by the community of colonists. It is only with capital that more intensive and productive agricultural techniques come to be employed. Only the possession of capital allows the establishment of pulperias and other businesses in the frontier community. On the other hand, it is through private initiative that some individuals risk their capital on commercial enterprises which benefit the community. And as we have already seen, private initiative often determines whether or not a town comes to be formed on the frontier.

One other aspect of the colonization of Costa Rica warrants mentioning. This deals with the long-term results of the agricultural techniques adopted by the colonists. Sandner (1964) notes that often the colonists are interested only in their short-term gains and employ ecologically destructive measures of land utilization. Forests are stripped by the slash/burn method and techniques such as terracing and contouring are unknown. The end result is that in a very short time the soils of frontier regions become greatly impoverished and the hopes of the colonist of improving his economic status are dashed. Margolis (1973, 1977) notes the same land utilization strategy in Brazil, and interprets it as a basic feature of frontier agriculture. This ecological destruction of the frontier zone explains why in Costa Rica the areas of greatest colonization activity at one point in time become the areas of out-migration supplying colonists to other frontier zones in the next.
V. THE REGIONAL SETTING

Just as life in Pejibaye is to a great degree a reflection of forces operating at the national level of Costa Rican society, so too is it a reflection of more localized forces operating at the regional level. Other things being equal, the structure of community life in Pejibaye would be far different were it located in the Pacific banana zone or in Guanacaste rather than in the Valle de El General. In other words, events transpiring at the regional level, no less than those at the national level, have directed the course of Pejibaye's development. Because of this intimate relationship between region and community, we shall now describe the regional setting in which Pejibaye operates, specifying those features most directly relevant to an understanding of contemporary Pejibayense society.

Geography and Climate

Situated in the southwestern portion of Costa Rica is an intermontane depression of approximately 1500 square kilometers in area. This is the Valle de El General, a region which takes its name from the river

1 Or, for that matter, were it located in the canton of Buenos Aires, rather than in the canton of Perez Zeledon. See below.
of which it forms a drainage basin. A number of tributaries flow into the Rio General, which itself joins the Rio Coto Brus near the coast to form the Rio Grande de Terraba which then empties into the Pacific Ocean. One of these tributaries is the Rio Pejibaye.

The Valle de El General extends in a northwest-southeast direction from the vicinity of San Isidro to slightly beyond Buenos Aires. To the north it is bounded by the Cordillera de Talamanca and to the south it is separated from the coast by the Fila Costeña. Like Costa Rica itself, the physical structure of the valle is quite heterogeneous with a predominately hilly, rugged terrain interspersed in many areas by valleys and basins of variable size. Because of this heterogeneity in altitude and land forms, the Valle de El General can be divided into three sections. The northern valley (valle superior) is situated at an altitude of approximately 700 meters above sea level and contains appreciable areas of level highland plains. Not only is it the highest elevated of the three sections of the valle, but its soils are the most fertile. To the south of it lies the central valley (valle medio) at an altitude of

There are a number of accounts of how this region came to be known as "El General." One version claims that took its name from then president of the republic General Bernardo Soto, who visited the valle in 1887; so impressed was he by the beauty of the zone, its fertility, and the struggles of the handful of colonists to tame it that upon his return to San Jose, inhabitants of the interior began to refer to the valle as "the valley which impressed the general," latter corrupted to "the valley of the general" or "El Valle de El General." A more plausible version states that the region's early inhabitants came to refer to the valle's major river as "El General" since in a "general" fashion, it collected the waters of all other rivers in the area; the valle then logically took its name from this river.
Figure 3. Valle de El General.
approximately 400 meters.\textsuperscript{3} Most of the terrain of the central valley is rugged and mountainous, with few areas of level ground. It soils, however, are of high quality, second in fertility only to those of the northern valley. At the extreme southern end of the Valle de El General lies the southern valley (valle inferior) at an altitude of between 200-300 meters above sea level. The southern valley is essentially a lowland plain covered in most parts by savanna grasses. The seat of a heavy indigenous population, it is believed by many that the present soil infertility and vegetation of the southern valley represent the end result of centuries of over-swidden during aboriginal times (Barrantes 1965).

The climate of the valle falls within the range of tierra caliente. Annual precipitation varies between 2500-3500 millimeters with the greatest amount of rainfall occurring during the month of October. The year is divided into distinct dry and wet seasons, the latter falling between the months of May and December. Average yearly temperatures are between 22\degree C.-24\degree C., with the wet season being slightly cooler than is the dry season. Daily variations in temperature, however, are more extreme than are seasonal ones; not uncommonly, daily highs and lows may differ by as much as 10\degree C.

\textbf{Administrative Divisions}

Both cantonal and provincial boundaries crosscut the Valle de El General. Thus, the northern and central valleys fall within the limits of the canton of Perez Zeledon, province of San Jose; the southern valley,\textsuperscript{3} Pejibaye is located in the central valley.
on the other hand, falls under the administrative jurisdiction of the
canton of Buenos Aires, province of Puntarenas. At the present time,
Pejibaye is the seventh of Perez Zeledon’s eight districts; this
was not always the case, however, since prior to 1951, it was situated
within the borders of the canton of Buenos Aires. The consequences of
this change in cantonal affiliation have been far-reaching with respect
to the later development of Pejibaye, a point which will become clearer
in the following sections of this chapter.

Settlement

Both Perez Zeledon and Buenos Aires contain within their borders
appreciable areas of land from the adjoining Cordillera de Talamanca,
the Fila Costeña, and other regions lying outside the Valle de El General.
Perez Zeledon, with a surface area of 1800 square kilometers, has a
population of 67,089 inhabitants; Buenos Aires, with a slightly larger
territorial extension (2260 square kilometers) nevertheless has many
fewer inhabitants (20,104). The large majority of the inhabitants of
both cantons reside within the confines of the valle.

Settlement in the region is predominantly rural in character, as
are economic activities. Most people live either in small caserios

4 In Costa Rica, both the cantons within each province, and the districts
within each canton, are numbered in order of their creation as independent
administrative units.

5 It may be recalled that the total surface area of the Valle de El
General measures only 1500 square kilometers.

6 Both population figures are for 1973.
(rural villages), alongside roads, or randomly scattered on isolated fincas. There is only one large urban center in the Valle de El General - the city of San Isidro, administrative center of the canton of Perez Zeledon. The population of San Isidro is nearly 10,000 inhabitants; strategically located along the Interamerican Highway between the Valle Central and the Panamanian border, it is the social and economic hub not only of the valle itself, but of the whole of southern Costa Rica. A large number of commercial establishments grace its streets, and most of the small-scale industrial activity that takes place in the valle is concentrated in San Isidro. On a much smaller scope, the pueblos of Pejibaye and Buenos Aires perform the same functions of local commercial centers for the central and southern valleys, respectively, that San Isidro does for the entire region.

Economy

Farming and herding are the major productive activities of the inhabitants of the Valle de El General. Perez Zeledon is a major producer of coffee, maize, beans, cattle and swine; sugar cane, tobacco, rice and several other crops are also cultivated in the canton. Because of the sterility of its soils and savanna cover, Buenos Aires is noted primarily for its cattle and swine production, although maize, beans and rice are also grown in huge quantities on its farms. Table 1 compares the crop and livestock production of the two cantons to each other, and to the nation.
Table 1. Agricultural and Livestock Production: Valle de El General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Beans (kilograms)</th>
<th>Maize (kilograms)</th>
<th>Coffee (kilograms)</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Swine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>11,030,639</td>
<td>52,447,134</td>
<td>369,205,120</td>
<td>1,693,912</td>
<td>215,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perez Zeledon</td>
<td>1,449,676</td>
<td>5,847,782</td>
<td>30,364,402</td>
<td>51,513</td>
<td>9,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>1,124,939</td>
<td>4,500,878</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>37,658</td>
<td>10,285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Land ownership in Perez Zeledon is widespread and the size of its fincas evenly distributed; more so, in fact, than in Costa Rica as a whole. This is not so true, however, of Buenos Aires where land is more heavily concentrated in the hands of a small number of hacendados. Land distribution figures for the two cantons are provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Land Distribution: Valle de El General

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Finca (hectares)</th>
<th>Costa Rica % Fincas</th>
<th>Costa Rica % Area</th>
<th>Perez Zeledon % Fincas</th>
<th>Perez Zeledon % Area</th>
<th>Buenos Aires % Fincas</th>
<th>Buenos Aires % Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Relations

In the rural areas of Perez Zeledon social distinctions are not sharply drawn. As the Costa Rican ethnographer Maria Bozzoli de Wille notes:

It cannot be said with respect to these caserios that there exist social strata based upon wealth differences since although this is not the same for everybody, and this fact is recognized, poor and rich are very similar
in their manner of being; the poor are united by marriage ties or blood ties to the wealthiest (1972:87) ... Manual labor is considered among farmers as necessary and as a respectable manner of earning a livelihood. The rich campesinos work at the side of their peones and even harder than they do (1972:91).

As in the rest of Costa Rica, ties among nuclear family members are typically quite strong while those among more distantly related kin depend upon residential proximity and frequency of contact, as well as upon personal preference. Children begin working at an early age alongside their parents on the farm or in the home. Upon marriage, they are often given a part of the family estate and erect their home upon this land. Even as adults children can ask for and receive aid in any form from their parents. In turn, as the parents grow older, it is the responsibility of their adult children to care for them when they are no longer able to do so themselves.

Government

The basic structure of municipal government in Costa Rica has already been described.7 With respect to the performance of local officials, and the responsiveness of local government to the needs of its citizenry, it may well be that the municipal council of Perez Zeledon is the best-organized, best-financed and most highly effective of those outside the Meseta Central. The concept of the district council, for example, was originated in this canton some time ago and only later became established elsewhere in the country with its inclusion in the Municipal Council Act of 1970. Not only does the municipal council of

7See chapter IV, pages 84-86.
Perez Zeledon exhibit one of the best records of the nation's eighty cantons in collecting local taxes, but at the same time it is highly successful in obtaining discretionary grants from the central government; both of these actions allow it to undertake the solution of larger scale problems than is typical at the municipal level of government. Council members furthermore demonstrate a considerable degree of individual initiative in proposing solutions to cantonal needs, initiative lacking among council members in many other cantons.\(^8\) As a constituent part of the canton of Perez Zeledon, Pejibaye has greatly benefitted over the years from the actions undertaken by this body; this is one of the reasons why its annexation by Perez Zeledon in 1951 proved to be a turning point in the district's history.

\textit{Perez Zeledon and the "Mystique" of Liberacion Nacional}

In the fifty years since its creation in 1931, the canton of Perez Zeledon has witnessed a rapid realization of its economic potential. From a boom town in 1942-1945, San Isidro has developed into the most important urban center in southern Costa Rica; during this same period of time, the rest of the canton has been transformed from wilderness into a prosperous farming region. Pejibaye, no less than other communities in Perez Zeledon, has shared in this transformation of the social and economic landscape of the canton.

\(^8\)See Baker et al. (1971) for a comparison of the performance of the municipal council of Perez Zeledon with those of twenty-four other rural cantons in Costa Rica.
Part of the rapid development of Perez Zeledon can be explained by the favorable natural endowments of the region, particularly its fertile soils. A more complete explanation, however, must include the special relationship which has prevailed between the canton and the Partido Liberacion Nacional since 1953; due to this relationship, Perez Zeledon has received highly preferential treatment in the disbursement of government funds over the past three decades.

This special tie between canton and party began during the political revolution of 1948, in which the support given the insurgents by Perez Zeledon was instrumental in securing their ultimate victory. The inhabitants of the canton overwhelmingly supported the rebel forces led by Jose Figueres Ferrer; many of the decisive battles of the war were fought in the vicinity of San Isidro and it was via Perez Zeledon that the rebel army was supplied with arms from Guatemala. In 1949, Figueres took control of the reins of government; two years later he and his supporters founded the Partido Liberacion Nacional. In the national elections of 1953, the new party tested its political strength for the first time. Figueres won the presidency by a landslide margin, and his party gained control of the Legislative Assembly. From then until the present day, Liberacion Nacional has continued to dominate the legislative branch of Costa Rican government and has alternated in the presidency with the opposition party, except between 1970-1978, when Liberacion Nacional candidates won consecutive terms in office. Never once during this period

\(^9\) See Bell (1971) for a description of the events immediately preceding and following the revolution of 1948.
of time, moreover, has it failed to dominate the municipal council of Perez Zeledon.

Because of the support shown Figueres during the revolution, and because of the heavy vote given his party in Perez Zeledon in the following elections, Liberacion Nacional has reciprocated by investing large sums of government monies in the canton, monies which have financed the development of her economic infrastructure. As Rodriguez (1971:75-76) notes:

The aid which the government provided the municipality was employed exclusively in material works designed to reaffirm, upon giving it a partisan touch, the hegemony of the party within the canton. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that thanks to these (monies), the municipality initiated the local road system and constructed the public market, as well as the majority of the bridges in the canton. Education received a great boost with the creation of the secondary school, and a large number of primary schools. In addition, an office of the Agricultural Extension Service was installed to assess and develop agriculture and herding.

Small wonder, then, that there soon developed in Perez Zeledon the popular sentiment that Liberacion Nacional is the party of the people, representing the interests of the common man in his struggle to better his lot. Among many of the canton's inhabitants, there furthermore developed a personal identification with the party such that voting for the opposition became tantamount to self-betrayal. This feeling of obligation to the party for past services rendered to the community, and the identification of personal interests with party interests, is what Rodriguez (1971:79) refers to as the "mystique" of Liberacion Nacional: for the past two decades it has effectively kept Perez Zeledon within the

Author's translation.
Liberacionista camp, assuring the party of the vast majority of the votes cast in the canton at election time. It has also assured Perez Zeledon preferential treatment by party office holders; even though the strength of this "mystique" has been slowly waning since 1970, the effects of the party-canton alliance will leave its mark on Perez Zeledon for many years to come.

Colonization and Development

Although several attempts were made by the Spanish authorities to establish an effective presence in the Valle de El General during the colonial period, each failed to achieve lasting success. In 1563, Nueva Cartago was founded near the site of present-day Buenos Aires and eight years later the Spanish founded Nombre de Jesus near present-day Terraba; both were short-lived. The missionary efforts of the Franciscans were somewhat more successful in pacifying the warlike Borucas inhabiting the region; nevertheless, the valle remained Indian territory throughout the colonial period and for some decades thereafter.

Commencing in 1856, small contingents of colonists trickled southward from Dota and Tarrazu into the northern part of the valle, many settling in the vicinity of the present-day pueblo of General Viejo. Most of these colonists, who numbered no more than a few hundred during the next several decades, were "fugitives from justice who seized by force the homes and small fincas of the Indians and dedicated themselves to planting tobacco and distilling aguardiente (moonshine), both of which were state monopolies, and therefore illegal" (Sandner 1962:63).\footnote{Author's translation.}
Well aware of the vast potential of the region for human settlement, the government of Costa Rica offered rewards in 1860, and again in 1861, to any citizen who could discover a transitable route into the valle; the Cordillera de Talamanca and the Fila Costeña effectively isolated it from the remainder of the nation. These efforts met with some degree of success when the Picada de Calderon (Calderon Trail) was opened between Cartago and El General between 1883-1885. In 1890, Henri Pittier discovered another corridor into the region, this one by sea to Dominical on the Pacific coast, and from there overland to General Viejo. Neither route, however, was entirely satisfactory; both passed over extremely rugged terrain, making travel slow and difficult. The isolation of the valle continued.

In 1908, the Costa Rican statesman and explorer Pedro Perez Zeledon was commissioned by the government to survey the region and report on its agricultural potential. "He returned to San Jose convinced that the Valle de El General was the most fertile region in Costa Rica and that any crop could produce in abundance" (Hall 1976:133). This assessment proved to be a slight exaggeration; although many parts of the valle possess rich alluvial soils, others are covered by red laterite whose fertility is quickly exhausted once the original forest cover is removed (Dondoli 1943).

Nevertheless, for at least the next fifty years the Valle de El General held forth great promise to the impoverished campesinos to the

12 Author's translation.
north. So great was the lure of free lands that the valle came to be thought of in the popular mind almost as a "promised land" of unlimited opportunity where anyone might "strike it rich." Thus, Urena and Urena (1971:44) write that during the 1930s:

The extensive plain of El General at that time possessed the earned and enviable fame of being a robust and fertile granary. Enthused with the possibility of an easier life ... many families from Santa Maria, Copey and La Cima de Dota left for the south, in search of a patrimony, in search of a better fate.  

So long as the journey to the valle remained difficult and hazardous, however, full-scale colonization of the region was out of the question. Numerous people perished in transit; so many, in fact, that the most rugged mountain over which colonists passed on their way to the valle came to be known as the Cerro de la Muerte (Hill of Death).

At the turn of the century, the population of the Valle de El General numbered only about 1000 inhabitants. Areas of settlement included General Viejo with 315 inhabitants in 1908; Buenos Aires with 565; Volcan, founded in 1890; Palmares; Penas Blancas; Terraba; and Boruca, the last two inhabited predominantly by Indians. Isolated as they were from the rest of the nation, the colonists engaged in the subsistence production of maize, rice and beans; some contraband tobacco and aguardiente were also shipped north by sea. The cattle haciendas in the vicinity of Buenos Aires annually herded between 1500-1600 head of cattle to Cartago via the Picada de Calderon; however, the weight loss suffered by the animals after four weeks of arduous travel greatly diminished the

13 Author's translation.
profitability of this undertaking. There were no schools in the entire valle; justice was meted out by the aggrieved party by whatever means were at his disposal.

By 1927, there were still only 3471 inhabitants living in Perez Zeledon and 2373 in Buenos Aires. The legal minimum requirement for the conferral of cantonship in Costa Rica is 3000 inhabitants; in 1931, this honor was bestowed upon the northern valle which was separated from the canton of Dota and declared the new canton of Perez Zeledon. The pueblo of Urena, present-day San Isidro, was designated its cabecera. At the time, there were only five or six crude ranchos in the vicinity of the future city.

In the succeeding years, the pace of change intensified rapidly. Beginning in 1936, construction began on the section of the Interamerican Highway linking Cartago with San Isidro. Men from all parts of the nation flocked to San Isidro to work on this project, which offered wages three times higher than those normally paid unskilled laborers at the time. The advent of World War II brought the Americans on the scene; mindful of the strategic necessity of a good road through the isthmus to the Panama Canal, the United States financed the completion of the highway. San Isidro was transformed overnight from a sleepy backwater of the nation into a bustling boom town; hotels, restaurants, theaters and houses of prostitution did a bristling business where less than a decade previous commercial activity of any type had been virtually unknown. Colonists

\[14\] The name of this city officially reverted to its former designation of San Isidro in 1954 (Decreto No. 40 de 7 de agosto de 1954).
streamed into the canton, many using their earnings from work on the highway project to finance the purchase of a finca. By 1940, settlers began pushing to the south, reaching Pejibaye in 1942, and San Pablo in 1945.

With the completion of the Interamerican Highway in 1946, the isolation of the Valle de El General was once and for all brought to an end. By 1950, the population of Perez Zeledon had climbed to 19,630 inhabitants, of which 13,084 had been born outside the canton. Most of these had come from the cantons of Tarrazu (24 percent), Desamparados (10 percent), Dota (9 percent) and Acosta (9 percent). By 1963, there were 47,319 people living in the canton. Ten years later, the population stood at 67,089.

Soon after its inauguration, the Interamerican Highway was paved and in the early 1960s, it was extended to the Panamanian border. By this time the canton of Perez Zeledon had ceased being a frontier zone, becoming instead a fully integrated member of the Costa Rican community. Colonization activity shifted to the south and to the west - just as it had shifted southward into Perez Zeledon thirty years previous.
VI. PEJIBAYE: CONTEMPORARY DISTRICT LIFE

Having described the national and regional context in which Pejibaye functions, it is now time to focus our attention upon the district itself. As we shall see shortly, Pejibaye in many respects corresponds to both the national and regional patterns previously outlined; in others, it is totally unique. Both these facets of its personality emerge clearly in the pages to follow.

Geography, Climate and Population Distribution

The district of Pejibaye was created by legislative decree on May 13, 1966 (Decreto No. 12 de 13 de mayo de 1966). It lies in the extreme southern part of the canton of Perez Zeledon at 09°09'40" north latitude and 83°34'18" west longitude. Its surface area is 210 square kilometers and its 1973 population stood at 7,981 inhabitants, of which approximately 400 reside in the administrative center of the district, also named Pejibaye.

The major geographic feature of Pejibaye is its extremely hilly, rugged terrain. Only two relatively level areas are situated on its territory. The larger and more important of the two encompasses seventy-five hectares and is centered upon the pueblo of Pejibaye in the central

1 Coordinates are those of the centro, located near the midpoint of the district.

2 As pointed out in chapter I, unless otherwise indicated, this village will be referred to as the "centro."
part of the district; much smaller is the area surrounding the pueblo of El Aguila to the south. Altitudes in the district vary between 300-1000 meters above sea level.

To the west, Pejibaye is separated by only twenty kilometers from the Pacific Ocean. However, running along the coast a few kilometers inland is the Fila Costeña which effectively isolates the district from any maritime influence. These mountains also disrupt prevailing wind patterns in the region.

The major rivers located within the district are the Rio Pejibaye and the Rio Platanares. The latter flows from north to south, merging with the Rio Pejibaye in the vicinity of the centro. This then continues eastward until it flows into the Rio General along the border between the cantons of Perez Zeledon and Buenos Aires. Several quebradas (gullies) also run throughout the district. These fill with water only during the wet season.

Pejibaye has a semi-tropical climate falling into the category of tierra caliente. The year is divided into distinct dry (verano) and wet (invierno) seasons. The former extends from January through April and the latter from May through December. Within the wet season is a four to six day rainless period falling in the latter part of June (veranillo).

The major road runs in a predominantly north to south direction passing through each of Pejibaye's major pueblos. This road is presently embedded with ballast, allowing year-round motored vehicle traffic. After passing through the district, it continues northward until it reaches the Interamerican Highway. Bus service along this route links Pejibaye with
the regional center of San Isidro, forty-five kilometers to the northwest. Buses run four times daily passing through the centro northward at 7 a.m., 10 a.m., 1 p.m. and 4 p.m. and southward at 8 a.m., 11 a.m., 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. A one-way fare between the centro and El Aguila is ₡2 ($0.25) and between the centro and San Isidro ₡7 ($0.80). These buses are always crowded as many people travel regularly to San Isidro to shop in the many stores located there.

Several smaller roads link together various parts of the district. Some of these are also ballasted but the majority are simple dirt roads, virtually impassable during the wet season. A number of the wealthier residents of Pejibaye own cars, jeeps or trucks and travel by means of these vehicles. Most others use the bus to travel to points located near the district's major road. Where distances are short, people travel on foot; where they are longer it is not uncommon to travel on horseback.

The district's population is divided among twenty-nine pueblos. Most of these, however, are pueblos in name only and do not, in reality, consist of population clusters; rather than being towns dwellers, over eighty percent of Pejibayense live on fincas scattered about the landscape. But in Costa Rica, where there is a pulperia (general store) and a cantina (bar) there is a pueblo, regardless of the concentration of housesites in the immediate vicinity. Twenty-four of the twenty-nine pueblos have their own escuela (primary school) and most have at least a small plaza de deportes (soccer field).

The scattered settlement pattern of Pejibaye is a function both of its rugged terrain and the agricultural orientation of its economy. Only
three important population centers are found in the district: the centro, El Aguila and Las Mesas. All three are located along Pejibaye's major road.

With four hundred inhabitants, the centro is by far the most concentrated population cluster of the three, largely because it is located upon the district's only really extensive tract of level ground. It is also the political, economic and recreational hub of Pejibaye. All major governmental organizations are based in the centro and with four pulperias and three tiendas (clothing stores), all much larger than those in other pueblos, the centro is the home of a brisk commercial life. Two of only three salones de baile (dance halls) in the district are located in the centro as are three cantinas, giving the centro a reputation as the leisure center of the district. The centro is furthermore the educational and religious center of Pejibaye - the district's only colegio (secondary school) is located here, as is its only Catholic church.

El Aguila, located in the southern part of the district, is more important as a commercial center than as a center of population. Only about one hundred persons inhabit the town proper. Situated upon the only other tract of level ground in Pejibaye - but only about one-tenth as large as that surrounding the centro - El Aguila has witnessed a rapid commercial development in the past decade. In terms of the number of pulperias and tiendas it possesses, El Aguila ranks second in the district only to the centro itself. But whereas the economic hinterland of the centro includes the entire district, El Aguila serves as the commercial center only for the pueblos immediately to the south of it.
Figure 4. District of Pejibaye.
KEY FOR TOWN PLAN

□ House Sites

1. Pulpería
2. Tienda
3. Bodega
4. Soda
5. Panadería
6. Carnicería
7. Sastrería
8. Cantina
9. Salón
10. Botiquín
11. Hotel
12. Cafe
13. Zapatería
14. Electrical Repair Shop
15. Cart Manufacture Shop
16. Sawmill

17. Catholic Church
18. Casa Cural
19. Evangelical Temple
20. Turno House
21. Cooperativa
22. Banco Nacional
23. Credit Offices (CNP)/Offices of DINADECO and MAG
24. Expendio (CNP)
25. Escuela
26. Old Escuela/Old Colegio
27. Centro de Nutricion
28. Puesto de Salud
29. Guardia Rural/Post Office
30. Jail
Unlike the centro and El Aguila, the town plan of Las Mesas does not consist of a quadrant pattern, but rather a line settlement of buildings along either side of the district's major road. Its commercial importance is minimal; only a few small pulperias, and no tiendas at all are located here. The terrain in Las Mesas, situated on the northern border of Pejibaye, is extremely hilly and gullied. Nevertheless, the population density in its immediate vicinity is quite high in comparison to most parts of the district. A few kilometers to the north of Las Mesas and just outside the territorial limits of Pejibaye is the pueblo of Bolivia de Platanares. Socially and economically, Las Mesas has more in common with Bolivia and the rest of the district of Platanares than it does with other parts of Pejibaye.

Economy (Agricultural Sector)

Pejibaye is a heavily agricultural district with well over one-half of its 2,126 economically active inhabitants employed in this field. There are 854 fincas in the district covering a total surface area of 17,244.7 hectares. Of this extension, 21 percent is devoted to the cultivation of annual crops (maize, beans, rice, etc.), 6 percent to the cultivation of permanents (primarily coffee), 49 percent is in pasture, and 23 percent lies idle. Within the canton of Perez Zeledon, Pejibaye has the highest percentage of its farmlands in productive use (77 percent as compared to 65 percent for the canton and 66 percent for the nation), and the highest percentage devoted to the cultivation of basic food crops (21 percent as compared to 12 percent for the canton and 9 percent for the nation). As far as the cultivation of permanent crops, Pejibaye does
not differ much from either the canton or the rest of Costa Rica (6 percent as compared to 8 percent and 7 percent). The same holds true for the percentage of land in pasture (49 percent as compared to 45 percent and 50 percent).

The major crops grown in Pejibaye are maize, beans and coffee. Rice and sugar cane are also of some importance although in terms of surface area cultivated and absolute production, they lag far behind the first three crops. The agricultural production of the district is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Agricultural Production in Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>No. Fincas</th>
<th>Area Cultivated (Hectares)</th>
<th>Production (Kilograms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>996.1</td>
<td>3,156,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maize</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>1,326.1</td>
<td>1,540,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beans</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>1,190.9</td>
<td>621,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>269.1</td>
<td>178,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar cane</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>97.7</td>
<td>2,455(^a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Measured in metric tons.

With 49 percent of its farmland in pasture, cattle raising also constitutes a major economic activity in Pejibaye. Table 4 presents production figures for the district in 1973.

Table 4. Livestock Production in Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>No. Fincas</th>
<th>No. Animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>8,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swine</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>1,746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data presented in these two tables acquire full meaning only when they are placed in the context of regional and national production figures. This is done on a percentile basis in Table 5.

Table 5. Agricultural and Livestock Production in Pejibaye Viewed From a Regional and National Perspective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As a % of:</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Maize</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Cane</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Swine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perez Zeledon</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 5 clearly demonstrates, Pejibaye is an extremely productive area and has earned its reputation as a "breadbasket" of Costa Rica. With only 0.4 percent of the nation's surface area, it produces 5.6 percent of its bean crop, 2.9 percent of its maize, 0.9 percent of its coffee, 0.8 percent of its swine and 0.5 percent of its cattle. Only in rice and sugar cane production is Pejibaye unimportant nationally. The picture is the same when the district is viewed in its regional context. Only of sugar cane does it produce less than its proportional share of the cantonal total. It is little wonder, then, that both the national government of Costa Rica and the municipal government of Perez Zeledon have invested so heavily in the future of Pejibaye. Indeed, it is surprising that they have not done so to an even greater extent.

As one might expect, land utilization within the district is not uniform but varies slightly from place to place. In the central portion of Pejibaye, in the area surrounding the centro, coffee, maize and beans are the most important crops. To the north, in the vicinity of Las Mesas, cattle and coffee predominate. Traveling southward, toward El Aguila,
coffee, maize and beans hold sway, although cattle are also of some importance here. The eastern part of Pejibaye specializes in cattle raising and, to a lesser extent, the cultivation of foodstuffs; coffee production is negligible. To the west, maize and beans are the major crops, with some cattle and coffee fincas present also.

Within the agricultural sector of Pejibaye's economy, the majority of producers own their own land and form a class of independent farmers or campesinos. This is made apparent in the fact that while the economically active population of the district numbers only 2,126 persons employed in all fields of endeavor, there are nonetheless 854 fincas; some Pejibayense furthermore own fincas in neighboring districts, particularly those of the canton of Buenos Aires.

The average size of a finca in the district is 20.2 hectares. It may be recalled that in the canton of Perez Zeledon, land distribution is fairly even. If anything, it is even more so in Pejibaye. In a recent study of the region conducted by the Instituto de Fomento y Asesoría Municipal (1976b), it was shown that there is a direct relationship between land utilization and land distribution. Areas devoted extensively to cattle raising exhibit a high degree of land concentration; those in which a high proportion of the cultivated lands are planted in annual crops exhibit a more even distribution pattern. Pejibaye has a higher percentage of its farmlands devoted to annual crop production than does any other of Perez Zeledon's eight districts.

It should, of course, be borne in mind that not all Pejibayense are small to medium farmers; latifundios, as well as minifundios are present in the district. So too are a certain number of landless agricultural
workers. Both minifundistas and those bereft of land must find alternative sources of income. Should they opt to do this in the agricultural sector of the economy, and many have little choice in the matter, there are three means at their disposal. Either alone or in combination they can work as wage laborers, rent land, or lease land.

Unlike some other parts of Costa Rica, most notably on the coffee haciendas of the Valle Central and in Guanacaste, peones (or jornaleros) in Pejibaye neither labor for a single patron, nor become socially attached to those for whom they do. When a patron needs work done on his finca, he contacts one of several peones who have toiled for him previously. A contract is struck between patron and peon and once the specified labor has been completed, the relationship ends. Most wage labor is provided by cattle haciendas, which require constant clearing of weeds and underbrush to remain productive, and during the coffee harvest. The average wage paid a peon in Pejibaye is Q3 (US$0.35) per hour, or Q18 (US$2.10) for the mediodia (the usual six hour work day extending from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m.).

When a man rents land, he pays a flat fee to its owner prior to gaining use rights, this fee varying with the quality of the soil. The renter supplies the labor, seed, and all other inputs; at the end of the harvest

3 Of course, peones also inquire among previous patrones concerning the availability of employment.

4 Per unit of area, however, the picture differs greatly. Thus, in canton of Perez Zeledon, areas planted in annual crops employ 38.2 man-hours per hectare of salaried labor annually, those planted in permanent crops such as coffee employ 146.9 man-hours annually, while pastures employ only 6 man-hours annually (Instituto de Fomento y Asesoria Municipal 1976b).
he is entitled to the entire crop. However, due to the uncertainties involved in farming, renting is relatively rare in Pejibaye. If the crop fails, the renter has lost his entire investment. Since the need to rent implies a low socioeconomic status, the renter can ill afford this loss.

Many Pejibayense prefer not to work in jornal (wage labor); renting land, as we have just seen, is a highly risky undertaking. Quite frequently, therefore, men prefer to lease land and in this way both maintain their independence of action and minimize their risks. There are two arrangements by which land is leased in Pejibaye. The first, and by far the more popular of the two, is known as "a medias." Under the terms of this system the owner not only provides the land, but is also responsible for clearing it prior to planting, and provides the seed. Often he advances a cash sum to the lessee to be repaid after the harvest. For his part, the lessee provides all labor involved in planting, weeding, harvesting and transporting the crop to market. After the sale of the crop, each of the two parties receives one-half the proceeds.

A variant of this form of leasing involves three parties and is known as "a tercias." In this arrangement, the only responsibility incurred by the owner is to provide the plot of land. All labor and other inputs are then shared by two lessees. At harvest time each of the three parties receives one-third of the crop. "A tercias" is not commonly practiced in Pejibaye and when it is, it is usually because the landowner is too old to undertake the labor of clearing the field and so prefers to forego

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5 This is borne out by the fact that few men who worked exclusively, or nearly so, in this field admitted to being peones or jornaleros when asked their occupation; most referred to themselves as "agricultores."
this task and take a smaller share of the profit.6

The techniques of cultivation utilized by Pejibayense are not highly sophisticated and are typical of those practiced elsewhere in Costa Rica. The basic agricultural implement is the ox-drawn plow. Mechanized agriculture is all but unknown, largely because of its infeasibility given the broken terrain of the district and the small size of most fincas.7 However, there is one large finca in San Gabriel whose owner possesses a chapulin (tractor) and uses this in plowing and harvesting. During the mid-April planting period, a tractor is furthermore dispatched by its owner from San Isidro and for a fee plows the fincas of several Pejibayense.

Advanced agricultural techniques such as contouring and terracing are unknown in Pejibaye; in fact, some farmers continue to use the slash/burn technique of cultivation. However, this practice has recently been outlawed in Costa Rica and stiff fines are being imposed on violators by the local policia.

The use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is new in Pejibaye and has come into widespread use only in the past five years.8 Part of the resistance to the use of chemical fertilizers is doubtless due to its cost; but there is also a widely held belief that while fertilized land

6Only two cases of "a tercias" were observed during fieldwork, while the "a medias" form of leasing was quite widespread. Both of these cases involved at least one aged partner to the transaction.

7Large fincas, or haciendas, tend to be devoted to cattle raising.

8Partially responsible for this development are the efforts of Charles Timms, an American Peace Corps worker, who in 1970, planted an experimental plot to demonstrate the effectiveness of various fertilizers.
produces more the first year, fertilizer, once used, must always be used or the land will fail to produce altogether - almost as if it had become addicted to this additive! Nevertheless, this belief is rapidly losing influence as farmers see the results of using chemical fertilizers, and as they become more and more mindful of the need to counteract the deteriorating fertility of the district's soils. Pejibayense are well aware that their land is much less productive now than it was in the years immediately following the area's colonization nearly four decades ago.

Economy (Non-Agricultural Sector)

While most Pejibayense are either hacendados, campesinos or peones, a small but growing number of individuals find employment in other fields. These "other fields" include industry, commerce, transportation, and the crafts. In addition, some Pejibayense and many non-Pejibayense fill government posts in the district.

At present, industry is little developed in Pejibaye and such industry as exists is largely of the type related to the agricultural sector of the economy. Thus, Pejibaye's largest industrial firm is the coffee beneficio (processing plant) located along the banks of the Rio Pejibaye just across from the centro. This beneficio was originally constructed in El Aguila in 1970, with a smaller plant built in the centro two years later. All operations, however, were shifted to the centro in 1977.

The original plan of its owner, Alvaro Sanchez of Heredia, was to construct the beneficio near the centro; however, the Oficina de Cafe refused to grant him a permit for this, quite likely due to the pressures exerted by beneficio owners in the vicinity of San Isidro, who stood to lose their monopoly of Pejibaye's coffee crop were this plan implemented.
In the beneficio, coffee beans are washed, hulled, roasted and sacked in preparation for export to the Meseta Central for final elaboration. These operations are carried out for the most part by means of a sophisticated complex of machinery. The beneficio provides employment during the harvest season (September-February) to twelve laborers at a wage of $4 ($0.47) per hour, higher than the going rate for an agricultural peon. The major duties of these workers is to supervise the collection of beans at the eight recibidores (receivers) scattered throughout the district, measuring the amount brought in by each cafetalero, and writing up a bill of sale; loading these beans onto trucks and shipping them to the beneficio; hauling the beans from the truck to the machinery; and sacking and loading them at the end of the process. One administrator is employed year-round at a salary of $1200 ($140) per month and his major duties involve paperwork although at times of peak activity he also works alongside the manual laborers. In 1976, Pejibaye's beneficio processed 5892 fanegas of coffee, paying local suppliers $25 ($2.90) per cajuela. The following year, $33.50 ($3.90) was the going price per cajuela.

Aside from the beneficio, there is also an aserradero (sawmill) and a muebleria (furniture making shop) in the centro. The aserradero is a small operation which fashions lumber hauled in by truck from distant forests into boards for shipment to San Isidro. It also has a small shop where carretas (carts) are manufactured. Together, these two plants employ about ten individuals, although the exact figure varies slightly from time to time.

1020 cajuelas = 1 fanega; 1 fanega = 400 lbs.
The only other industrial activity in the district is carried out in an arrocera (rice hulling plant) in El Aguila, a small plant in San Gabriel that manufactures cigars, a lecheria (cheese making plant) in Gibre, and in the many trapiches scattered throughout Pejibaye. Typically, trapiches are family operations while the remaining plants each employ three or less workers.

The food business also is an important economic activity in Pejibaye. In the centro, for example, there are three men who work full-time as carniceros (butchers), and there is another in El Aguila. Two panaderias (bakeries) in the centro make bread and pastries for the entire district and for outlying regions. Together, they provide employment not only to family members, but also to at least six non-family members. The centro's two restaurants serve as a source of income for the families that operate them; one of these also hires two female cooks. Many families, furthermore, serve meals to teachers and other private individuals who contract for this service; so too does one of the centro's two sodas. There is one hotel in the centro; many families, moreover, supplement their income by taking in boarders.

In the centro alone there are three cantinas (bars) and two salones (dance halls) and these form yet another locus of economic activity. Besides providing employment to their owners, at least three employees are hired in these establishments at any given time. One cantinero interviewed listed his wage as 800 ($93) per month - but his working day was from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m., seven days a week!

A small stand selling ice cream, liquid refreshments, and confections.
Several men work in the transportation field. Two individuals residing in the centro own large trucks and make a living transporting grains to market, or any other items for which they are contracted. More common in this field, however, is the carretero who hauls materials by means of an ox-drawn cart. Carreteros are still important in Pejibaye because there are many places in the district which motored vehicles cannot easily reach due to the rugged terrain. For intra-district shipment of small loads over short distances, it is also much less expensive to hire a carretero than to employ alternative means of transportation.

Several craftsmen earn a livelihood in the centro and in other pueblos in Pejibaye. Chief among these are sastres (tailors). There are four sastrierias in the centro, three in El Aguila, and yet another in Las Mesas; in addition, an untold number of men and women work in this field on a part-time basis in the home. Also numerous are carpinteros, of which there are also four in the centro. Some of these work in the muebleria, while others work free-lance. Finally, there is one zapatero (shoemaker), one machine repairman, and one fontero (plumber) in the centro. The latter works for the company in San Isidro which operates the centro's water system.

The most prolific non-agricultural economic activity in Pejibaye is in the commercial sphere of endeavor. The two elements which dominate this field are retail merchandising and the grain trade. In Pejibaye, and in the rest of Costa Rica, there are two basic types of retail outlets - the pulperia and the tienda. The pulperia is a kind of general store selling all manner of merchandise including food, tools, clothing, and any other item of common use in the household. The tienda, on the other hand,
specializes in the selling of clothing and other elements of apparel. There are four pulperias, three tiendas and a botiquín (drugstore) in the centro; in El Aguila, three pulperias and two tiendas; in Las Mesas, there are only three pulperias. Each of the other twenty-six pueblos in the district has an additional pulperia or two, although outside the centro and El Aguila, there are no remaining tiendas in Pejibaye.

The grain trade is in the hands of bodegueros - men who own bodegas, or grain warehouses. These men buy local agricultural produce - maize, beans and, more rarely, rice - and ship it to San Jose where they resell it to exporters. Often bodegueros own their own trucks which they use in their business; a few hire local transporters. In the centro there are two bodegueros; in Zapote another, and in El Aguila three more.

Both pulperos (including the owners of tiendas) and bodegueros extend credit to their clients. Pulperos sell a great deal of their merchandise in this way, keeping meticulous records of what is owed until repayment is made. Bodegueros, on the other hand, advance payment on future harvests and, in addition, make interest-free loans to their suppliers.

These practices are advantageous both to the merchant and to his client. For the latter, almost always farmers, it provides an important source of agricultural credit, and a means by which to regulate the highly seasonal nature of income flows. For the merchant, it provides a means by which to create and maintain a steady clientele. And once the client has become dependent upon the credit extended by his patron, it allows the latter either to charge slightly higher prices for merchandise (if he is a pulpero), or to purchase grains at a slight discount (if he is a
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bodeguero). Small wonder, then, that the pulpero and bodeguero occupy "hinge" positions in rural Costa Rican society (Sandner 1964).

Finally, various agencies of the central government of Costa Rica staff several dozen positions in the district. The most numberous of these consist of maestros of which there are nine in the escuela in the centro and one or two in escuelas in twenty-three other pueblos; the fourteen profesores who teach in Pejibaye's colegio; the five bankers in the branch office of the Banco Nacional de Costa Rica in the centro; three workers in the expendio (general store) and credit offices of the Consejo Nacional de Produccion (National Production Council); two extension agents; two health officials; and several agents of the Guardia Rural (Rural Guard) who serve as the district's police force. These positions are not so important for the employment they provide Pejibayense - although most of the rural guardsmen, several maestros and one bank worker are locals - but for the money they bring into the local economy. A teacher, for example, earns anywhere from $2000-$4000 ($235-$470) per month, an exorbitant amount of money by local standards. Part of this income must be spent in Pejibaye for rent, food, and clothing - and helps stimulate the local economy to no small degree.

The Family

As in other parts of Costa Rica, and throughout Perez Zeledon, the family constitutes the basic social unit in Pejibaye. The typical Pejibayense family is a close-knit unit in which all members cooperate

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12 Nuclear family units comprise 81.2 percent of households in Pejibaye.
for the well-being of the group as a whole. Not only is it a social unit, but it is an economic unit as well - campesinos work their fincas by means of family labor and all major decisions are made in accordance with their perceived effects upon this unit.

Within the household, labor is divided along the lines of sex and age. The husband/father, ideally at least, is the absolute master of the household, having the final say in all decisions and control over the family pursestrings. He functions as the family "breadwinner" and represents it in all dealings with external social units. His wife and children are expected to accord him the respect and deference due his position. In reality, however, there is a great range of variation in the degree to which the husband/father dominates his household, and wives often exert a strong influence in family decisions through the use of subtle techniques of persuasion.

The wife/mother, on the other hand, is responsible for performing household chores such as cooking and cleaning. She also has chief responsibility for the upbringing of the children. In Pejibaye, the woman's place is in the home and she seldom ventures beyond its confines. If a married woman is seen venturing in the streets during the day, observers immediately conclude that she is shirking her household duties. Community censure of this type is strongly feared, and it effectively isolates the woman from most social contact outside the family unit. Many women, if they have a daughter old enough to do so, send her to do their shopping rather than perform this task themselves. The social isolation of the female is so strong, in fact, that many become extremely
nervous in the company of strangers.

Children begin performing small tasks around the home at an early age. They are especially useful in helping their mother care for younger siblings. As children grow older, they too begin to specialize in their activities along the lines of sex. Daughters remain in the home and help their mothers in the cooking and cleaning. Unless he is attending the escuela or colegio, a son begins performing light chores on the finca by the time he is eight or ten years of age, taking a greater role in the farmwork as time passes.

Emotional bonds among family members are typically strong and their importance should not be underestimated. In the majority of households spouses feel a genuine affection toward one another. Successful men often point to two or three factors responsible for their good fortune - and one of these is always a "good" wife who works hard and constantly lends moral and emotional support in the crises of life.

The same basic relationship prevails between parents and children. A parent will make great sacrifices to see to it that his or her children receive the best possible start in life. This is one of the reasons why education is so highly valued by Pejibayense - it is seen as the surest means to a successful future. Children reciprocate this feeling toward their parents, although the emotional bond is much stronger with the mother than with the father, who is viewed more as a stern taskmaster. Even upon marriage children find it difficult to sever the emotional link to their family of orientation, especially females who have less responsibility for the operation of their new household. Often when a
female Pejibayense – even one with several children of her own – speaks of her "family," it is not her family of procreation of which she is referring, but rather her family of orientation.

Social Relations and Social Classes

Social relations among Pejibayense tend to be amicable. When passing each other on the street, people typically exchange the traditional "buenos" as a sign of greeting. Men go out of their way to give a hearty handshake to friends they might notice walking along; women are much more reserved in this respect.

Theft is virtually unknown in Pejibaye. When it does occasionally occur, it is always "the people across the river" who are the culprits. On rare occasions, men engage in fisticuffs, usually on Sundays, and usually after they have been imbibing alcoholic beverages in the cantina for quite some time; alcoholism is perhaps Pejibaye's major social ill, a symptom of the "machismo complex" which is important to some men.13

Males usually have several casual friends with whom they commonly associate. These relationships, however, tend to be weak, the important emotional ties of Pejibayense being reserved for the family. Women, on the other hand, associate more with close female neighbors than they do with other members of the community; this is understandable since women are so closely bound to the home.

On weekdays, there is little social contact among Pejibayense; men are in the fields, or at their places of business, while women remain in

13 In approximately 1967, a local chapter of Alcoholics Anonomous was formed in the centro.
the home. The streets of the centro are virtually deserted; only an occasional shopper or passer-by breaks the monotony, and several men may gather in the cantina or in front of a pulpería and pass the time in idle conversation. Men, in fact, have many more opportunities to socialize than do women. Male comraderie is a much emphasized virtue and can be seen in the fact that men often strike up conversations with total strangers, a thing many women would never dream of doing. The cantina, a small bar with room enough to sit on a stool and little else, is an exclusive male domain; occasionally a man may bring his wife to one (though this is considered bad form), but an unescorted woman entering one is automatically branded a prostituta by those present (unless she has good reason to be there). At the cantina, or in the streets, men socialize with one another and exchange views. The major topics of conversation are personal problems, agriculture, and women. The important point, though, is that whereas men are allowed social outlets, women are not, or at least not to nearly the same degree.

On Sundays, however, the monotony and peace of Pejibaye is shattered as people from the campo (country) gather in nearby towns to engage in leisure activities. Sunday is a day of rest for the heavily Catholic population of Pejibaye.14 In the centro, mass is celebrated at 9 a.m. by a priest who drives in from San Isidro; Pejibaye has no resident priest of its own.15 Following mass, people head to the soda to purchase ice

14 Approximately twenty families near the centro are Evangelical Protestants, and a few are Jehovah's Witnesses. Missionary activities of the former sect date from 1954; those of the latter from 1975.

15 However, three Catholic nuns took up residence in the centro in February, 1977.
cream, or to the salon to listen to the jukebox, dance, and converse with neighbors. Males and females alike visit the salon, a much more spacious place than is the cantina, and this is perfectly acceptable. Especially prominent are young people who come to dance. At about 11 a.m., sometimes later, a soccer game is played in the town plaza and people congregate to watch the match. As the day wears on, things quiet down as people head back for their homes, although some continue to dance in the salones, or to drink in the cantinas, until well into the night. In fact, the cantinas are almost as crowded on Monday morning as they were the previous evening; men firmly believe that the best cure for the goma (hangover) is a few shots of strong whiskey. This cure is also recommended for the gripe (head cold).

Visiting among neighbors is not a very pronounced pattern of behavior among Pejibayense; it too takes place primarily on Sundays when people relax from their normal routine. During the week, females often take advantage of the opportunity to visit neighboring women during the afternoon hours when most of the housework has been completed. Visitors are always warmly received, even when their visit is inconvenient. Usually coffee and crackers or pastry are served on these occasions.

Despite the outward calm that prevails in Pejibaye, there is some degree of tension beneath the surface. In any small community such as the centro or any one of the many other pueblos in the district, people know a great deal about one another, and about one another's activities. News spreads quickly as information is disseminated in the pulperia, the cantina and in the streets; children often serve as a further source of information, bringing home with them stories they have heard and things
they have seen. Small wonder, then, that the threat of gossip constantly hangs over one's head. Because one is a member of the community and has to face people at one time or another, it is important to keep up proper appearances. The threat of social censure is of undeniable significance in influencing the decisions people make, though certainly not all decisions, nor perhaps even the most important ones. But it does, as we have seen, effectively keep the woman in the home and isolated to a large degree from community social interaction.

Class divisions in Pejibaye are not well-defined, and this is one of the reasons why social relations even among rich and poor are usually highly informal. Economic differences, it is true, are quite sharp among the upper and lower economic strata; some men are wealthy even by American standards, and by local standards they are fabulously so. Others are very poor and live from harvest to harvest with no leeway should misfortune strike. However, perhaps more numerous than either of these polar categories is the middle economic segment composed of campesinos, craftsmen and small merchants.

Pejibayense, of course, are well-aware of who are the "ricos" and who are the "pobres." But this economic difference cannot be directly translated into a social one. Individuals falling into different economic categories do not feel any special affinity toward one another nor do they engage in common action; "class consciousness," in other words, is poorly developed in Pejibaye. Standardized patterns of deference and authority do not characterize the relations between rich and poor; in fact, the attitude of egalitarianism is strongly held by Pejibayense. Nor does any type of long-term patron-client relationship bind together
specific **ricos** and **pobres** as it does in other Latin American nations where social class distinctions are more rigidly defined; in Pejibaye, the closest approach to this is the relationship between **pulpero** or **bodeguero** and **client**. Finally, although life styles obviously differ between **ricos** and **pobres**, this is something which is difficult to immediately perceive. On the streets, a **rico** appears no different than any other **Pejibayense**, nor does he behave any differently. In fact, it was quite instructive to observe a **rico** one day next to one of his properties cutting grass with a machete and dressed for work much as any **peon**. Had I not known better, I would have mistook him for a **pobre**.

There are, however, signs that class distinctions may be widening in Pejibaye, although it is difficult to say exactly how far this trend may progress. In conversations with **pobres**, they often expressed dissatisfaction with their plight, and a number of them blamed this on the **ricos**. There was some resentment that the **ricos** "could care less about us; all they care about is making more money ... a **rico** will never give a **pobre** an even break unless he has something to gain from it." How widespread this feeling is, is unknown; it may reflect nothing more than a "scapegoating" reaction to explain personal failure - or it may reflect something much deeper than this.

**Political Organization**

The major organ of local government in Pejibaye is the **Consejo de Distritio** (District Council), a body affiliated with, and subsidized by, the municipal council of Perez Zeledon. The president of this organization is the district's **sindico**, elected for a four year term of office.
The remaining members are chosen by popular vote at a public assembly convened in the centro (usually held in the Salon Atletico). As for all elective positions on civic groups in Pejibaye, candidates are nominated by those in attendance, their names written on blackboard, and a vote taken. Members of the District Council serve for two year terms of office.

With the stipend it receives from the canton (in 1977, Q75,000 or $8,750) and whatever funds it manages to secure from organs of the central government of Costa Rica (usually on the order of Q150,000 or $17,500), the District Council undertakes small-scale public works projects in Pejibaye. These include minor repairs and improvements of roads and bridges, the purchase of materials for various escuelas and the colegio, and contributions to other civic organizations or to help defray the costs of civic events; in general, any project of public benefit within the means of its limited budget. Interested parties, both public and private, can petition the council for aid during its twice monthly sessions held in the centro and open to public participation. However, its annual budget must be submitted to the municipal council for final approval before going into effect.

A second major organ of local government in Pejibaye is the Asociacion de Desarrollo Integral (Association of Integral Development). Unlike the District Council, the Association is affiliated directly with an agency of the central government of Costa Rica - the Dirección Nacional de Desarrollo de la Comunidad (National Directory of Community Development; DINADECO). A recent law sets aside 1.25 percent of the national income tax for the funding of all organizations of this type in Costa Rica; in 1976, Pejibaye's share of this fund came to Q12,000 ($1,400). Additional
monies are secured by voluntary annual contributions of Q6 from each of the district's voters, and by whatever funds the Association can obtain from central government agencies in the form of partidas especificas.16

The Association is headed by its Junta Directiva (executive board), with the local agent of DINADECO serving in an advisory capacity. Members of this Junta Directiva are elected for one year terms of office and its meetings, open to public participation, are held twice monthly in the old colegio in the centro. Juntas de Vecinos (neighborhood boards) in each of the district's smaller pueblos serve as subsidiaries or local standing committees of the Junta Directiva. Composed of the two or three most influential men in the community, Juntas de Vecinos advise the Junta Directiva of local needs, and represent the interests of outlying communities at board meetings.

Outwardly, the functions of the Association are the same as those of the District Council - to promote the district's economic development. However, there are important differences between these two groups, such as the organizational differences outlined above. Whereas the District Council is as old as Pejibaye itself - both came into being on May 13, 1966 - the Association was founded only three years ago, on December 9, 1976. It was, furthermore, not founded by local initiative, as was the predecessor of the District Council, but by the DINADECO agent stationed in Pejibaye. Unlike the District Council, the central purpose of the Association is not so much to govern as to serve as a mechanism by which

16 The 1977 budget of the Association was for Q154,000 ($17,950). Clearly, the lion's share of funding is through partidas especificas.
to encourage and organize the vecinos (citizens) to participate directly in the task of self-development of the district, rather than passively relying upon the government to do this for them. This is why the Association is organized at the local level, and why each dues-paying Pejibayense is considered a socio (member) of the group, on an equal footing with every other socio.

There is one other important difference between the Association and the District Council. As alluded to above, the latter is an official organ of government, while the former is not. This distinction, though small, is nevertheless important. The District Council, officially at least, is local government; the Association is merely a local civic organization. Because of this, and because the council is older and has more monies at its disposal, membership on this organization is both more prestigious and more sought after.

One of the most impressive features of Pejibaye is its high level of community organization, an organization reflected in the existence of several juntas which serve as mechanisms to unite people to further common interests and promote the welfare of the community. Unlike both the District Council and the Association, these juntas are not typically district-wide organizations, but specific to each community; most were founded purely by local initiative. A list of all community organizations based in the centro is provided in Table 6.
Table 6. Community Organizations Based in the Centro of Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Scope</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consejo de Distrito</td>
<td>D⁴</td>
<td>Promote Community Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asociacion de Desarrollo</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Promote Community Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salud</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Promote Health Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruz Roja</td>
<td>Dᵇ</td>
<td>Organize local Red Cross Chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomberos</td>
<td>Fᵇ</td>
<td>Organize Fire-Fighting Crew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cementario C</td>
<td>D/P</td>
<td>Maintain Cemetery Grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junta Dir. del Colegio</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Promote Welfare of Colegio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junta de Educacion</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Promote Welfare of Escuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patronato Escolar</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Promote Welfare of Escuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consejo Pastoral</td>
<td>D/P</td>
<td>Promote Religious Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junta de Caritas</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Organize Catholic Charities Drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junta Dir. del Banco Nacional</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Approve Loans; Oversee Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junta Dir. de la Cooperativa</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Approve Loans; Oversee Operations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴District-wide organization.

ᵇPueblo-wide organization.

Standing committees of the Association.

One glance at this table is enough to support the thesis that Pejibayense are well organized to promote their needs at both the district and the village level. Many of the village-level organizations specific to the centro find their counterparts in other pueblos in Pejibaye: most pueblos have some type of community organization to promote local development; most have a Patronato Escolar or Junta de Educacion to oversee escuela operations; many have a Junta Edificadora to raise funds for church construction; several have a Junta de Caminos to organize residents to work on road repairs.

The purposes of these several juntas are quite specific; the Junta Directiva del Colegio, for example, works only for the colegio, the Junta
de Educación and Patronato Escolar only for the escuela. Some of the juntas are linked to institutions, as are these three and two others - the Junta Directiva del Banco Nacional and the Junta Directiva de la Cooperativa, affiliated with the district's two major banking institutions. By means of these juntas, Pejibayense are given a say in the decisions made by outside agencies in the district. The banking juntas, for example, have the power to approve or reject loan applications made by Pejibayense.

Perhaps the major dysfunction in the working of juntas in Pejibaye is the almost total lack of coordination among them. The members of one are never fully aware of what the others are doing and joint effort is conspicuous by its absence (although various juntas support the same overall goals and oftentimes contribute to the same projects). This is a problem which has become exacerbated in the past few years as community organizations have become embroiled in party politics. As was pointed out in chapter IV,17 major political activity in Costa Rica takes place entirely within the context of national political parties; Pejibaye does not deviate from this formula. Beginning in 1974, and lasting for the next two years, a dispute over the location of the district's future colegio (built in 1977) raged in Pejibaye. The most influential district politicians, affiliated with the Partido Liberacion Nacional (as were ninety percent of Pejibayense at the time), supported the site eventually chosen, while public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of an alternative location. This, along with several other factors, has led to the

17See pages 87-88.
development of a political opposition in Pejibaye which has succeeded in gaining control of the Association of Integral Development and the Junta de Educacion. Meanwhile, Liberacionistas maintain control of the District Council and the Junta Directiva del Colegio. Needless to say, with the membership of different juntas on opposite sides of party battle lines, communication between them has broken down entirely.

Government Influence in Pejibaye

As our previous discussion would indicate, the government of Costa Rica maintains an important presence in Pejibaye. The sum result of this presence is that the quality of life of the district's inhabitants is much higher than it would otherwise be. The government of Costa Rica provides many essential services to P ejibayense - education, credit, and health services. As we shall see, the work of government agencies has played a large role in the district's development for quite some time.

Table 7 summarizes the major governmental institutions present in Pejibaye, and the functions they perform. Two of only four sources of credit in Pejibaye are government owned and operated - the branch office of the Banco Nacional de Costa Rica and the credit office of the Consejo Nacional de Produccion (CNP). In 1976, the Banco Nacional alone approved loans totalling almost Q2100000 ($205,000) at an annual interest rate

18The other two sources of credit are the Cooperativa de Ahorros y Creditos, a regional credit union with offices in the centro, and private interests such as pulperias and bodegas or the several money lenders who charge an interest rate of three percent per month.
of eight percent for cattle herding, agriculture and house construction. The availability of such large sums of investment capital is of obvious importance to the future growth of Pejibaye.

Table 7. Major Governmental Institutions in Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Presence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banco Nacional</td>
<td>credit</td>
<td>branch office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNF</td>
<td>credit</td>
<td>credit office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inexpensive food</td>
<td>expendio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministerio de Educacion</td>
<td>education</td>
<td>colegio; 24 escuelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministerio de Salud</td>
<td>health; welfare</td>
<td>medical dispensary nutrition center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardia Rural</td>
<td>police functions</td>
<td>several agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DINADECO</td>
<td>community development</td>
<td>extension agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAG</td>
<td>agricultural extension</td>
<td>extension agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The government furthermore provides all educational services in the district. The Ministerio de Educacion (Ministry of Education) not only financed the construction of the colegio and many of Pejibaye's escuelas, but pays all salaries of those who staff these institutions. Health care is provided by the medical dispensary located in the centro. This clinic is staffed full-time by a medical technician; a doctor makes monthly visits to the district and a nurse comes on a more frequent basis. Welfare services are provided in the form of the free lunch program begun in the escuelas in 1976, by the twice monthly distribution of free milk to needy families, and by the day care and free lunch services of the Centro de Nutricion (Nutrition Center). Price control

19 The territory served by this branch office includes small portions of the districts of Platanares, Colinas, and Pilas.
is to some degree affected by the expendio of the CNP which provides competition to the pulperias, forcing them to adjust their prices downward. Finally, community development programs are carried out by the two extension agents assigned to the district by DINADECO and the Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganaderia (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock; MAG).

Just as important have been the works of infrastructure development financed by various agencies of the central government. All major roads and bridges, for example, have been constructed by the Ministerio de Transportes Publicas (Ministry of Public Transportation).\(^{20}\) Without them, Pejibaye would never have so completely overcome the isolation of the early days of its existence. Some of the major government projects are listed in Table 8. Their importance will be discussed further in the chapters to follow.

Table 8. Major Projects Financed by the Central Government of Costa Rica.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road (Pejibaye-Interamerican)</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road Maintenance and Widening</td>
<td>yearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water System (centro)</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge (Rio Pejibaye)</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge (Rio Platanares)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colegio (centro)</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{20}\) Several small roads and bridges have been constructed under the auspices of the municipalidad, the District Council, and the Association of Integral Development.
One day in the summer of 1942, three men - Cleto Garbanzo, Pablo Mesen and Eloy Porras - set out from Palmares into the unexplored jungle wilderness to the south. Some say that they went in search of the huge caches of gold alleged to have been buried by the Indians along with their dead. Others claim that they were merely eager to carve plots of land out of the vast unclaimed territory. One thing is certain. The courage of the three men was unquestioned. At least one had recently engaged in a hand-to-hand combat to the death and had emerged the victor from this bloody confrontation. But the price he paid was great for although he had succeeded in preserving his life, he now found himself a wanted man.

Whatever it was that urged them on - gold, land or freedom - their course was set, though they knew neither where their wanderings would lead them, nor whether they would ever return alive. They ventured into the vast unknown with only enough provisions to sustain them for several days - and with rifles and machetes to defend themselves against the many wild beasts sure to be lying in wait. Their only defense against a certain death was their own resourcefulness which time and again rose to the challenge of survival. Crossing the Rio Pacuar, they headed in a southeasterly direction, cutting a passageway through the dense foliage as they went. *Tigres* (pumas), jaguars, *cariblanco* (wild boars) and deadly vipers of all kinds blocked their path, but none could overcome
the three men nor dampen their courage. Passing over mountains, across rivers and through the jungle, their journey ended when they reached a small, fertile river valley. In the midst of the dense foliage along the river stood a few tall pejibaye palm trees towering above the rest of the jungle flora. It appeared to them almost as a sign from heaven, telling them that their long trek was at last ended. They decided to call this river the "Rio Pejibaye." The name took root and before long it was being used to refer to that whole vast jungle territory over which the three explorers had passed those fateful days on their journey into the unknown, and into the pages of history.

Whether they established settlement in the area at this time or returned some months later is uncertain. But they eventually staked claims to lands situated along the Rio Pejibaye and cleared a portion of the jungle to make way for the formation of subsistence agricultural plots. The first months were difficult. Only hunting and fishing along with the gathering of local plant foods sustained these pioneers during the six month period before the first plantings would be ready for harvest. To supplement their supply of food, salt, matches, candles and machetes, they had to journey regularly to Palmares or San Isidro to purchase additional provisions. While on these excursions they told friends, relatives and complete strangers of the vast unclaimed lands to be had for the taking in Pejibaye. Some of these listened and joined the first settlers in this remote pioneer outpost. Through fortitude and hard work they together prevailed over the jungle. Although the region would not be completely tamed for several decades, man had succeeded in making his first foothold in Pejibaye.
Such is the story of the discovery and initial settlement of the region known today as Pejibaye. In the nearly four decades since this event the history of the area has been one of man's increasing mastery over the natural environment. The native flora and fauna have been almost totally eradicated and replaced by an artificial biota introduced by man. The human element is visible in the many towns, roads, pastures and agricultural fields dotting the landscape of Pejibaye. In short, the stage upon which human activity is conducted today is far different than that upon which it was conducted in 1942. The present chapter documents the spread of human settlement and the changes wrought by man in the environment of Pejibaye.

The history of the region falls naturally into three major periods. During the first or colonization period (1942-1951) man first made his presence felt in the rainforest of Pejibaye. The few families of colonists who settled in the region during these years made small clearings in the jungle and established the basic framework of land utilization and social relations upon which later development would take place. A stage of economic "takeoff" was achieved during the second or formative period (1952-1965) of Pejibaye's history. With the appearance of major improvements in its transportation system, hundreds of families migrated into the district. Towns were founded and commercial enterprise of all kinds blossomed into full growth. With its emergence as an important center of population and economic activity, the central government of Costa Rica took an active role in promoting Pejibaye's development during the third or integration period (1966-1977) of its history. By the end of this period integration with the national society was essentially completed
and health, education and welfare services were available to the people of the district.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall describe each of these developmental phases in turn, outlining the major changes in the society, economy and ecology of Pejibaye that took place during this thirty-six year period of its history. We begin our discussion by retracing the events immediately preceding the first white encroachment into the area.

Colonization Period (1942-1951)

The settlement of Pejibaye can best be viewed as a southward expansion of the push of colonization into the Valle de El General. Almost all of the colonists who settled in Pejibaye during the first ten years of its history came from one of five communities situated in the vicinity of San Isidro to the north: Palmares, Repunta, Quizarra, La Hermosa and San Ramon Sur. Each of these had in turn been settled only during the previous decade by colonists from areas located even farther northward: Tarrazu, Dota, Acosta, Puriscal and the Valle Central. Many of those who colonized Pejibaye were thus undertaking their second struggle with the frontier environment. As members of the advance party of colonists streaming into the northern portion of the Valle de El General during the early 1930s, they had overcome the many obstacles to settlement in the area centering upon the future city of San Isidro. Now they were attempting to repeat this success in the frontier of Pejibaye.

It is quite likely that even prior to 1942, some lone pioneers had attempted to establish farms in Pejibaye. Several Pejibayense report

1See Appendix B, pages 359-367.
having spoken to individuals presently living elsewhere in the canton who made such claims. But all of these attempts were doomed from the start because the time was not yet ripe for successful colonization of the area. It was not until 1936 that construction began on the section of the Interamerican Highway linking Cartago and San Isidro. Great masses of colonists followed in the wake of road building and the effects of overpopulation soon began to make themselves felt in the northern part of the Valle de El General. The promises of unlimited opportunity - and unlimited land - quickly faded along this frontier as the rush to stake claims rapidly depleted the supply of baldios (unutilized state lands). Until this process was already far advanced, a state reached by 1940, there was little incentive to migrate farther south and establish an entirely new front of pioneer settlement. As long as free lands were still available to the north, the lone colonist would have little luck in convincing his compatriots to join him in taming the wilderness of Pejibaye. By himself, he stood little chance of coping with the harsh frontier environment and was totally isolated from the help he would need in order to survive. After a few months or a few years of attempting to go it alone, such individuals invariably conceded defeat and returned to the more settled regions to the north. But when they did, they brought back with them news of the fertile and unclaimed lands of Pejibaye. It is quite possible that when Cleto Garbanzo, Pablo Mesen and Eloy Porras set out for Pejibaye in 1942, they were not totally unprepared for what they would later encounter on their journey - thanks to the information that may have been supplied them by earlier visitors to the region.
That these three succeeded where others had failed is due in great part to the developments which had taken place in the intervening years in the northern part of the Valle de El General, developments which led others to follow in their wake and join in the taming of the frontier.

The major stimulus drawing colonists to the frontier in Pejibaye was the availability of large tracts of virgin forest, lands officially classified as baldíos by the government of Costa Rica. Because of the sparsity of inhabitants in many parts of the country and the consequent absence of productive utilization of much of its territory, the government of Costa Rica has always been interested in promoting the colonization of frontier regions located within its borders. For this reason legislation relating to the claiming of baldíos by private interests has traditionally been quite liberal in Costa Rica. During the 1940s, an individual could claim as much as 500 manzanas (350 hectares) of public lands. All he was required to do was delimit his property in some manner and register his claim with the government. In addition, unless he built a home and put some of his land to productive use his claim would be forfeited after a specified period of time.

The initial settlers of Pejibaye took advantage of legislation such as this to claim vast amounts of territory. The colonist would clear a carril, or small path, along the borders of his property and later register his claim with the proper authorities in San Isidro. Here he obtained an escritura pública entitling him to exclusive use rights to this piece of land. Obtaining an official ownership title was a more complicated

\[2\text{See Sandner (1962:152-161) for a summary of relevant legislation.}\]
and expensive process, requiring the hiring of lawyers and surveyors. Few colonists went to the trouble of obtaining such a document until after 1960, when there was a rise in claim-jumping due to the disappearance of free lands at the same time as a large wave of migrants were entering the area. During the colonization period and for some years thereafter the escritura was sufficient to discourage this type of activity. In general, use rights were respected and if someone wanted to farm land located within the territory delimited by the escritura held by another, he was obliged to buy this land, or more correctly, the derecho to this land.

The initial settlement of Pejibaye centered upon the area now covered by the pueblo of the same name. Cleto Garbanzo, Pablo Mesen and Eloy Porras claimed lands just to the west of this spot, lands which extended from Desamparados through Barrio Nuevo and into the eastern edge of the pueblo of Pejibaye. They built their ranchos (palm thatched huts) along the Rio Pejibaye and made the first clearings in the forest on nearby tracts of land. During the colonization period of its history, settlement in Pejibaye was greatly determined by the location of sources of drinking water; this explains why a line pattern of settlement developed along the courses of major rivers such as the Rio Pejibaye and later the Rios Platanares and Aguila.

This central point served as the base for the colonization of the entire central and southern portions of the district of Pejibaye. Settlement was gradually extended both in a continuous fashion to nearby areas and in a discontinuous fashion to areas located farther to the south. In 1944, the three settlers living near the centro were joined by Abel
Sanchez who claimed adjacent lands to the west which extended into the present pueblo of Zapote. In that same year Jesus Mesen, the father of Pablo, claimed the entire seventy-five hectares of level terrain presently encompassing the pueblo of Pejibaye. Manuel Mesen, a brother of Pablo, claimed lands in Gibre, near the Rio Platanares, but it was Humberto Elizondo who first settled in this area in 1945. Finally, Audon Umana claimed most of present-day Achiotal in 1947, essentially completing the "division of the spoils" in the vicinity of the centro.

Meanwhile Rafael and Dolores Elizondo, who had accompanied their brother Humberto to Gibre in 1945, departed that same year for El Aguila to the south where they established the first seat of colonization in this area. Subsequent colonization of the southern portion of the district followed one of two patterns: either direct migration to El Aguila from outside the district or, a two stage migration involving a period of residence first in the area near the centro, and only later in El Aguila. During the decade following its initial colonization, the latter was the exclusive pattern of movement to El Aguila. Dolores Vargas, for example, had first farmed land belonging to his father-in-law Jesus Mesen in the centro. After amassing a small amount of capital, he migrated to El Aguila in 1947, where he established residence on his own piece of land. It was only with the development of a sufficiently large aggregate of colonists after 1955-1960 that migration from outside the district to El Aguila began to take place independently of movement to the centro.

The colonization of the northern part of the district, centering on the Las Mesas/Bolivia area, was to a large degree distinct from that
of the remainder of Pejibaye. Although the initial settlement of Las Mesas took place at about the same time as did that of El Aguila, this northern portion of the district was not an area favored by the early colonists of Pejibaye. The reasons for this involve the basic geography of the region. Las Mesas has much poorer soils than those found farther south and its terrain is extremely rugged and gullied. At the same time, it is more difficult to secure adequate supplies of drinking water. No major rivers cross through the northern part of the district and the only sources of water are from the many small brooks or quebradas running throughout Pejibaye. Many of these are dry during verano when little rain falls in this part of Costa Rica. In order to obtain drinking water in Las Mesas, it was necessary during this period of time to descend steep chasms to reach one of these small brooks and then haul this load for some distance back to the home. For all of these reasons the development of Las Mesas has consistently lagged behind that of the pueblo of Pejibaye and more recently, behind that of El Aguila.

Those who did settle in Las Mesas, however, had little to do with the individuals colonizing the remainder of Pejibaye. Just as movement to the central/southern portions of the district took place from a small number of communities, and consisted of individuals united by ties of blood and friendship, the same was occurring in Las Mesas - only between the members of these two movements the communities of origin differed, and social ties were absent. Because Las Mesas is located closer to the earlier seats of population in the northern part of the Valle de El

3See chapter X, pages 290-296.
General, movement took place in a continuous fashion from Pacuar - Los Reyes - San Pablo - San Rafael - Bolivia - Las Mesas. A separate wave of colonists by-passed this area and migrated directly to the central portion of Pejibaye, and later to the south.

The route taken by the first settlers is shown in Figure 6. Crossing the Rio Pacuar near the point where it intersects the Rio General, this trail passed southward through Los Reyes, Mollejones and San Rafael where it veered to the southeast, passing through Bolivia and San Miguel; from here it turned to the east and passed through Barrio Nuevo and along the Rio Pejibaye before finally entering the area surrounding the centro.

A considerable amount of fortitude was required to reach the frontier in Pejibaye by means of this primitive picade (trail). The first obstacle encountered by the traveler was the Rio Pacuar which is wide and deep in this section of its course. Since there was no bridge crossing it at the time, a boat had to be hired to ferry the family and its belongings across the river. From here to the centro the narrow trail passed over some very difficult terrain. It was often necessary to fell logs to pass over dry stream beds and other natural obstacles. The trip from San Isidro to Pejibaye took at least two days and most travelers spent the first night near the Rio Pacuar before continuing on the next morning.

Because of the difficulties of travel, the colonist migrating to Pejibaye could transport little in the way of personal belongings. Colonists came on foot or by horse and brought with them only what they could load into an ox-drawn cart.4 Priority was given to foodstuffs and

4Because of the thick jungle foliage, and the many roots and fallen trees which obstructed travel, it was not possible for ox-drawn carts to reach Pejibaye until several years following its initial settlement.
Figure 6. Route of Colonization.
items such as salt, candles, farming implements, seed, matches and clothing. Besides these, the only other possession with which most colonists arrived in Pejibaye were trastos (cooking utensils).

Upon reaching Pejibaye the colonist encountered a lush rainforest environment. The most common form of plant life was one of several varieties of palm tree, especially the palma real (royal palm; Scheelea rostrata); stands of cedar (Cedrela spp.) were also quite abundant. Surprisingly, there were very few pejibaye palm trees (Guilieima utilis) in Pejibaye.

Animal life was equally abundant. Native to the area are: peccaries (Pecari angulatus); wild boars or cariblanco (Tayassu pecari); jaguars; pumas; tepezcuintles (Coelogenys pacax); armadillos (Dasypus novemcinctus); red monkeys or monos colorados (Ateles geoffroyi); tinamons (Tinamus major) and other varieties of wild fowl; parakeets (Aratinga canicularis); and a wide assortment of reptiles such as iguanas and snakes. Of these the most important game animals were wild boars, tepezcuintles, wild fowl and, for a short period of time, red monkeys. The waters of the Rios Pejibaye and Platanares were furthermore teeming with fish during the early days of settlement and fishing activities were of some importance in supplying the colonist with animal protein.

Neither was Pejibaye completely devoid of human occupants when the first permanent white settlement was made in the region in 1942. To the east of the centro there lived small numbers of Indians belonging to the

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5 Red monkeys became extinct in the area after 1952, when their numbers were decimated by an outbreak of yellow fever. Cariblanco and tepezcuintles disappeared shortly thereafter, due to over-hunting and the destruction of their natural habitat.
Boruca cultural tradition in what is now the village of Gibre. These Indians lived in small ranchos dispersed throughout the forest and subsisted by means of swidden horticulture and hunting/gathering. Because of the small size of this Indian population it posed no obstacle to the spread of white settlement in the area. In fact, these Indians proved quite valuable in helping the first colonists to adjust to life on the frontier, particularly by providing part of the labor necessary to clear the virgin forest and establish subsistence agricultural plots.

Arriving on the frontier with little more than the clothes on his back, the colonist was essentially required to begin life anew in Pejibaye. Most, however, had not entered into this situation blindly but had taken a number of precautions to help insure successful adaptation to the frontier. Prior to actually migrating to Pejibaye, the male head-of-household commonly ventured to the region alone or in the company of one of his sons. The purpose of this journey was to take care of certain preliminary matters. He would visit the settlers already living in the area and make his intentions known to them so that when he returned with his family he would not do so as a complete stranger. His initial knowledge of the region was, in fact, contingent upon already being acquainted with one or several of these colonists from whom he had heard of Pejibaye in the first place. Through such "contacts" he was better able to establish himself socially in the region. At this time the potential colonist would also stake his claim to a portion of land or, if necessary, purchase a finca from one of the earlier settlers. Some even had the

6See Stone (1949) for ethnographic data on the Boruca.
foresight to plant a small plot of land in subsistence crops so that they would have something waiting for them when they returned.

Upon settling with his family on a permanent basis in Pejibaye, the first task to which the pioneer directed his energies was toward the construction of living quarters. The house type adopted by colonists during this period of time was the rancho, a crude structure thatched with the leaves of the royal palm tree and closely resembling the homes of the indigenous peoples of the region. In this endeavor the social ties which the colonist had cultivated prior to settling in Pejibaye reaped important dividends. Friends, relatives and complete strangers banded together in jointly constructing the rancho of each new settler to arrive on the frontier.

These social ties were important in one other respect in the initial establishment of the colonist in Pejibaye. After erecting his first home, the pioneer then turned his attention to implementing agricultural production on his plot of land. But the first crops would not be ready for harvest for at least six months. The food that he had brought with him would be long since exhausted before a continuous supply would be forthcoming from his newly planted finca. The alternatives were few; to avert starvation he would have to somehow obtain food locally or else be forced to make the long trek back to Palmares or San Isidro to replenish his supplies. The latter option was feasible only provided that the colonist had not expended his entire reserve of financial resources in the first phase of settling along the frontier.

One way of obtaining food in Pejibaye during the period prior to the harvest of the first crop was through hunting and fishing along with the
gathering of wild plant materials. The region abounded with game and with the use of rifles and hunting dogs a plentiful supply of meat was readily available. Hunting and fishing were, in fact, important subsistence activities throughout the colonization period and for much of the succeeding formative period.

By themselves, however, hunting and fishing were not sufficient sources of food to tide over the recently arrived colonist until his agricultural plot began producing. Of equal value was the aid supplied by earlier colonists. It was common during this period of time for settlers whose fincas were already producing crops to make gifts of food to those in need of provisions. This custom was advantageous to all concerned. Because of the difficulty of transportation, only a limited supply of foodstuffs could be shipped to market so the surplus producer was not suffering any hardship when he freely disposed of a portion of his crop to recent arrivals. In return, he could expect reciprocal aid in the event of future financial hardship. The recipient of such services, of course, found his need to return to San Isidro lessened and was able to conserve scarce financial resources for alternative uses.

The chief crops grown in Pejibaye during this period of time were maize, rice and beans. After 1945, a few colonists also began growing small amounts of sugar cane which was processed in local trapiches. Since the area was heavily forested the slash/burn or swidden system of cultivation was employed. A given section of forest was chopped down with ax and machete and the dead plant material gathered into a number of piles where it was allowed to dry. In time these piles were burned off with the resultant ash serving as fertilizer. Planting was then
accomplished by means of the macana, a long metal-tipped pole which was used to bore holes into the soil, into which seeds were then dropped. The use of the plow was unknown in Pejibaye during this period of time because the many tree roots and stumps remaining in the soil made its utilization infeasible.

Farming was predominantly a family affair with women and children working alongside the men in the fields. Unlike the situation with respect to rancho construction and food sharing, the colonist received little aid in agricultural pursuits from other members of the community. In the first years of settlement some colonists engaged in a form of cooperative labor known as manos cambiadas. This was an informal system of reciprocal aid which developed among two or more individuals. When possible, one would help the other in the planting or harvesting of his crops in return for which he could expect the favor to be reciprocated at some future date. Another system of mutual aid was known as the junta, a custom perhaps borrowed from the Indians of the region who made extensive use of this practice. If an individual needed a large labor force for a short period of time he would invite friends and neighbors to cooperate in the endeavor. In return, he would feast them with meat and guaro (moonshine) when the task was completed.

Neither manos cambiadas nor the junta were ever practiced on anything but a small scale in Pejibaye. As discussed in chapter IV, the Costa Rican campesino is highly individualistic and cooperative labor activities are not well-developed in any part of the country. People were

7See pages 94-95.
quite willing to aid newly arrived colonists in the construction of their rancho and with food to ensure their survival because these were expressions of hospitality and the mutual benefits to all involved were quite clear. But working together in the fields was not a matter of survival but one of convenience and the colonists did not find it to be a very convenient form of behavior. As one early settler later described the situation to me: "When working on his own field a man would labor valiantly. But when he was helping someone else he would tire easily."

When a colonist needed help on his finca he more commonly resorted to the hiring of peones who were paid either on an hourly basis or a fixed wage for completing a specific task. In the first days of settlement, the only potential peones in Pejibaye were the Indians inhabiting the region centering on the present-day village of Gibre. Within a few years after the arrival of the first colonists, however, most of the choice farmland had already been claimed. Unless the newly arrived settler possessed a small amount of capital with which to purchase land from one of the earlier colonists, he would have to content himself with earning a livelihood by wage labor or sharecropping - or else migrate farther to the south where free lands were still available. Until 1960, wages were paid primarily in kind since currency was scarce on the frontier. It is here that local production and processing of sugar cane played its major role. Wages were at first paid with dulce (semi-refined sugar) and after 1953, also with coffee, and only rarely with money.8

8 Payment in dulce lasted until 1955, with the average wage being one tamuga and $0.50 for the mediodia (6 a.m.-12 p.m.). Payment in currency during these years averaged $3 for the mediodia; in coffee, four cuartillos (quarts). By 1960, the average wage for the mediodia had risen to $5, and by 1975, it was $15. It is currently $18-$24.
In view of the dismal state of the transportation network it is understandable that a predominantly subsistence-oriented economy developed in Pejibaye. Nevertheless, from the very beginning of its colonization there existed a very important element of dependence upon external markets. All goods not produced locally, and these included practically everything outside of foodstuffs, had to be bought either in Palmares or in San Isidro. Food sharing among the early colonists thus did not completely eliminate the need to venture outside the limits of the frontier. On the average, each colonist made the round trip to San Isidro twice yearly to replenish his stock of non-edible supplies.

In order to purchase goods in San Isidro the colonist clearly required money. He was therefore compelled to produce goods for sale on the open market no matter what the price involved in shipping them from Pejibaye. Early Pejibayense thus did not tarry long before they began working to harvest crops above and beyond their simple subsistence needs. Grains such as maize and rice were shipped to San Isidro by horseback. A more efficient practice which rapidly developed was the raising of pigs. Pigs brought in more money per unit of weight and transporting them was a much simpler chore.

As early as 1947, when the first crops had barely been removed from the fields, comerciantes de afuera (ambulatory merchants) began making regular visits to the area. These entrepreneurs were eager to purchase locally grown grains and livestock at bargain prices and afterwards ship

9 On a good horse, the round trip could be made in eight hours. Loaded with cargo, it was lengthened to fifteen hours. By ox-drawn cart, two to four days were necessary to complete the journey.
them to San Isidro or San Jose for resale at an immense profit. Many farmers in Pejibaye sold to these merchants because although the prices they received for their products were low, there was no assurance that they would fare any better if they shipped these to market themselves. The grain and meat buyers in San Isidro were only too aware of the fact that once a Pejibayense arrived in town, he had no choice but to sell his goods at whatever price was offered. The buyers in San Isidro often pressed this advantage and offered unfairly low prices for goods produced in Pejibaye.

Under the frontier conditions of Pejibaye, a basically egalitarian social organization rapidly took form. Any social distinctions that may have existed among the body of colonists prior to their arrival on the frontier were soon erased by the common lifestyle of poverty and hard labor. Different colonists, however, did bring with them widely varying amounts of capital when they settled in Pejibaye, and this factor, more than any other, was instrumental in determining later upward socio-economic mobility and the development of incipient class differentiation. But during the colonization phase of Pejibaye’s history, there was precious little use to which money could be put; there were no stores, labor was scarce, and investment possibilities were nonexistent.

The ranchos of the colonists were widely separated one from the other and social contact was extremely sporadic. Practically the only social event which brought together large masses of people was the yearly arrival of the German missionary priest, Padre Bernardo Leben, to say mass in the rancho church which had been jointly constructed by the colonists on the finca of Humberto Elizondo near the Rio Platanares. Aside from
this, community life was little developed in Pejibaye.

The community of colonists was important, however, in a much more basic respect. The major insurance against complete personal disaster was supplied by utilization of the social ties formed among this group of people struggling in a like manner against the difficulties imposed by the frontier environment. The importance of social ties as an adaptation to the vagaries of life on the frontier was already hinted at in our discussion of the assistance provided newly arrived colonists in the construction of their ranchos and in the food given them during the first six months of their residence in the area. Relations of mutual aid were especially important, however, in the event of personal misfortune. An individual could do only so much to prepare for such events. The planting of a variety of crops, for example, served not only to add diversity to the daily diet, but also to ensure that should climatic variations result in the failure of one, the others would likely survive and complete disaster would thus be averted. But injury or disease could not be prepared for in this way. During the colonization period malaria was endemic in the region and in 1953, an epidemic of yellow fever broke out in Pejibaye. Whenever an individual was stricken by disease or was injured, male colonists would band together and carry him in a stretcher by foot to the nearest medical facility in San Isidro, a journey that was not especially pleasant. If a man could not work, 10

10 By 1952, this was no longer necessary. With plane service provided to the area, the vecinos simply stretched a large red cloth on the landing strip and, if necessary, the pilot would make an unscheduled stop to pick up sick or injured parties for transport to San Isidro. See below, pages 189-193.
he and his family would be fed by others until recovery was achieved. There is a saying in Costa Rica which is commonly employed by Pejibayense in describing the basis of such community assistance: "Hoy por ti y mañana por mí" ("You today and me tomorrow"). The meaning is clear: an individual was compelled to aid his neighbors because in an uncertain environment he may very well need his neighbors' assistance at some future date.

The colonization period came to an end on an optimistic note. In 1950, the first pulperia was opened in the future pueblo of Pejibaye by Gonzalo Carmona, a colonist recently arrived from San Jose. Within five months he left the area, but his pulperia was purchased by Lico Mesen who later sold it to his father, Jesus Mesen. From this time forward, at least one pulperia would be operating in the region, lessening the need for colonists to travel regularly to San Isidro solely to purchase non-locally produced items.  

A second event of some importance took place in the following year, in 1951. At that time Pejibaye was under the political jurisdiction of the district of San Pedro which, in turn, was part of the canton of Buenos Aires. A plebiscite was conducted in 1951 in San Pedro to determine the future political affiliation of the district. Most of the colonists who had settled in this region in the preceding decade had come from the canton of Perez Zeledon, and their important economic ties were with San Isidro rather than with Buenos Aires. The colonists therefore voted for separation from Buenos Aires and annexation by Perez Zeledon.

11 Early pulperias sold only the bare essentials: candles, matches, salt, soap, cigarettes, machetes - and guaro (liquor).
This change had little immediate impact upon the inhabitants of Pejibaye but its long-range influence was far-reaching. As we saw in chapter V, Perez Zeledon developed after 1948 into one of the most rapidly growing parts of Costa Rica and because of the plebiscite of 1951, Pejibaye came to share in this growth.\(^\text{12}\)

**Formative Period (1952-1965)**

The year 1952 marked a major turning point in the history of Pejibaye. At that time the region was nothing more than one of several isolated fronts of pioneer settlement in the Valle de El General. Although the best lands in the vicinity of the centro were in the hands of private interests, the lack of inhabitants living in Pejibaye dictated that little of these were actually being put into productive use. There were only about twenty families living in the area encompassing Pejibaye, Achiotal, Gibre, Barrio Nuevo, Desamparados, Paraiso and Zapote. Even fewer colonists resided in El Aguila and Las Mesas.

Not much change had occurred in the first decade of colonization in Pejibaye. The region was still covered in most parts by a dense rainforest and the small areas which had been cleared for farming had had little effect on the ecology of the area. The only improvement which had been made in the road system consisted of a small degree of widening and leveling of the road leading to the Interamerican Highway. This endeavor was undertaken by local men using picks and shovels who performed this labor in 1950, as part of a corvee obligation to the canton. Obviously

\(^{12}\)See pages 124-126.
this did little to alter the basic difficulty of travel to San Isidro and because of the dismal state of the road system, agricultural activity remained largely subsistence-oriented. Only one commercial establishment was operating in the entire district and social and economic differentiation was all but absent among the small population.

Such a state might have continued indefinitely had it not been for two events of major importance which took place in 1952. The first of these was the founding of the pueblo of Pejibaye. The second was the construction of an airstrip and the establishment of regular flights between Pejibaye and San Isidro. Together, these two developments broke the isolation of the region and established the basis for the growth of population, agricultural production, commercial enterprise and, in time, the breakdown of the egalitarian structure of social relations in Pejibaye.

In 1952, the entire area of level terrain upon which the pueblo of Pejibaye presently lies was the property of a single individual - Jesus Mesen. As long as he retained sole possession of this land - and there were no legal means by which to prevent him from doing so - the possibility of creating a central nucleus of population, commercial activity and social interaction was essentially nonexistent. But Jesus Mesen was a shrewd man. Motivated partly out of community spirit and partly out of self-interest, he laid out the plan for the future pueblo by dividing a portion of his finca into quadrants. One quadrant he donated to the community for the construction of a church, another for the construction of an escuela and yet a third for use as a public plaza. He offered lots of any size for sale to all interested buyers; in this way a single property became subdivided among a number of individuals and a
pueblo was founded. Jesus Mesen did this because he realized that the area could not otherwise develop into a prosperous community of merchants and farmers. Just as importantly, he realized that by selling part of his land, the remainder would increase in value over the years, an expectation that proved only too accurate.

Meanwhile, Hector Cruz was busy elsewhere in the canton organizing an airline company which he named A.V.E. His intentions were to provide air transportation by means of light craft between San Jose and San Isidro and from here to several small communities in the central and southern portions of the Valle de El General. The only potential landing site in the district was on the finca of Jesus Mesen in the centro. In 1952, Hector Cruz asked for and received permission from this individual to land planes in Pejibaye. A meeting of the vecinos (neighbors) was called and the project discussed. In general, the plan was well-received by the colonists and the men banded together to clear an area of forest on the southwest edge of the recently formed pueblo to serve as a landing strip. In 1952, A.V.E. began operations in Pejibaye. The inauguration of the airstrip was attended by Hector Cruz who brought along with him the president of the republic, Otilio Ulate Blanco. Speeches were made and a grand fiesta was held in the town plaza. A new era had begun in this remote corner of Costa Rica.

The impact of these two events upon the future development of Pejibaye cannot be overestimated. Both were crucial to the rapid proliferation of commercial activities - the town by serving as a nucleus of population and business establishments, and the plane by supplying externally produced commodities which could be sold in these establishments.
Both underlie the pervasive changes in the economy and society of Pejibaye which by the end of the formative period had resulted in an almost complete transformation of the social and physical landscape of the region. The impact of the plane service, however, was more immediate than was that of the foundation of the pueblo. It was only with the closer integration with the regional and national economy which this service afforded that the town itself began to prosper. The vast improvement in the transportation network linking Pejibaye with the outside world, first by plane, and then by overland travel, underlies many of the other changes that took place during the formative period. It is for this reason that we shall first describe these improvements and their results, and only then focus our attention upon the development of the centro as an important nucleus of social and economic activity.

Prior to 1952, Pejibaye was completely cut off from contact with the outside world during the rainy season (May-December) and for the remainder of the year travel to San Isidro was undertaken by means of horse, oxen or foot. From 1952-1959, these obstacles to overland transportation were greatly mitigated with the provision of plane service. The route of this plane took it from the capital, San Jose, to San Isidro, and from there to Pejibaye and points farther south. The craft employed were 4-6 passenger planes which landed in Pejibaye three times weekly - Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The one-way fare was $17.50, a considerable sum of money in those days. For this reason air travel never succeeded in completely replacing the more difficult and time consuming method of journeying to San Isidro via foot or animal. But during the rainy season it was the only way to make this excursion.
Perhaps the most significant effect which the plane service had upon Pejibaye's development lay in the tremendous stimulus it gave to the colonization of the region. More than anything else, it was the extreme difficulty of overland travel to Pejibaye that discouraged settlement of the area. But with travel time shortened to just one-half hour from San Jose, and fifteen minutes from San Isidro, this factor became no longer pertinent. Those inhabiting other parts of the country who had heard from friends or relatives of the opportunities available in Pejibaye could now quite easily "come and see for themselves" if what they had heard were really true. In other words, direct information about conditions in Pejibaye was now available to all who desired it and it is in the spread of such information that the true impact of the plane service is to be found. Only a small number of families actually made the move to Pejibaye by plane.\textsuperscript{13} Because the craft were quite small, the number of personal belongings which could be transported on board was minimal. But it was quite feasible for a single male to travel to Pejibaye by plane, learn of the possibilities of the area, and perhaps buy a finca or otherwise establish himself in the community, before later returning by foot or ox-drawn cart with his family and possessions. During the formative period of Pejibaye's history, long-distance migration became quite pronounced as people from areas of Costa Rica far removed from Pejibaye formed a growing portion of the colonization stream. During these years the population of the region rose dramatically as the rate of in-migration

\textsuperscript{13} Of the sixty-eight migration units in the research sample for the years 1952-1959, only five arrived via plane.
experienced a considerable boost. From a population of considerably less than 500 in 1952, the number of inhabitants grew to slightly over 5000 by 1966. It was due in large part to this increasing population density that commercial enterprise proliferated and socioeconomic differentiation heightened among the vecinos of Pejibaye.

In 1959, A.V.E. ceased operations in Pejibaye. In that year the creation of cheaper and more convenient forms of transportation made obsolete its usefulness to Pejibayense. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Transportation, plows, levelers, and other machinery were dispatched to the district; with these, basic alterations were made in the road linking Pejibaye to the Interamerican Highway. Thanks to these alterations, motored vehicle traffic over this road was made possible for the first time, albeit only during the dry season. No sooner had the work crews departed than a bus company established a twice weekly run via Willys jeep between San Isidro and Pejibaye during this time of the year. Since it could not compete against the Q10 one-way fare charged by this company, A.V.E. was driven out of business in Pejibaye.

The last major improvement in the road system of Pejibaye took place between 1963-1965, when the Ministry of Public Transportation financed the embedding of ballast into the district's major road. This action allowed motored vehicle traffic to enter Pejibaye on a year-round basis, rather than just during the dry season as had heretofore been the case. With the completion of this project, Pejibaye achieved regular contact with San Isidro, and bus service was extended between these two areas four times daily throughout the year.
As a direct result of cheaper and more regular contact with San Isidro and more distant parts of the country, economic relations and activities in Pejibaye underwent a basic restructuring. The most significant and far-reaching of these changes took place in the sphere of commercial intercourse which blossomed during this period. Commerce prospered in Pejibaye because the rapid expansion of its population, due in large measure to the plane service and later improvements in the transportation system, created an internal market sufficiently large to make such activity extremely profitable. At the same time, local products could more cheaply be transported to market and imported items more cheaply and regularly supplied to the district. This meant that local residents had more money to spend, and with this money they could purchase a greater variety of products, at a lower price, in stores that sprang into being in Pejibaye.

In 1950, the first pulperia opened for business in the centro. In 1954/5 it was joined by another. Similar establishments were created in El Aguila in 1955, and elsewhere in the district in succeeding years. At about the same time several cantinas, serving alcoholic beverages imported from San Isidro, began doing a thriving trade in the centro and in several other pueblos in Pejibaye. The "Salon Atletico del Valle" was built in the centro in 1957 and dances were held regularly in this establishment after a jukebox was installed on its premises. In the same year the "Salon Centro de Amigos" was also built in the centro of Pejibaye. A movie theater began showing old Mexican cowboy movies in 1957, and before the end of the formative period several tiendas and sastrerias began doing business
in the district. Several businesses devoted exclusively to food selling sprang into being. The first panadería was established in the centro in 1964, and shortly thereafter a small number of individuals began specializing as carniceros, supplying cattle and pig meat on a regular basis to the inhabitants of several pueblos. A sawmill was built in the centro in 1957, as economic utilization was at last made of the vast stands of timber growing in Pejibaye.  

Of special importance was the proliferation of the bodega business in Pejibaye. Because of its very limited carrying capacity, the plane service was never very important in the export of local farm products. It was in 1953 that the first bodega was established in the centro by Baltazar Acuna and Odilio Sanchez. Because of the profitability of this business several other bodegas soon opened, especially in the centro and Zapote and later in El Aguila and Las Mesas. Until shortly after 1960, grains were transported to San Isidro by ox-drawn cart and after this date by truck.

The significance of the bodega lay in the great stimulus it gave to agricultural production in Pejibaye. By providing shipment to market, the bodeguero assumed this burden from the producer himself, who was furthermore assured of a regular market outlet for all that he was capable of growing. Bodegueros were also important because they served as the first major source of credit to the farmers of Pejibaye. It soon became

14 Much of the deforestation of Pejibaye dates from this event. At present, the land in the vicinity of the centro is almost completely denuded, and few large stands of timber remain elsewhere in the district.
regular procedure for a **bodeguero** to advance payment to farmers, in return for which the farmer would commit to him the sale of the future harvest.

The amount of grains harvested and exported in Pejibaye thus rapidly increased during the formative period of its history. Besides the activities of the **bodegueros**, several other factors were responsible for this growth. The most obvious was the great increase in population which meant that more forest was being cleared, and more lands planted in crops. At the same time, the plow came to be employed as a regular tool of agricultural activity as the roots and stumps remaining on the land fired by the first settlers had ceased to pose serious obstacles to this technology by 1955.

During the formative period the crops grown in Pejibaye remained basically unaltered - with one very important exception. Maize, beans and rice thus continued as the major agricultural products while pig raising maintained its key role in the local economy. Cattle raising had not yet made its appearance except on a very small scale in Pejibaye. The only stock kept was used for the purposes of supplying milk, and later, a small amount of meat for local consumption. Cattle were not exported during this period of time.

In 1953/4, however, the first coffee trees were planted in several parts of the district. By 1957, small amounts of beans were being sold in Mollejones, located in the future district of Platanares, to the north of Pejibaye. During the formative period coffee production was small and, for the most part, locally consumed. Coffee growing gradually increased over time, however, and in the succeeding integration period came to be one of the major sources of income for local farmers.
Along with this restructuring of economic relations in Pejibaye came a transformation in social relations. For several years after its founding in 1952, the pueblo of Pejibaye experienced only a modest growth. For a long period of time the only structures located within its limits were a rancho church, an escuela, a few bodegas, pulperias and cantinas, and several homes. Even at an early date, however, the centro developed as a focal point of commerce and social activity. Most of the bodegas, pulperias and tiendas were located in the centro and people living throughout the district came here to do their shopping. The cantinas, salones, and sports plaza were similarly situated in this central location and the pueblo thus served as the major locus of social activity in the district.

In 1960, the vecinos completed work on a new church in the centro, a cement structure which replaced the older rancho building. Beginning in 1952, a priest journeyed to the centro on a monthly basis to say mass and at this time people gathered from far and wide to attend this religious ceremony. They also came to spend time in the cantinas and salones and to attend the soccer games held on Sundays in the town plaza.

The rudimentary services which the government of Costa Rica began to provide to the inhabitants of the region were also for the most part restricted to the centro. In 1951/2 the first escuela, staffed by a single maestra, was opened in San Marcos, just to the north of the centro. In the following year, 1953, an escuela was opened in the centro itself as well as in Desamparados and Las Mesas. Postal service, however, was restricted to the centro; in 1953, this service was initiated in Pejibaye with mail being brought in and carried out twice weekly by horseback. By 1956, an office of the Rural Guard had been established in the centro,
giving Pejibay its first local law enforcement officials. Prior to this date, Pejibayense had had to journey to San Isidro to lodge complaints with the authorities.

With the development of an aggregate of inhabitants in the centro, locally organized community organizations were created for the first time in Pejibay. The first junta in the region had been the Junta de Caminos, the organization responsible for the road improvements made in 1950. This group, however, had been formed by the canton to oversee the fulfillment of corvee obligations by local citizens and was disbanded as soon as this tax was repealed. The first purely local organization formed in Pejibay was the Junta Edificadora, whose main responsibility was to sponsor ferias, turnos and other events to raise funds for the construction of a church in the pueblo. It was this group that provided the financial underpinnings of the church constructed in the centro in 1960, and has since seen to its maintenance. With the opening of an escuela in 1953, the Patronato Escolar was formed by the parents of schoolchildren in the centro. This organization was devoted to overseeing that the teachers were properly fulfilling their duties and also responsible for raising funds to be used to construct a better school house. Far and away the most important of the community-wide organizations formed during this period of time, however, was the Junta Progresista. This was a popularly elected council founded in the centro in 1957 which was dedicated to fomenting social and economic progress throughout the district. It was by means of this council that the citizens of Pejibay made their needs known to the cantonal and central governments and it was through this council that support
was mobilized for the creation of the district of Pejibaye, a dream realized in 1966.¹⁵

By 1966, the egalitarian social structure of the district had broken down under the influence of increasing contact with the outside world. By means of such contact bodegueros, pulperos and other commercially active individuals had succeeding in amassing a fair amount of wealth which henceforth served to distinguish them from the mass of the colonists. Because of their wealth and because of their occupations which put them into contact with large numbers of people, merchants began to play a disproportionate role in the political affairs of Pejibaye, a role which would crystallize during the succeeding integration period in the institutionalization of gamonalismo.¹⁶ At the same time, those who had claimed large fincas on choice lands found themselves able to put their land into production by employing the steadily growing labor supply available in Pejibaye. There thus slowly emerged in Pejibaye the four major socio-economic categories which are present to this day: merchants, hacendados, campesinos, and peones.

Integration Period (1966-1977)

By the end of 1965, Pejibaye had achieved a remarkable degree of prosperity and was in the midst of a period of rapid development. Great quantities of maize, rice and beans were being grown and exported by its

¹⁵Technically, this work was undertaken by the Junta Pro-Distrital, a sub-committee of the Junta Progresista.

¹⁶See chapter IV, pages 91-92.
farmers to San Jose while coffee production was increasing yearly. Much of its surface area was under the plow and practically all had passed from the state of baldíos to that of private property. In the towns of Pejibayé, and particularly in the centro, a bustling commercial life had developed as merchants plied their wares and offered their services in the many pulperías, bodegas and tiendas that had opened for business during the previous decade. The almost absolute egalitarianism of the coloniza
tion period had given way to a steadily growing socioeconomic differentiation among the inhabitants of the region. The population itself had grown from less than 500 in 1952, to over 5000 by 1966. In short, the frontier phase of Pejibayé's history had come to an end.

Because of the development that had taken place during the formative period, Pejibayé was slowly emerging as an important part of Costa Rica. Its grains helped feed the inhabitants of the Valle Central while its growing population could not easily be ignored by the political parties engaged in an incessant struggle for votes at election time. Official recognition of this situation came in 1966, when the area was legally separated from the district of San Pedro and constituted as the seventh district of the canton of Perez Zeledón, the district of Pejibayé.

The political autonomy obtained by Pejibayé with the creation of the district loomed large in its future development. The district is the smallest administrative unit in Costa Rica and receives direct stipends both from the municipality and from the central government. After 1966,

17 Recall that due to the "mito cafetalero" and the consequent under-
production of foodstuffs, the country has for over a century now been plagued by food shortages. See chapter IV, pages 95-96.
Pejibaye became eligible for such funds which would henceforth be funneled directly for use within its territorial limits. While it was a part of the district of San Pedro, it received only such attention as deemed appropriate by its political officials. All allocative decisions were made in San Pedro, a distant pueblo linked to Pejibaye by a crude and often-times impassable dirt road. Naturally, the decisions reached invariably favored the interests of the cabacera, to the detriment of outlying parts of the district such as Pejibaye. This situation was radically altered in 1966, when Pejibaye was given control over its own destiny.

With the creation of the district in that year, the District Council was organized to serve as the organ of local government. This council took the place of the Junta Progresista which was disbanded. The membership of the two organizations, however, remained basically the same, the only difference being in the official status granted by the canton to the District Council. But with this official status as an organ of Costa Rican government, the council began playing a larger role in organizing the vecinos of the district in presenting their needs directly to the canton and to the central government, and in obtaining the partidas especificas which have been so instrumental in the development of its infrastructure.

The cabecera of the new district was the pueblo of Pejibaye. To the social and economic domination by the centro of the rest of the district was now added a political domination. The District Council met in the centro and it was here that decisions affecting the rest of the district would be made. It soon developed that only politically active residents of the centro, specifically certain pulperos and bodegueros, came to
control elective office and with it the exercise of political power. Gamonalismo thus took root in Pejibaye and continued as the dominant feature of its political structure until approximately 1975, when the first challenges were made to the political supremacy of this elite group of merchants.

This political elite soon affiliated itself with the major political party in Costa Rica, the Partido Liberacion Nacional, whose interests they promoted in the district. It was through such affiliation that direct access was gained to the national political arena. The political elite used the power and influence they derived from this association to obtain significant improvements for the people of Pejibaye. The basic feature of the integration period, in fact, is one of increasingly pervasive intervention by the central government of Costa Rica in the society and economy of Pejibaye. Many of the changes which have taken place in the district since 1966 have thus been a direct result of actions taken by the central government, either on its own initiative or, more commonly, at the suggestion of political party operatives in Pejibaye.

Thus, in the decade following 1966, the central government of Costa Rica intensified its role as chief underwriter of the infrastructural development of Pejibaye, a role it had played since the early 1950s. In 1968, it financed the construction of a bridge over the Rio Pejibaye, permitting the extension of bus service as far south as El Aguila during the dry season. In 1972/3 it renewed its activities in this part of Pejibaye by embedding ballast in the Pejibaye–El Aguila highway, making year-round motored vehicle traffic possible between these two pueblos. It was after this date that El Aguila began to develop as an important
commercial center in the southern part of the district, decentralizing to some degree the concentration of economic activities in the centro. In 1976, another bridge, this one over the Rio Paltanares, was built by the central government, greatly facilitating travel between the centro and points to the east. The government has furthermore seen to it that this road system is adequately maintained. For the past several years, levelers and road crews have been dispatched annually to Pejibaye to effect repairs on public highways.

This is not, moreover, the only manner in which governmental action has affected the local economy of Pejibaye. A rather more direct measure was taken in 1967, when the Banco Nacional de Costa Rica, a state operated institution, initiated a specific type of loan program in the southern part of the country, including Pejibaye. Long-term, easy credit loans were granted to individuals interested in investing in the cattle industry. Prior to this date there was little herding activity in Pejibaye but after this program went into effect, cattle raising rapidly developed into one of the major economic activities in the district. This result can be traced directly to the loan program since it was only with the financial backing of the bank that large numbers of men, especially the owners of large fincas, switched from farming to herding. Numerous fields were plowed under and replanted with pasture and better breed cattle, such as Brahmins, were imported by Pejibayense to improve their stock. Today, Pejibaye is a major producer of beef in Costa Rica, with nearly 10,000 head of cattle grazing on its pastures.

At the same time that many Pejibayense were shifting from agriculture to cattle raising, coffee production was increasing drastically. This
trend has become particularly pronounced in the past five years, a period of time which corresponds to one of very high prices on the world coffee market. In fact, increasing yields of coffee beans led to yet another major change in the local economy - the construction of a beneficio, or coffee processing plant, which represents Pejibaye's entry into the industrial sector of the national economy.

The production of maize and beans remained high during the integration period but rice cultivation disappeared almost completely after 1970. The decline of rice can be attributed to two distinct factors, one ecological and the other economic. By 1970, the deforestation of Pejibaye was already well-advanced. Destruction of the forest biota had resulted in the elimination of many species that had heretofore fed on the insect population. The number of insect pests which feed on rice, particularly the larva of the abejon de mayo, reached uncontrollable proportions with the result that each year rice production declined. At the same time, slight climatic changes, partially attributable to the clearing of the forest cover, also proved detrimental to rice cultivation in Pejibaye. Since 1942, the average yearly temperature has fallen by a few degrees while precipitation has also declined. High levels both of rainfall and heat are conditions favorable to the rice plant, so the decline in these levels which Pejibaye has witnessed in recent years has not been advantageous to local rice growers.

An equally compelling reason for the near disappearance of rice production in Pejibaye is the growth during recent decades of plantation rice cultivation along the Pacific coastal area of Costa Rica. Large-scale, mechanized rice production in this region has significantly lowered the
profitability of local cultivation, leading rice growers in Pejibaye to seek alternative uses for their land. Even within Pejibaye, exported plantation rice undersells locally grown rice.

The most serious problem facing the farmers of Pejibaye at the present time is the increasingly detrimental effect of soil erosion upon agricultural production. While the size of harvests has grown yearly since 1966, this is in large measure due to the fact that the amount of land cultivated has also risen during this period of time. Agricultural yield per unit of land, however, has experienced an opposite trend with less and less being harvested from the same plot of land. Soil erosion and ecological decay is one of the logical consequences of frontier agriculture and has been documented in Brazil by Margolis (1977). The massive and prolonged application of slash/burn techniques of cultivation to the district's soils has not been beneficial in terms of their fertility. Even today many farmers practice swidden cultivation, even though its use has recently been outlawed by the government of Costa Rica. Terracing and contouring are totally unknown in Pejibaye and fallowing is practiced only by those with extensive tracts of land. The result of this short-sighted utilization of the land has been a slow but steady decline in the fertility of Pejibaye's soils.

This situation has not, however, escaped the attention of the area's farmers, many of whom lament the fact that the land is "menos bravo" (less strong) than it was when they first settled in Pejibaye. Since 1973, many campesinos have begun applying chemical fertilizers to their land and the use of swidden cultivation, well-recognized by most as being
of long-term detriment to the soil, is steadily declining in the district. Nevertheless, stronger measures than these will be needed in the coming years to reverse the cycle of erosion and fertility decline in Pejibaye.

The major developmental trends in the economy of Pejibaye since 1966 consist, then, in the emergence of cattle and coffee as two of the major products of the region, joining maize and beans in this capacity. Rice production, on the other hand, disappeared almost completely in the district. Overall agricultural production increased, due mainly to the cultivation of greater areas of land, while soil fertility declined. Non-agricultural employment increased with the construction of a beneficio, first in El Aguila, and later near the centro. Commercial activity, although not specifically mentioned previously, also expanded considerably as the internal market for the products and services of merchants increased with the growth of population in Pejibaye.

Many of these changes can be directly traced to actions taken by the central government of Costa Rica in Pejibaye. The importance of road works financed by the government in stimulating local agriculture, and the crucial role played by the loan program of the Banco Nacional in financing the development of Pejibaye's cattle industry have already been mentioned; in 1971, a branch office of the Banco was furthermore opened in the centro, greatly expanding the investment credit available to Pejibayense. Beginning in 1976, the government began playing an even more active role in directing the local economy than it had previously done. In that year, loans designed specifically to aid poor

18 Prior to this date, the nearest branch office of the Banco Nacional was in Palmares.
campesinos became available when the National Production Council (CNP) initiated operations in the centro. Indeed, the CNP went even further than this in its activities in Pejibaye - it opened an expendio in the centro, underselling local pulperos and to some degree forcing them to lower the prices of their merchandise. The ability of the CNP to create competition in the district is somewhat dampened, however, by virtue of the fact that it is prohibited from selling on credit in its expendio, which prevents it from luring away from the pulperias large numbers of campesinos who are dependent on such services.

The year 1976 also witnessed the arrival in the centro of an operative of the National Directory of Community Development (DINADECO). His main function is to organize the vecinos to work together on projects designed to improve the quality of life in the district. Upon arrival he helped found the Association of Integral Development, an organization through which additional government funds are channeled into Pejibaye. In the following year, 1977, an agricultural extension agent was assigned to the district by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and in the future he may play a potentially large role in stimulating the use of fertilizers and pesticides in Pejibaye, as well as in directing measures aimed at conserving the area's natural resources.

During the integration period the government has played an important role in providing health, education and welfare services to the inhabitants of the district, services which have significantly raised the general level of life in Pejibaye. By 1978, escuelas had been built and staffed by government-employed teachers in over twenty pueblos in the district. In 1974, a colegio was established in the centro, giving
Pejibaye its first center of secondary education. Three years later, in 1977, the Ministry of Education provided financial backing to the sum of $1 million for the purchase of a forty-five manzana finca in the centro and the construction of several new buildings to house this institution.

Like the colegio, most government activities were centralized within the limits of the centro, which far and away constitutes the most important nucleus of activity and population in Pejibaye. In the areas of health and welfare, the Centro de Nutrición, completed in 1971/2, provides free meals to needy children, as well as operating a pre-kindergarten nursery. The Puesto de Salud (Health Center) was built in the centro in 1975, and after this date a doctor initiated monthly visits to provide medical care to the inhabitants of Pejibaye. A free school lunch program was instituted in escuelas throughout the district and free milk is currently distributed to needy families on a twice monthly basis. A growing number of residents of Pejibaye are covered by national social security programs. In August of 1977, Dr. Guido Miranda, medical chief of the Costa Rican Social Security Board, pledged the eventual construction of a modern medical dispensary in the centro and the assignment of a doctor to the area on a full-time basis by February, 1978.

During the integration period, the pace of in-migration to Pejibaye slackened considerably over what it had been during the preceding formative period. Long before 1966, free lands had disappeared in the district, removing one of the prime causes of in-migration to Pejibaye. At the same time, development has caused a steep increase in land prices, making it less and less possible for poor campesinos to economically establish themselves in the region. Recent trends toward the expansion of pasture
at the expense of agricultural fields have significantly decreased employment opportunities in Pejibaye, making it a somewhat less attractive area for individuals migrating for the purpose of improving their economic status. Finally, the natural increase in population and the decline in soil fertility have created conditions favoring out-migration from Pejibaye to other areas of Costa Rica, specifically to the urban areas of San Isidro or the Valle Central, or to new zones of pioneer settlement. Thus, during the integration period the district for the first time in its history experienced a net out-migration as insufficient numbers of immigrants arrived to compensate for those leaving Pejibaye.

The transformation of its economy, together with the provision of extensive government services during the past decade have not left social life in Pejibaye untouched. One of the basic changes that has occurred in recent years is a marked decline in the several types of voluntary assistance extended to other members of the community, particularly to recently arrived migrants. This is a trend that first became noticeable in the declining years of the formative period and has intensified thereafter. By 1965, male residents of Pejibaye were no longer banding together to help a new arrival in erecting his first rancho or alternative type of living shelter. People no longer generously extend food to the new member of the community and if someone becomes ill it is most certainly no longer necessary to carry him by stretcher to San Isidro. Many Pejibayense complain that there is a noticeable decline in community spirit and that "no one wants to work for the good of the pueblo." The community labor that effected improvements in the main road in 1950, and which cleared the landing strip in the centro in 1952, is
a thing of the past although such community self-help operations are presently experiencing a slight revival through the instigation of the DINADECO operative in Pejibaye.

Such social behavior has vanished because it is largely nonfunctional and outdated at the present time. Many individuals earn a living solely by constructing new homes. Pulperías are readily available to those in need of food. Medical assistance is as close as the nearest bus line. Relations of mutual assistance are no longer matters of survival, and economic self-interest dictates that they no longer be practiced. With a regular market outlet for agricultural produce available at the present time, it is economically self-defeating to give foodstuffs to an individual who can just as easily go to the nearest pulperia and buy such items on credit.

At the same time, the government has supplaned the community as the major assurance of aid in the event of personal disaster. It is the government which provides needy families with free milk and food and it is the government which extends social security coverage to many of the residents of the district. Many Pejibayense, in fact, have developed a "welfare state" mentality and look upon the government to solve all of their problems. One extreme example of this attitude is provided by a remark made by one woman in Pejibaye who wondered out loud "why the government doesn't pay wages to housewives since we work as hard as men do and should be paid just as well."

The government has also come to supplant community labor as the major source of community improvements - leading to the oft stated lamentation concerning the demise of community spirit in Pejibaye. This,
of course, is a logical outcome of the region's evolution. At this stage of its development the minor alterations in the quality of life which can be effected through the manual labor of the vecinos, for example, in improving the road system, are inconsequential in the face of government activity in these same spheres. Only the government at present has the financial resources to perform the role of improving the infrastructure and the quality of life in Pejibaye and this role has therefore fallen to it by default. Nevertheless, Pejibaye has never been lacking in public-minded individuals who are willing to devote their energies to helping the community in any way possible.

Despite these developments, traces of the pioneer society linger on in Pejibaye. Neighbors still assume the financial burden of caring for someone who through illness or infirmity is unable to perform this task himself - even though he may be totally unrelated to them. Close neighbors continue to visit newly arrived migrants bringing with them small gifts of food as a "housewarming" present. But such activities are greatly restricted in scope compared to what they once were and their adaptive value is greatly reduced.

During the past decade differences between rich and poor have widened in Pejibaye. While it is premature to speak of the presence of a well-defined social class system in the area, one thing is certain - the egalitarianism of the colonization period is forever vanished from Pejibaye, though it lingers still in the minds of many of the vecinos.

By the end of the period, popular participation in the political process expanded significantly in Pejibaye. With the growth in population and
the development of alternative interest groups, the monopoly on the exercise of political authority long held by the political elite began to suffer serious erosion. At the same time, the direct participation of agents of the central government in Pejibaye undermined the "broker" role performed by the members of this elite. The first serious challenge to their political monopoly came in 1974, when the citizens of many pueblos outside the centro attended the election assembly for the District Council and usurped control of the election machinery from the elite. In 1975, there was a political conflict between the elite and the majority of the citizens concerning the location of the future colegio in Pejibaye. The elite prevailed in this dispute thanks to their influence in the Ministry of Education, but at the expense of a great deal of public support. While the elite continues to dominate political life in the district, its monopoly in this sphere has long since vanished and promises to erode further in the coming years as different interests, and different pueblos, expand their participation in the political decision-making process.

Postscript

The end of the integration period by no means marked the end of Pejibaye's internal development. Already there are plans to pave the road leading to the Interamerican Highway and to construct a shaded public park where the town plaza now lies. A new plaza will be built on the eastern edge of the centro near the escuela. A medical dispensary will soon be built in the centro and a doctor stationed there on a full-time basis to tend to the medical needs of the residents of the district. The
Instituto Costarricense de Electricidad (Costa Rican Institute of Electricity; ICE) presently contemplates installing a small plant in Pejibaye and supplying electricity and telephone service to the centro and several of the larger pueblos of the district.

Current trends, which have seen an increasing portion of the district's inhabitants, and the majority of government improvements, centralized in the pueblo of Pejibaye indicate that this site will likely develop into a small urban center in the distant future. The Instituto de Fomento y Asesoría Municipal (Institute of Municipal Development and Assessment; IFAM), in a report published in 1975, predicts that a population nucleus of 5000 inhabitants will eventually develop on the site of the present centro. Such a development, however, is blocked by two serious obstacles: the ownership by the colegio of a considerable proportion of the land best suited for the location of a residential district, and the monopolization of the remainder by a small number of individuals who are unwilling to sell because of the annual increases in land values in the centro in recent years. Just as it did in 1952, the centro faces a serious bottleneck to its future development and its continued growth depends upon its success in overcoming this bottleneck. Nevertheless, even at present there are movements afoot to petition the government for the creation of the canton of Pejibaye.

Whether or not the centro ever develops into an important center of population, the trends begun during and prior to the integration period appear likely to continue during the foreseeable future. The government of Costa Rica seems bent on continuing its infiltration into the daily
lives of the citizens of the district. Wealth differences and class cleavages appear likely to become more marked in future years. As its population increases, it is logical to assume that more and more commercial shops will open in Pejibaye.

It is to be hoped that serious measures will be taken to reverse or at least slow the cycle of soil erosion which is presently diminishing the productivity of the district's agriculture and that a greater number of alternative occupations will be created in crafts and light industry, such as occurred on a small scale with the construction of the beneficio in 1972. If these developments do not take place, it is still possible for Pejibaye to suffer the same fate as has fallen so many other areas of frontier settlement in Costa Rica - virtual desolation following closely on the heels of a period of florescent frontier growth.
VIII. SOCIAL CHANGE

The element of change is an essential aspect of the human condition. Regardless of how "traditional" it may appear, no society is impervious to the forces of change. No social structure exactly replicates itself generation after generation, nor does any society ever achieve a perfect state of equilibrium either internally or in relation to its external environment. In fact, it is precisely in this ability to modify his behavior in the face of changing circumstances that one encounters the major value of the uniquely human form of sociocultural adaptation. That man has succeeded in surviving on this earth for countless eons is the supreme tribute to his ability to "change with the times."

Unfortunately, our understanding of the processes which bring about change in human societies is at a very rudimentary stage of development. Although anthropologists have traditionally been interested in social change, their models have been designed with other ends in mind and are inconsistent with the view of sociocultural systems as dynamic entities. Barth (1967:662) summarizes the typical anthropological approach to the study of society in the following terms:

We wish to characterize groups, societies, or cultures and to do this we have to aggregate individual observations. We generally think of the procedure as one where we aggregate individual cases of behavior to patterns of behavior, specifying the common features of the individual cases. Such patterns we think of as customs: stereotyped forms of behavior that are required and correct. Some of us may choose to emphasize the moral character of customs rather than the stereotyped character, but in either case we feel that the two are connected ... This kind of morphological
concept of custom as the minimal element of form has been fundamental to our thinking ...

Thus, people behave in certain manners because they feel it is correct, proper, or moral to do so. Because these views of correct behavior are shared among the group, group patterns of behavior emerge in any given society.

This view of human social behavior has long been basic to the thinking of most anthropologists, and there are several good reasons why this should be so. For one thing, by means of this logical construct it is possible not only to isolate the essential aspects of society, but to explain these essentials in terms of a limited number of underlying, cultural principles. For another, the model corresponds remarkably well to the "real world" and maintains the connection between the macrosystem, culture, and individual cases of behavior. Since both culture and society are described in much the same terms, we can directly observe cultural rules being enacted by the members of a society. Finally, we can account not only for intra-group regularities, but also for inter-group differences by means of a single variable - culture. The members of a given society behave in similar manners because they "possess" a common culture; behavioral patterns differ among several societies because each "possesses" a different culture.

Yet it is precisely the descriptive strength of this model which is its greatest weakness in terms of dealing with the dimension of change. Because the model emphasizes the synchronic, static relations among various aspects of a society, the best we are capable of achieving is to document the course of change, noting the differences in social and cultural patterns before and after change has taken place. As far as
understanding and explaining change, we are basically helpless since there is no specification of how or why state "A" changes to state "B". In order to deal with change as a normal dimension of any social body, we must therefore turn to models which focus upon social process rather than solely upon social form.

One model of this type which is becoming increasingly popular in the discipline is Fredrik Barth's "transactional" model of social organization (Barth 1966, 1967). This scheme interprets society as an aggregate of individuals, each attempting to maximize culturally determined values while acting under the influence of certain constraints. From among a set of alternative behavioral strategies, or allocations of time and resources, the individual is forced to choose the one most likely to succeed in satisfying his goals. As a number of individuals modify their behavior in the direction of the optimum, statistical regularities emerge from among the group of competing individuals.

Thus, "it is not useful to assume that (the) empirical pattern is a sought-for condition which all members of the community equally value and willfully maintain. Rather, it must be regarded as an epiphenomenon of a great variety of processes in combination" (Barth 1967:662). In the transactional model, culture is not necessarily equated with specific types of behavior, nor is it the only factor which influences concrete behavior. The behavioral strategy pursued by the individual is viewed instead as the outcome of three interrelated variables which together serve to channel human activity. These variables are: (1) the goals persons wish to achieve, as embodied in their cultural values; (2) technical
and ecological constraints which doom some kinds of behavior to failure while rewarding others; and (3) the behaviors of other individuals, which can significantly modify the outcomes of alternative strategies.

Given a set of cultural values, the efficacy of specific strategies designed to maximize these values is thus determined by the interplay of the constraints under which humans act. It is these constraints, in other words, which generate the pattern of social life, or the frequency with which certain strategies are chosen over others. By definition, social change takes place when this frequency changes, that is, when people begin favoring new forms of behavior. This they do only when the rate of payoff of alternative strategies shifts and people modify their behavior so that it once again corresponds to the optimum. As we have already seen, the rates of payoff of alternative strategies are determined by the constraints to human activity. Thus, change in social form or pattern can be interpreted as the result of "changes in the basic variables that generate the forms" (Barth 1966:v).

Viewed in this light, it becomes readily apparent why change is such an essential aspect of any society. People are constantly seeking to behave in ways which are to their personal advantage. Because of this tendency to maximize self-interest, and because people are constantly reevaluating the outcomes of their own behavior, and that of others, they are constantly modifying their behavior when such seems advisable. Neither man nor nature ever remain stationary; by means of his behavior, man modifies his environment, and this feeds back on his behavior. The strategies of behavior chosen at one point in time may furthermore have systematic effect in changing the rates of payoff of alternative strategies.
at future times and this too will cause individuals to reassess the efficacy of these strategies and alter their selections. All of these factors are accounted for in terms of the transactional model, a model which specifies the processes which generate social behavior, and one therefore appropriate to the study of change in these behaviors.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall analyze social change in Pejibaye, first, by relating changes in constraints to changes in social patterns and, secondly, by seeking to uncover the forces responsible for the alteration of these constraints.

The Cultural Basis of Social Behavior in Pejibaye

During the past thirty-six years the pace of change in Pejibaye has been swift. With the introduction of new crops, new occupational specialties, and commercial enterprise, its economy has undergone a basic revamping. Towns have been built, and roads constructed. Schools, churches and even banks have been erected throughout the district. In short, the lifestyles and behaviors of contemporary Pejibayense are far different from what they had been during the first days of its settlement.

Throughout these economic and social transformations, one thing has remained fairly constant. Pejibayense still strive for the same basic goals that they have always striven for, and cherish the same basic values that they have always cherished. Adult Pejibayense were brought up with a set of values to which they have clung tenaciously, despite the fact that their behavior is much different today from what it had been in the past. In other words, social change has taken place in the
absence of culture change. Only now are cultural values and perceptions
being reworked on any noticeable scale, and this is taking place with
the coming of age of the current generation of youth, a generation raised
under much different conditions of life than were their parents.

The culture of Pejibayense, then, forms the element of continuity
which links together the disparate social patterns of the district at
different points of its history. That the pattern of life in this small
segment of Costa Rica has been altered so drastically is not due to any
changes in the culture of its people, but rather to changes in the
constraints under which Pejibayense act in seeking to maximize the values
and goals they hold dear.

While the elements of culture which form the basis for social
behavior in Pejibaye are many, four major values seem to be of prime
importance. These include: (1) economic and social independence. As
we shall see in the following chapter, the majority of migrants to
Pejibaye came not just for land, nor simply to find employment, but rather
in order to "be one's own boss". Costa Ricans, including Pejibayense,
place a high premium upon independence of action and loathe entering
into relations of dependency to other persons. In fact, one of the great-
est boasts of Pejibayense can make is that "I never worked as a peon for
anybody". (2) the close identification of the individual as a member
of a wider kinship unit, in particular, the nuclear family. Family
loyalties supercede all others. A person's ultimate responsibility is
to his family and many of the decisions made by the individual are based
upon its perceived benefit to this unit. (3) the dominant role of the
male. Within the context of the family, it is the male head-of-household
who holds the position as its undisputed leader, and it is he who is ultimately responsible for its welfare. It is the husband/father who performs the role of chief provider and protector of the group, and who represents the family in its dealings with external social units. This value is closely related to trait (1) in that social and economic independence is considered important for the male while the female is viewed as an essentially dependent being. Its relationship to trait (2) is obvious. (4) hospitality. Pejibayense look upon it as a basic duty to entertain visitors and to extend lodging and food to even the most distant relatives or friends should they arrive unexpectedly.

Naturally, this rather limited inventory of cultural elements by no means exhausts the list of values which have helped shape human activity in Pejibay during the past thirty-six years. However, in terms of explaining the most important social changes that have taken place, this list suffices. We shall now demonstrate how, in an attempt to maximize these basic values, Pejibayense have altered their behaviors through time in response to changes in the constraints under which they have been forced to conduct their behavior.

Social Change and the Changing Constraints to Behavior

The history of Pejibay began with the arrival of a small contingent of Costa Rican families who settled in the vicinity of the centro in the years following 1942. This event ushered in the colonization period (1942-1951), a time during which the colonists developed social and economic forms compatible with frontier life. The patterns of behavior which took shape in Pejibay during these years can be summarized under the
following headings: (1) with respect to economic or exploitative activities, each colonist and his family devoted almost their entire efforts toward clearing their land and planting it in maize, beans and rice; surplus produce was oftentimes fed to swine who were then herded to San Isidro for sale. In terms of organizational structure, the entire family labored in the fields under the direction of the male head-of-household. People showed little inclination to join in the formation of cooperative labor groups composed of non-family members. Money was rare and, in any case, there was nothing to purchase with it. (2) With respect to social relations, an egalitarian society repaidly emerged among the population of colonists. Social interaction was minimal as families were physically isolated from one another. While mutual aid in economic activities was rare, it was common in rancho construction, food sharing, and in the care of sick or injured colonists.

Each of these patterns of behavior can be understood within the context of the values basic to Costa Rican culture and the constraints peculiar to the frontier environment. During the colonization period the constraints to economic behavior were many, and the alternative strategies of behavior few. Sheer necessity dictated that subsistence needs be given first priority; there were no pulperias from which to purchase foodstuffs on the frontier. The sparsity of population doomed from the start any attempt to earn a livelihood in any but the agricultural sphere of activity; as yet, there was insufficient demand for store-bought goods, and for the services of bodegueros and other specialized workers. Nevertheless, once subsistence demands had been met, colonists went to great pains to ship surplus production to San Isidro for sale, and this was most
easily accomplished by converting grains to meat on the hoof. Even though the margin of profit was infinitesimal, this was the only strategy by which to earn money; with money, one is placed in a better position to defend one's independence of action and provide financial security for one's family.

Farming activities were undertaken chiefly by the family unit, at times by hired labor, and only rarely by means of cooperative labor teams composed of vecinos. Even though the culturally defined place of the woman is in the home, wives labored alongside their husbands in the fields. In this instance the need to meet the minimal requirements of subsistence, to establish the cultivator as an independent producer, and to provide for the security and well-being of the family, overrode the ideal role behavior of the woman.

Cooperative labor among vecinos was unpopular because it conflicts with deeply held values of the campesino. The formation of cooperative labor units involves the creation of ties of delayed reciprocity or mutual interdependence among their several members. These ties infringe to a considerable degree upon the independence of the individual; in addition, since one's first loyalty is to one's family, many suspected that after they had labored on the fields of a co-worker, the favor would not be reciprocated with equal vigor.¹

¹This behavior of the Costa Rica campesino differs markedly from the "dyadic contract" relationship described by Foster (1961, 1963) for Mexican peasants, where the object is to assure that one partner is always in debt to the other.
Mutual aid was practiced, however, in the areas of rancho construction, the provision of food to newly arrived colonists, and assistance to sick and injured vecinos. This apparent contradiction in the willingness of the colonists to assist their neighbors in these situations, while at the same time avoiding cooperative endeavor in economic activities, is not very difficult to explain. Assisting newcomers was, first of all, an expression of hospitality. Secondly, it was often an expression of kinship, since many of the new arrivals were relatives of previous settlers. Thirdly, it involved no economic hardship to the giver since only a limited amount of produce could be shipped to market in any case. Fourthly, by aiding newcomers and the sick or injured, the donor found himself in no way obligated to the recipient; in other words, his independence was in no way threatened. Indeed, the donor was placed in a superior position in that he was now owed a debt which could be called in at some future date; this provided an important element of security for himself and for his family should economically ruinous circumstances later befall him.

There is one other crucial logic which accounts for mutual aid behavior among the early colonists: settlers were eager that others join them on the frontier so that they could utilize their labor in bringing into production the vast tracts of land they had claimed. So long as there was a dearth of labor in Pejibaye, these lands would remain idle; but with the arrival of new colonists, colonists without the necessary capital to buy fincas from the first wave of settlers, a cheap labor supply would be created, allowing the latter to convert their properties
into wealth. These early settlers who had claimed the lion's share of land would also be enriched by the sudden rise in land prices which would be sure to follow the peopling of the area. Finally, Pejibayense were not unaware that with increasing population the government of Costa Rica would take a greater interest in the area, building schools, roads, and providing it other material benefits. This was something the colonists were eager to see happen, and they were correct in their assessment of the course of events which would soon transpire. Small wonder, then, that they did all in their power to see to it that new settlers made a successful transition to life in Pejibaye.

Because colonists claimed as much land as possible, and because the need for drinking water necessitated the placement of ranchos along the course of rivers, a line pattern of settlement was formed in Pejibaye with homes separated by great distances one from the other. The social isolation of the colonists which this helped foster was strengthened by the economic independence of the family, each of which formed a self-sufficient unit dependent only rarely upon the aid of others. Community interaction, and community action, was thus little developed during the early days of the settlement of Pejibaye.

The strategies of maximization adopted by the colonists also had systematic effect in other spheres of the frontier society. Due to the constraints of the frontier environment, all colonists were compelled to engage in farming activities, leading to an occupational uniformity among the population. Because each family preferred to labor as an independent unit, the formation of asymmetrical social and economic relations among
different individuals was stifled. The difficulty of communication with the outside world furthermore negated any attempts to raise one's economic status above that of one's peers. Even were this possible, there were no means by which to use this wealth on the frontier, where there were no goods for sale. Under these conditions an egalitarian social organization took form, each family living and working on their fincas under much the same conditions of physical - and social - isolation.

All of this was to change beginning in 1952 with the founding of the peublo of Pejibaye, and with the introduction of air transport to the area. During the formative (1952-1965) and integration periods (1966-1977), a number of basic changes took place in the patterns of social and economic behavior of Pejibayense. The most important of these changes involved: (1) the development of a large degree of occupational diversification as new strategies of maximizing wealth and social position, particularly in the field of commerce, became available for the first time. (2) the growth of increasing disparities of wealth and social status among the population. This trend led eventually to the emergence of a small group of wealthy, socially prominent individuals, and the creation of an important class of peones, or landless agricultural workers. (3) a great increase in social contact among the population, and along with it the development of community political organizations.

All of these changes in the pattern of life in Pejibaye were the result of changes which took place in the constraints which channel human behavior. In fact, one change can be interpreted as basic to all others which later transpired - the improvement of communication and transportation with the outside world, first, by means of plane service,
and later, with the construction of new and better roads. Because physical movement to and from Pejibaye was greatly facilitated, the rate of in-migration rose dramatically and with it the size of its population expanded. With a greater population, more forest could be cleared and utilized for agricultural purposes. At the same time, greater ease of transportation to market led to an increasing emphasis upon market production as individuals sought to maximize their economic gain and with it their personal independence and the security of their families. Thus, the end of Pejibaye's nearly total isolation led directly to a notable expansion in her population and agricultural productivity and furthermore led to the feasibility of entirely new strategies of behavior, strategies which systematically altered the nature of social and economic relations in the region.

A basic consideration which should be kept in mind in analyzing the reactions of different individuals to changing constraints is that the resources at one's disposal significantly affect his ability to select particular strategies of maximization. Even during the early years of colonization there were considerable disparities in the amount of capital possessed by individual colonists and in the amount of land they owned. However, so long as there were no means by which these resources could be converted into social or economic gain, such differences remained potential rather than actual. All of this changed with the intensification of contact with the outside world. By means of the new behavioral strategies which became available for the first time, a limited number of individuals were able to convert slight advantages they had conserved or gained during the colonization period into a position of social and
economic preeminence during subsequent periods of time. By the end of
the colonization period the strategy of claiming as much land as legally
allowed had resulted in the monopolization of this resource in the hands
of a small group of men. As long as the population of Pejibaye remained
low, this land could not be utilized. But with the expansion in
population which began in 1952, demand greatly exceeded supply and land
prices rose, a factor which in and of itself resulted in an improvement
in the economic status of the hacendado. Furthermore, since many of
the newly arrived colonists did not possess the capital necessary to buy
a finca and establish themselves immediately as independent cultivators,
they were forced to earn a livelihood as wage laborers on the fincas of
these large landowners. The colonists who worked as peones did so in
order to raise sufficient funds to establish themselves on more distant
frontiers, a strategy which succeeded for some, and failed to materialize
for others. In any case, many individuals found themselves relegated to
the same position of social and economic dependence from which they had
attempted to flee. For the first time in the history of Pejibaye
asymmetrical social ties were created between certain categories of
persons, in this instance, between hacendados and the men whose economic
survival depended upon their offer of employment, or their willingness
to lease land. In this relationship the hacendado was the dominant
figure since he controlled the situation almost entirely, and his dominance
increased to the degree that more colonists in search of employment set-
tled in Pejibaye. Because of the asymmetrical nature of this relationship,
the hacendado was able to amass wealth at the expense of others.
Much of the same occurred in other spheres of activity as the egalitarian structure of Pejibayense society began to crumble under the weight of increasing contact with the outside world in the years following 1952. These were years, as we have seen, that witnessed a massive increase in agricultural production in Pejibaye and, with the improvements made in the road system, an equally massive increase in the amount of surplus production shipped to market in San Isidro. Some individuals saw in these events the possibility of enriching themselves by acting as middlemen in this lucrative grain trade. The bodeguero, or grain shipper, provided a valuable service to the farmers of Pejibaye by assuming the burden of shipping their produce to market and at the same time turned a handsome profit in this transaction. Because the marketing of grain was a difficult and time-consuming chore which often interfered with other farm activities, because the price paid by the bodeguero was reasonable, and because the purchase and maintenance of oxen and a cart was necessary to transport grain, the farmer saw it as an advantageous proposition to utilize the services offered by the bodeguero. For his part, the bodeguero realized a large profit by means of engaging in mass volume business, which required that he build up a sizeable number of supplies.

Even after the first bodega opened for business in 1953, however, this was not a strategy of maximization feasible for all Pejibayense. To establish oneself as a bodeguero required a certain amount of initial capital with which to purchase oxen, carts, and grains, and to pay peones to aid in the labor. As other Pejibayense took note of the financial success of the grain business, other bodegas were established in the centro and in Zapote, and the competition for clients significantly raised
the amount of initial capital necessary to begin operations in this field. In an attempt to obligate farmers to them, bodegueros began making payment far in advance of the harvest, and to lend money to their clients, practices beneficial to both parties. After 1965, grain shipment was made via motored vehicle, further limiting the number of people who could utilize this strategy of maximization.

As was the case with the recently formed ties between hacendado-peon, that between bodeguero-client developed into a relationship in which one of the two parties was placed in a dominant social and economic position. Many local farmers came to depend upon the advance payments and loans made by the bodeguero for their sustenance during the periods between harvests. This gave the bodeguero an important element of leverage and control in this relationship since once a farmer became indebted to him, the bodeguero was free to dictate the price he would pay for the farmer's produce. This control increased through time as bodegueros established a well-defined clientele and as competition among bodegueros reduced the number of men active in this field. When only a small number of bodegueros remained in business, and the amount of grain being produced in Pejibaye was sufficient to meet the needs of all, bodegueros began setting prices among themselves so as to eliminate the last vestige of control held by the farmer. Thus, what began as a mutually beneficial relationship between two individuals became more and more one-sided in favor of the bodeguero who established social and economic dominance over his clientele and by means of this dominance, succeeded in enriching
himself and his family.\(^2\)

One other major category of socioeconomically dominant individuals emerged in the post-frontier society of Pejibaye. This was the pulpero, or retail merchant. As the population density of Pejibaye grew as a result of the greater accessibility of the region to the outside world, and as the amount of money in circulation increased with the rising productivity of its agriculture, it was quite natural that some individuals would seize upon the opportunity for profit presented by this situation. As was the case with the bodega business, a certain amount of initial capital was necessary to take full advantage of this opportunity, a requirement which limited the number of men able to pursue this strategy of maximizing their economic gain, and their status as independent laborers. As was also the case with the bodegueros of Pejibaye, pulperos soon began extending credit to their customers, and loaning them money in order to obligate clients morally and economically to the pulperia. The strength of these ties binding the pulpero with his client can be seen in the fact that at present many Pejibayense continue to conduct their business at the privately owned pulperias rather than at the expendio of the CNP, even though the prices of goods are less expensive at the latter establishment.

At the same time as the hacendado, the bodeguero, and the pulpero were extending their hegemony over Pejibayense society, other occupational

\(^2\)In fact, this seems to have been a viable strategy of upward socio-economic mobility in Costa Rica for quite some time. Thus, Hall (1976: 53) documents how Florentino Castro of Desamparados and Julio Sanchez Lepiz of Heredia, both of humble origin, managed to amass considerable fortunes in the latter part of the nineteenth century transporting coffee to market via ox-drawn cart.
specializations not characterized by this type of asymmetrical social relationship were also emerging in the region. With the growth of population and the development of a sufficient demand for their services, and also with the establishment of pulperias which freed them from the necessity of growing their own food, certain individuals began working as carpenters, tailors and in similar fields. Thus, the uni-occupational basis of the economy of Pejibaye during the colonization period in time became supplemented by a number of non-agricultural jobs as Pejibayense saw new, and in their view, more profitable means of earning a livelihood.

All of these changes in the pattern of allocations made by Pejibayense led to a breakdown in the social isolation of one individual from the other as vecinos could no longer continue this situation now that they became dependent upon the services provided by others. Further stimulus was given to this trend toward increasing community interaction by the formation of the pueblo of Pejibaye in 1952. Because the area surrounding the centro is relatively flat, well-watered, and possesses some of the most fertile lands in the district, it was the region favored for settlement by the first colonists. Thus, the centro has always been the most heavily populated part of the district and because of its level terrain it constitutes the best possible site upon which to build a pueblo, and the only site upon which to construct a landing strip. As the center of population, and of agriculture, this was also the logical place in

3 In fact, as noted in chapter VII, pages 189-190, the foundation of the centro came about only as a result of the maximization strategies of Jesus Messen, and those to whom he sold town lots.
which to locate future **bodegas** and **pulperias**, and this is what took place.

As people came into closer contact both physically and socially, a number of organizations aimed at the betterment of the community were founded as some **vecinos** saw it to their advantage to unite for the common good. The first of these was the **Junta Edificadora**, devoted toward raising funds for the construction of a church in the **centro**. As we have seen, **Pejibayense** cherish their independence of action and do not readily band together to make common cause. Nevertheless, certain circumstances, and certain goals, override this tendency, and religion is one of them. Another is education, since this is viewed as one of the surest ways to provide for the future economic security of one's children. Basically, people who are not constrained otherwise by economic circumstances are willing to forego the inconvenience of working with others (though not always for others) if joint action is seen as likely to improve community and, thus, personal living standards.

During the post-colonization periods **hacendados**, **bodegueros**, and **pulperos** rose to a position of social and economic dominance in Pejibaye. This position was combined by the latter two with other attributes peculiar to their profession to gain control of community organizations, and thus of community political life. For reasons which shall be described in the final section of this chapter, **bodegueros** and **pulperos** form a natural leadership class, quite unlike farmers and cattle ranchers who, by and large, are too preoccupied with their economic tasks to spend much time away from their **fincas**, and who therefore normally take little interest in political affairs.
Leadership ability was paralleled among bodegueros and pulperos by an interest in assuming community leadership. Control of community juntas, on the one hand, provides control over decisions that may result in the attainment of economic advantage. Perhaps more importantly, however, is the fact that control and dominance of community affairs can be considered as ends in and of themselves. By actively promoting the interests of the community, an individual receives social recognition as an important member of the village, and his social superiority is thus validated. He furthermore creates a feeling of indebtedness on the part of the other vecinos who are grateful for the services he has rendered the community. As in many other social relations in Costa Rica, that between this political elite composed of bodegueros and pulperos and the rest of the community was modeled upon the family, with the elite viewing themselves in the role of the benevolent father, concerned only with the well-being of their "children". In this manner gamonalismo became established in Pejibaye.

Interestingly enough, the formation of this political elite dates from approximately 1966, the year in which the district of Pejibaye was legally organized. It was only after this time that community juntas, in particular, the District Council, achieved a real degree of leverage with municipal and national political organizations. It was only after this time, in other words, that high political position carried with it real authority and power to influence the course of events in the district. This is why bodegueros and pulperos, who constituted the dominant class in Pejibaye at the time, sought to monopolize these political positions in order to maintain their social and economic hegemony and prevent the
development of alternative loci of power in the district.

Finally, by 1966, it was already a rare behavior for vecinos to band together to construct a rancho for newcomers, or to donate food to them. The disappearance of these mutual aid practices is the logical outcome of the changes which had taken place in the constraints channeling human behavior in the previous decade. With food available on credit in the pulperias, not only was the moral responsibility to assist newcomers removed from Pejibayense, but so too was the advantage of cultivating personal debts which could later be called upon in the event of future misfortune; both newcomer and native could simply buy on credit until their fortunes improved. Increasing government activity has had the same result - by providing welfare benefits, it has assumed many of the functions formerly provided by mutual aid activities among the vecinos. With an already large population, Pejibayense no longer have anything to gain by helping it grow still larger. Finally, people are now able to market their entire agricultural produce, a situation which did not prevail during the colonization period. Now that crops can be converted directly into money, and now that there are no means by which the gratitude of the aid recipient can be turned into concrete gain, people have come to consider it to their disadvantage to continue these practices.

Thus, the post-frontier society of Pejibaye underwent drastic changes as a result of changes in a few basic constraints to behavior, primarily in the transportation network which was vastly improved over time, and in its population base which expanded rapidly. These fundamental changes led to the appearance of new alternative strategies of maximizing economic
gain, and thus independence of action and family security. As individuals pursued these different strategies, the pattern of social behavior in Pejibaye was altered considerably: social interaction increased greatly as did the social ties binding individuals to one another. Some of these ties were asymmetrical in nature, leading to a breakdown of the egalitarian structure characteristic of the early days of colonization, and to the development of social and wealth differences among the population of the district. Nevertheless, the basic goals which Pejibayense strive for, in other words, their culture, has remained fairly constant throughout this period of rather rapid social change.

The Causes of Social Change

As we have just demonstrated, social change in Pejibaye can be viewed as the direct result of alterations in the basic constraints which channel human behavior in the locality. As these constraints change, so too do the outcomes of alternative strategies of behavior. In attempting to maximize a set of culturally determined goals, goals which have shown a high degree of constancy in Pejibaye during the past thirty-six years, people have continually shifted their allocations of time and resources so as to realign their behavior with the optimum. This has resulted in pervasive social and economic change in Pejibaye during its short period of existence.

Nevertheless, analysis in these terms leaves the basic question untouched: what were the forces causing change in the constraints in the first place? Ultimately, this question must be resolved if we are to fully understand why Pejibaye developed as it did.
As we saw in the preceding section, many of the changes which took place in Pejibaye were the result of the actions of external forces, and of the reactions of local villagers to these actions. Thus, extra-community economic factors, such as the world market prices for coffee and beef, have profoundly influenced the pattern of land utilization in Pejibaye. Extra-community economic institutions have done the same; one need only mention the air company A.V.E., the coffee beneficios of San Isidro and later of Pejibaye itself, and the bus companies which have provided communication with San Isidro, to illustrate this point. Far more important than any of these, however, has been the central government of Costa Rica, whose actions have caused basic alterations in the constraints under which Pejibayense behave for well over two decades now.

It would thus appear that the development of Pejibaye has been essentially the result of externally derived forces and that the only active role played by Pejibayense in this process has been in reacting to such forces in ways beneficial to their personal well-being. However, this is far from being the case. One of the things that sets Costa Rican peasants apart from peasants elsewhere in Latin America is the high level of community leadership and initiative which actively promotes the interests of the community. While government works have profoundly shaped the development of Pejibaye, government involvement in the community has almost always been the result of local petition. Long prior to the creation of the district of Pejibaye in 1966, for example, the vecinos had organized the Junta Pro-Distrital to exert pressure upon government officials in San Jose to take the necessary legal steps to separate the area from the district of San Pedro. It was through the "politicking" of local leaders
that many of the road and bridge construction activities in Pejibaye were financed by the central government, and local petition was also instrumental in persuading the Ministry of Education to invest in the construction of Pejibaye's colegio in 1977.

Local initiative, in other words, was a key element in the development of Pejibaye and social change in the area cannot be understood apart from it. But how, it may be asked, does Pejibaye succeed in wielding such influence in the national decision-making process? As we shall see, this influence is a logical implication of the national political system of Costa Rica, the formal structure of which was described in chapter IV. In view of its relevance to local social change, we shall now delve more deeply into the inner workings of this system.

Social Change and the Political System

In Costa Rica the struggle for political ascendancy is waged among several well-organized political parties and the outcome of this struggle is determined at the election booth. Obviously, victory at the polls is directly related to the success with which each party is able to attract votes. This being the case, it can be assumed that in a democratic political system such as that of Costa Rica, political parties and the party-controlled government expend the majority of their resources in those areas of the country possessing the highest population density, that is, the largest number of potential votes. In Costa Rica, over one-half of the total population resides in the countryside.

4See pages 82-86.
The problem facing the party, then, is how best to attract the rural vote, while the problem facing the rural community is how best to attract government aid. Both of these problems have been solved by means of a very simple mechanism - the formation of a political alliance between national political parties and influential local leaders. Party affiliation provides these local leaders a voice in the national decision-making process via their personal contacts with party office holders. At the same time, party office holders bolster the local popularity of their rural affiliates by acceding to the requests for government aid made by the latter. For their part, rural leaders exert their influence in the community on behalf of the party, working tirelessly to promote party interests and assure the election of party candidates. It is a bargain beneficial to all concerned - the party which secures votes, the local leadership class which obtains power and prestige and, most importantly, the community which receives concrete benefits through this interplay of national and local political forces.

As we saw in chapter IV, the gamonal is a figure who wields a great deal of influence within the long-settled, traditional rural communities of Costa Rica. Sandner (1964) demonstrates that in areas of recent colonization, such as Pejibaye, this leadership role has been assumed by resident merchants, in particular, the pulpero and bodeguero. These merchants form a natural leadership group, the only group, in fact,

5 See chapter IV, pages 103-104 for a discussion of the historical context of this alliance.

6 See chapter IV, pages 91-92.
capable of performing this role. Of all the occupational categories in Pejibaye, only pulperos and bodegueros come into contact with large numbers of individuals during the course of conducting their business affairs. They are therefore the first to become fully aware of community needs, and the first to act upon them. Because they become intimately acquainted with large numbers of people, merchants are placed in an ideal position by which to build personal support and gauge public opinion.

Both pulperos and bodegueros furthermore extend credit to their clients. This places them in a position of socioeconomic dominance in the community and allows them to build up a fund of debts which gives them added leverage in the political arena. Both these factors reinforce their leadership position.

Thus, the political influence of merchants in Pejibaye is, or at least was, independent of their affiliation with national political parties. This situation was drastically altered in 1966, when the district of Pejibaye was created by legislative decree. In Costa Rica, the district is the lowest level administrative unit at which political parties are formally organized. In an effort to secure local support, these parties naturally sought to build their local political organization around the pre-existing base of political power, namely, the merchant class. The local political elite, on the other hand, saw in this alliance the opportunity to extend their influence beyond the bounds of the community, while at the same time enhancing it within the community. Once this alliance was formed, the political fate of the members of this local elite became largely dependent upon their ability to "deliver" benefits to the community by means of their party contacts. In a sense,
the fate of both local elite and party in Pejibaye has become parallel - so long as the elite, and the party, continue to serve the best interests of the community, both will prosper. When they fail to achieve this end, both will suffer defeat in the political arena.

In Pejibaye, the local political elite is composed of a coalition of five men affiliated with the Partido Liberacion Nacional. This is the party to which the overwhelming majority of Pejibayense belong, and the one which therefore dominates the local political landscape. Within the community the members of the elite are recognized as men who "get things done". In many ways they function much as did "ward bosses" in turn-of-the-century United States urban areas. They look after the best interests of their "constituents" and in return expect the latter to vote for the party candidates at election time. An individual in need of a government job, a loan, or some other type of assistance seeks their help because he can be sure not only to receive an attentive ear but that if anyone can help him, it is one of the elite.

The number of political patronage jobs in Pejibaye is, however, quite limited, consisting of such positions as occasional peones hired by the canton to maintain public property, and of cooks who prepare meals for school children attending the escuela or colegio. There are also contracts to be awarded for projects financed by local governmental bodies. Both hiring and contracting are firmly in the hands of the local elite by virtue of their control of the District Council, and of their influence with members of the municipal council. This domination of local government is based upon the personal popularity of the elite and upon their party membership, since only party candidates have the ability to gain
elective office. Because elite members exercise an important voice in the party nominating process, they can assure their own nomination, or that of close supporters.

More important than personal favors, however, are the services rendered by the local elite to the community as a whole. It is these men, and only these men who, through their connections in high government circles, are able to obtain major projects of infrastructure improvement from the government. In the past decade, these men have succeeded in convincing government agencies to finance the construction of several roads and bridges in Pejibaye, as well as the colegio which alone cost several million colones. In fact, almost all major government projects can be traced to the initiative of these men in persuading the government to take action in the community.

The ability of the members of the local political elite to influence national decision-makers is based upon the formal and informal structure of government in Costa Rica. As previously noted, both the District Council and the municipal council depend ultimately upon allocations from the central government for the major part of their revenue. While the Legislative Assembly of the republic is legally obligated to provide a stipulated sum of money to each canton in the country annually, the remainder of the funds which eventually filter down to the local level of government come in the form of discretionary subventions or partidas especificas, grants authorized for specific cantonal or district projects.

7See chapter IV, pages 85-86.
In a study of twenty-five rural cantons in Costa Rica, Baker et al. (1971) demonstrate that a significant proportion of municipal funding is derived from discretionary grants of this type. According to information supplied by members of the District Council of Pejibaye, as much as two-thirds of the annual budget of this body also comes in the form of partidas específicas.

By means of these grants the District Council of Pejibaye (and, hence, the local political elite) is enabled to undertake small projects of benefit to the citizens of the district. Really large projects, however, can only be undertaken directly by the central government upon authorization of the president, one of his cabinet ministers, the heads of the autonomous institutions, or the Legislative Assembly. Only these bodies have the financial resources to perform such services.

The secular both of partidas específicas and of important central government sponsored projects depends largely upon local petition. More importantly, it depends upon who makes this petition. A request from the "man in the streets" is not likely to prove fruitful. A request by a member of the local elite, however, carries significant weight. These men are personally acquainted with high government officials, including the president himself. In this respect, it matters less "who you are" than "who you know," although the two are obviously related. Through their many contacts with party members in high government circles, the members of the local elite are able to express an important voice in the national decision-making process.

To cultivate such relationships in the party and, hence, in the government requires many years of party service and a demonstrated
"track record" of "turning out" the vote in favor of party candidates. Elite activity on behalf of the party is most apparent during election years. On an official level, they hold political rallies and make speeches in support of party candidates for president, deputy and for the municipal council. They hold town meetings at which they remind the public of the many benefits they have accrued from past Liberacionista administrations. They organize the Juventud Liberacionista (Party Youth Organization) composed of adolescent party members who set up propaganda booths at major thoroughfares in an effort to influence public opinion.

On an informal level, they make it their business to know who has decided to vote for the opposition, and visit these people in an attempt to persuade them to support the party slate. They also make use of their private resources to aid the party. Each year, for example, the Liberacionista campaign is officially inaugurated at a mass rally held in the central part of the country at the finca of Jose Figueres, titular head of the party. The elite organize motorcades to transport all those interested in attending this rally. If migrants have recently moved to Pejibaye from elsewhere in the canton, elite members find out about it and offer to personally chauffeur them back to the district in which they are registered to vote - but only, of course, if the migrant intends to cast his ballot for Liberacion Nacional.

In the course of their business dealings, members of the elite come into daily contact with large numbers of people, and they continually "talk up" the party in conversation with their clients. This, in fact, is a year-round activity, and not restricted to election time. As one member of the elite pointed out, "life is politics."
Thus, the local political elite of Pejibaye manages to simultaneously support the interests of the party and the community, and the success of its members in one sphere of activity is contingent upon their success in the other. Continued local popularity hinges upon continued success in obtaining government benefits for the residents of the district. This, in turn, is possible only through the party contacts which result from local popularity as translated into votes for the party. The activities of the elite are, in fact, synonymous with those of the party. When the government undertakes local activity as a result of elite initiative, both elite and party receive credit. This further reinforces the alliance between the two in Pejibaye.

In essence, the local political elite of Pejibaye constitutes the "broker" group which articulates the local community with the larger society of which it is a part (see Wolf 1956; Geertz 1960; Silverman 1965). They are the individuals who "stand guard over the critical junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole" (Wolf 1956:1075). The functions which they perform are thus "of direct importance to the basic structures of either or both systems" (Silverman 1965:280). In Pejibaye and throughout Costa Rica, it is primarily through the medium of such "brokers" that national development and prosperity are translated into local development and prosperity. It is they who have performed the critical role of persuading government agencies to invest in the future of Pejibaye. In doing so, they have had a great deal of impact upon the development of the district, for it is largely through government intervention in Pejibaye that the basis has been laid for the pervasive social and economic changes that have
taken place in the district in recent years. Thus, while the actions of extra-community forces can be held responsible for many of the changes that have taken place in Pejibaye, it is often only through the actions of community forces that external entities have been mobilized into action.
IX. MIGRATION: THE INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE

The story of Pejibaye has many sides. One of these deals with the men and women who populated the region: their motives for settling in the community, the personal adjustments they made upon arrival, and their eventual fate in Pejibaye. During the course of its history the area has experienced a heavy and long term in-migration of Costa Ricans from other parts of the nation, and this has had a profound impact upon the development of contemporary patterns of social and economic behavior. In order to fully comprehend the logic behind these patterns, it is therefore imperative that we probe more deeply into this aspect of human behavior.

Because of the broad scope of the material, our discussion of migration has been divided into two parts. The central theme of the present chapter is the individual migrant. The topics covered deal predominantly with the personal traits of migrants, their assimilation into community life, and the effects migration has had upon them. Chapter X, on the other hand, focuses more upon the aggregate pattern of migration, and upon its connection to other aspects of the socio-economic structures of donor and recipient communities. This distinction is made only to facilitate presentation of the material and is not meant to imply any theoretical perspective or bias on the part of the author. As will become clear during the course of this presentation, these two themes are quite inseparable in reality.
The Data

The data which form the basis of the following analysis were gathered by a variety of techniques and in a variety of settings. As pointed out in chapter III, the bulk of migration data was obtained by means of a questionnaire administered orally to the adult heads-of-household in each of the major population centers, and in several minor ones as well.\(^1\) Covered by this questionnaire were all or most of the residents of the centro, El Aguila, Las Mesas, Achiotal, and Barrio Nuevo. One hundred and seventy-nine families were visited at least once with this questionnaire, and most received several follow-up visits in an effort to clarify or add to the information gathered during the initial interview.

This corpus of data was heavily supplemented by informal discussions held with men from outside the censused area during their periodic visits to the centro to conduct business or to avail themselves of the recreational facilities located here. These discussions took place in the cantinas, salones, pulperias and tiendas of the centro, or in the streets outside these establishments. In this way it was possible to incorporate into this study an additional thirty-nine persons from the pueblos of Gibre, Zapote, La Sierra, San Miguel, San Martin, and several other of the smaller, more remote pueblos of the district. Due to restrictions of time and resources, it would have been otherwise impossible to have expanded the geographical scope of this study to include these areas.

\(^1\)See pages 61-62.
In all, the migratory history of one or both of the adult members of 218 households was obtained in these ways, a figure representing 17.5 percent of the total number of households in the district.\(^2\)

Because of the complexity of these data, and because of their sheer bulk, a considerable amount of ordering was necessary to assure their proper interpretation, and to avoid the error of grouping together non-comparable units of information or, conversely, of separating like units. This problem was accentuated by two factors: the relatively long period of time under consideration, and the high degree of residential mobility exhibited by most Pejibayense. It was not at all unusual, for example, to find that a particular adult had migrated to Pejibaye early on in its history as a child in the company of his parents. When several of his siblings later appeared among those interviewed, care had to be taken not to treat these as separate units, but as part of a single group.

The ultimate goal, in other words, was to extrapolate "independent migration units" regardless of their specific size or composition. At times this meant that neither of the heads of these units - the parents who had acted as decision-makers - were available for direct interviewing. In these cases, total reliance had to be placed upon the only source of information available - the responses of the interviewees who

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\(^2\)The breakdown of this sample is as follows: centro (35.3 percent); adjacent portions of the pueblo of Pejibaye (10.1 percent); Las Mesas (13.3 percent); El Aguila (11 percent); Barrio Nuevo (9.2 percent); Achiotal (7.3 percent); Gibre (3.7 percent); Zapote (2.8 percent); San Marcos, San Miguel, La Sierra, Desamparados, San Martin, La Trinidad, and Las Cruces (0.9 percent each).
had not actually exerted a voice in the decision to migrate. This procedure, however, is notably less risky than it may at first appear. For one thing, the majority of cases of this type come from the colonization period and, to a lesser extent, from the formative period. During both of these eras, the vast majority of the migration stream consisted of *compesinos* and *peones*. With one or two exceptions, the only reason ever given by farmers for coming to Pejibaye was either to obtain land or to secure agricultural employment. Thus, when an informant states that his parents migrated to the region for either of these motives, there is good reason for accepting this at face value.

On the other hand, as part of the family unit children would have been to some degree privy to the thoughts and attitudes of their parents. In many cases, in fact, parents on numerous occasions had later spoken to their children about why they had migrated to Pejibaye, and under what circumstances this decision had been made. Nevertheless, some degree of subjective evaluation concerning the reliability of this type of data had to be made, and those cases in which reliability seemed low were eliminated from consideration.

However, utilization of this research strategy meant that for some units, at least, a portion of the information desired could not be obtained. This took place, for example, when a person was unsure of the birth place of either of his parents, or of their last residence prior to migration to Pejibaye. This, in part, accounts for the small number of "unknowns" listed in the tables dealing with migrant origins and residence prior to settling in the region. A slightly larger share of
these "unknowns," however, are the result of interviews conducted in the absence of one of the adult household heads, specifically, during those interviews conducted with visitors to the centro.

For the same reason, and also because most Pejibayense have migrated several times during their lifetimes, the table dealing with migrant origins lists only the birth places of the adult heads of the different migration units, rather than those of the entire group. Because children were oftentimes born in several different parts of the nation, the reliability of informant statements concerning other members of the unit, be they children or siblings, was felt to be unacceptably low.

The high degree of residential mobility of Pejibayense also necessitated a firm decision concerning the geographical unit of analysis to be employed in this study. Here it was decided that the district constituted the most satisfactory unit since its size is sufficiently large to insure, in most cases, that migration across district boundaries will involve a fairly sharp break with a former way of life. This is most certainly not the case with most instances of intra-district migration, where it is usually quite easy to maintain the majority of previous social ties. Pejibayense, for example, have often "migrated" to nearby pueblos within the district yet continue to farm the same plot of land as before!

One exception was made to this rule, however, and this involves the pueblo of Bolivia. Although technically a part of the district of Platanares, Bolivia lies within easy walking distance of Las Mesas, the major pueblo in the northern portion of Pejibaye. In essence, the two
form a single community. It was thus felt to be somewhat unreasonable to insist that a person who had migrated to Bolivia in 1948, and from there to Las Mesas in 1976, was a recent arrival to the district. Instead, he is treated in this study as if he had settled a few kilometers to the west, in other words, as a resident of Las Mesas.

From the many interviews conducted with the residents of Pejibaye, it was possible to reconstruct 223 independent migration units. The description to follow is based upon their experiences.

Composition of the Migration Stream: Occupational Categories

The occupational backgrounds of migrants to Pejibaye is summarized in Table 9. From this table it is clear that most in-migrants were farmers prior to their arrival in Pejibaye. Of the total sample of 223 migration units, the heads of 165, or 74 percent, fall into this category. Within this group predominate peones and minifundistas. Of the farmers who migrated to Pejibaye 111, or 67.3 percent, were either landless or owned a finca of less than 5 manzanas (3.5 hectares), a plot of insufficient dimensions to meet the subsistence needs of the family.

Table 9. Occupation Prior to Migration to Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Campesino</th>
<th>Peon/Leaser</th>
<th>Merchant (employee)</th>
<th>Skilled Laborer</th>
<th>Unskilled Laborer</th>
<th>Government Employee</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962-1965</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>111</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>223</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second most numerous category of migrants are employees of the government of Costa Rica. Most of these are school teachers and bankers, although a few police officers, health officials, and extension agents are included in this group. Technically, most of these are not migrants at all since they view their move as only a temporary measure designed to build up the seniority needed to obtain jobs in the urban areas of the Valle Central. Nevertheless, government employees are treated on an equal footing with other migrants to Pejibaye since, on the one hand, a certain percentage of them do make a long term commitment to the region and, on the other, these are positions which are permanently staffed, regardless of the particular personnel in the area at any given point in time. The thirty government employees represent 13.5 percent of the total. However, because most government employees reside in the centro, one of the areas completely canvassed during research, this figure somewhat overrepresents their actual proportion of the migration stream.

Members of three other occupational categories complete the migration stream. These are merchants, skilled laborers, and unskilled laborers employed in non-agricultural fields. The merchants who migrated to Pejibaye were previously employed in tiendas, pulperias, or botiquins elsewhere in Costa Rica. Since arriving in the district, however, they have established themselves as the proprietors of similar businesses in the locality, and are thus self-employed. Skilled laborers include sastres, zapateros, carpinteros, and carreteros. Falling into the category of "unskilled laborer" are men who had previously worked in
construction, as street vendors in urban areas, as grain loaders in bodegas, and in similar lines of endeavor. Together, these three groups account for 10.8 percent of the sample of migrants.

When the occupational background of migrants is viewed over time, certain important changes can be observed in the composition of the migration stream. Beginning with the formative period in 1952, there is a sudden increase in non-agriculturally employed migrants. While only one non-farmer migrated to Pejibaye in the years prior to 1952, 12.2 percent of the 1952-1965 sample were employed in fields other than agriculture. This trend becomes even more pronounced as one looks at the most recent period of Pejibaye’s history — the integration period. Beginning in 1966, farmers actually form a minority of the migrants to Pejibaye as their proportion of the sample falls sharply from 87.8 percent of the 1952-1965 total, to 35.8 percent of migrants between 1966-1977.

Composition of the Migration Stream: Social Units

Most of the Costa Ricans who migrated to Pejibaye were members of the farming stratum of the national society, and most of these settled in the region as members of family units. In fact, the only occupational category in which migration units composed of single, unmarried

3This change becomes even more significant when it is noted that it is relatively certain that this single pre-1952 non-farmer was the only non-farmer to have settled in Pejibaye during this period, while there were certainly many more campesinos and peones than are included in the research sample.
individuals predominates is among government employees where 18 of the 30, or 60 percent, are of this type. This is due to the fact that most government employees were much younger than were other migrants when they arrived in Pejibaye. For many, assignment to Pejibaye constituted their first or second employment after having graduated from the university. Consequently, many had not yet had the opportunity to form a family.

Because government employees constitute nearly one-half (41.8 percent) of the 1966-1977 sample of migrants, there is a sudden rise in the proportion of "individual" as opposed to "family" migration units during this period when compared to previous ones. While 83.3 percent of the migration units between 1942-1951 consist of families, as do 83.5 percent of those between 1952-1965, the proportion of family units declines to only 59.7 percent of 1966-1977 migrants. However, because government employees are overrepresented in the total sample this decline, though real, is somewhat less drastic than depicted. The composition of migration units is summarized in Table 10.
Table 10. Composition of Migration Units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>96(^a)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>166</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Includes two units composed of three brothers each rather than the more usual nuclear family unit.

**Migrant Motives**

The personal motivations which led individuals to migrate to Pejibaye were ascertained from the oral responses of informants. Like migration in other parts of the world, and in different environmental settings, most migration to Pejibaye appears to have been economically motivated. Only 14 of the 223 cases of migration can be attributed to other factors. In 1948, for example, one family migrated to Pejibaye to escape the ravages of the revolution taking place farther to the north. Yet another man from this same period claims to have been passing through the country in search of excitement and adventure. Several outsiders married local residents and decided to remain in Pejibaye for this reason.

Of the economic factors which underlie migration, those most often mentioned by informants deal with the agricultural sector of the economy - the desire to obtain land at a low price, or the greater
availability of farm jobs on local **fincas**. These account for 156, or 70 percent, of the sample of migrants. Many of those who migrated to Pejibayé for agricultural employment rather than for land held the procurement of a **finca** as a long-range goal more likely to be satisfied in Pejibayé than in their previous residence. As such, the desire for land certainly entered into their decision to migrate to Pejibayé; nevertheless, this factor was of less immediate consequence than were the short-term prospects of securing wage employment in the agricultural sector.

Three other reasons were given by migrants for coming to Pejibayé, and each of these is economic in nature. Thirty individuals, or 13.5 percent of the migration stream, moved to Pejibayé because they had government jobs waiting for them. For these people it was the job alone which drew them to the district; given the opportunity, they would have opted for assignment to one of the more developed, urbanized parts of Costa Rica.

A smaller proportion of migrants came because they perceived greater opportunities for investing in business ventures than were available elsewhere in the canton. Typically, these men had been wage laborers in **tiendas**, **pulperias** or **botiquins** in other localities. Upon accumulating sufficient financial resources, they moved to Pejibayé where they went into business for themselves, always in the same fields in which they had previously worked for wages. Business opportunities also drew craftsmen such as carpenters, tailors and shoemakers to the district where they set up small shops in several **pueblos**. Essentially, all of these men migrated
to Pejibaye because they perceived a demand for their services and, with few competitors to deal with, the opportunity to reap a high return on their investment of time and resources. As one pulpero explained his decision to migrate to Pejibaye: "money stretches farther here than it does in San Isidro." Thirteen men, or 5.8 percent of the total of migrants, came to the district to take advantage of business opportunities.

A final group of people migrated to Pejibaye because they were able to obtain employment in unskilled positions in non-agricultural fields. These include jobs in bodegas, pulperias and the coffee benefició. Ten individuals, comprising 4.5 percent of the migration stream, fall into this category. The motives provided by all migrants included in the sample are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11. Motives for Migration to Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Agricultural Employment</th>
<th>Government Employment</th>
<th>Other Types of Employment</th>
<th>Business Opportunity</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In view of the fact Pejibaye is a heavily rural, agricultural zone, it comes as no surprise that migrants should be drawn predominantly from
the farming stratum of the population, and that they should be motivated largely by considerations related to this form of activity. When viewed over time, it can be seen that 92.7 percent of migrants between 1942-1951 fall into this category. This percentage declines slightly during the succeeding period as 87 percent of migrants between 1952-1966 list farming considerations as the prime factor leading to their decision to migrate to Pejibaye.

Beginning in 1966, however, there is a sudden change in the reasons migrants give for coming to Pejibaye. Between 1966-1977, only 26.9 percent of the sample of migrants were attracted by agricultural opportunities, and in contrast to previous periods, the majority of these came not for land, but to obtain employment as wage laborers. At the same time, the percentages of migrants who were motivated by each of the other factors discussed in this section increased drastically. Comparing the 1966-1977 period to the 1952-1965 period, the percentage of migrants drawn by government employment increased from 1.7 percent to 41.8 percent of the total; those attracted by business opportunities rose from 5.2 percent to 9 percent; and the percentage of individuals who migrated to Pejibaye for other types of non-agricultural jobs increased from 3.5 percent to 9 percent of the total.

As will be explained more fully in chapter X, these changes in the migration stream reflect changes in the economy and society of Pejibaye. During the early part of the colonization period there were plenty of

4See below, pages 331-339.
unclaimed state lands (baldios) available for the taking. Even when this supply had been exhausted, which occurred well before the end of the period, land prices remained low and it was not too difficult to obtain ownership of a finca at an inexpensive price. This situation changed drastically near the middle of the formative period. By 1960, at the latest, land prices began to rise rapidly. Consequently, as time passed this motive became less and less important in attracting migrants to Pejibaye. Meanwhile, other opportunities were becoming available in non-agricultural pursuits, and the government of Costa Rica became more and more involved in local affairs.

While it is true that economic considerations motivated most of the migrants who came to Pejibaye, it appears that a more basic, underlying goal superseded the simple desire for financial gain among the majority of these, particularly among those belonging to the farming stratum of the population. This goal can be stated very simply: the desire to establish oneself as an independent cultivator or businessman, and in this way to gain firm and absolute control over one's personal destiny. The best way to achieve this goal, of course, is through the accumulation of wealth and in this sense the two aims run parallel. Yet with the exception of more recent migrants, specifically government employees, financial gain constitutes a means to an end, rather than the end itself. There are, in other words, deeper forces at work here than the desire for

5See Table 13, page 278.

6See chapter VIII, page 220.
simple economic gain. Sandner (1964), for example, documents how hordes of Costa Rican peones and land-starved campesinos have for more than a century now flocked to several frontier zones of the country motivated in their vast majority by the possibility of establishing themselves as finqueros. On purely economic grounds, most of these should have migrated to the coastal regions where wage employment on the banana plantations was more financially rewarding. Yet Jamaicans, Nicaraguans and Panamanians preceded Costa Ricans to these areas.

In conversations with a wide range of migrants, this theme cropped up time and again. On some occasions, informants were quite explicit in their statements concerning this point. On others, this view was strongly implied. With no prompting on my part, numerous informants would discuss their former lives as peones at great length, emphasizing not only their poverty, but their subservience to the patron, to whose every whim they were subject. A touch of bitterness always accompanied these reminiscences. In fact, when queried as to why they had migrated to Pejibaye, a common response by informants was that they had come here "buscando vida," or "seeking life" - not "seeking a better life," but seeking a life.

Migrant Assimilation into the Community: Basic Strategies

Just as migration involves many decisions and events which take place long prior to the act of migration itself, so too does it involve events which take place after the migrant has reached his destination.
Upon arrival in Pejibaye it was necessary, first of all, to establish a viable income, in other words, to economically adapt to the new situation. Related to the economic adaptation, though technically distinct from it, is the social adaptation: the need to establish social ties with community members and to become a full-fledged participant in community life. Successful migration dictates that both kinds of adaptation be made.

For migrants to Pejibaye, the task of assimilation was one begun prior to actually taking up residence in the area. With few exceptions, individuals who later migrated to Pejibaye first visited the region to observe first-hand its potential for satisfying their personal goals.\(^7\) Usually this preliminary scouting was done by the male head-of-household either alone or in the company of an elder son. Indeed, the decision to proceed with the contemplated migration to Pejibaye was contingent upon the impression formed during this fact-gathering expedition.

These preliminary visits established a pattern of migration behavior which has continued to some extent to the present day; while in the area to investigate its resources, migrants often took the first steps toward arranging for their later economic success and social integration into the community. During the early days of colonization, when there were few families living in Pejibaye, both of these tasks could be rather extensively completed before actual migration took place. Potential colonists visited the area and at this time purchased a finca or, more

\(^7\)See chapter VII, pages 179-180.
accurately, the *derecho* (use rights) to a piece of land already claimed by a previous colonist. Most remained long enough to make at least minimal improvements on this property; perhaps to clear a portion of the land in preparation for future planting, or to construct a crude shelter in anticipation of their return. A few men even went so far as to plant the first crop so that it would be ready for harvest by the time they returned with their families; still others left all or most of these tasks undone during their preliminary reconnaissance of Pejibaye.

At the same time as the economic groundwork was being laid for successful adaptation to the frontier, so too was the social one. The newcomer normally attempted to meet and talk with as many of the other colonists as was possible. This, of course, was an essential part of gathering information concerning the prevailing conditions of frontier life in Pejibaye. Yet it served an equally important function: it initiated the formation of social ties with other colonists, social ties which would prove of the utmost significance to the migrant and his family in future years and future crises. So long as the population size and social complexity of the "community" remained at low levels it was, in other words, a simple chore to achieve full social assimilation into this community.

In later periods of time this straightforward way of meeting people and making friends was no longer feasible. Social assimilation assumed a more complex form and took place over a somewhat longer time frame.
While many migrants continued to purchase fincas, obtain jobs and make other economic arrangements prior to their actual migration to Pejibaye, integration into the network of community social relations had to wait until afterwards.

In a very real sense, however, the basis of successful social integration had been laid long prior to the act of migration even among migrants who arrived in Pejibaye during the formative and integration periods of her history. In this context it is pertinent to consider the topic of information flows, that is, the media through which potential migrants in other parts of the country learned of Pejibaye. With the exception of government employees, this information became available only by messages transmitted to the potential migrant from friends or relatives already living in Pejibaye. Thus, before ever arriving in Pejibaye, migrants had prior social ties with at least some members of the community. After they arrived, they were in a position to use this small circle of acquaintances to create ties with yet other community members and in this way slowly expand their social contact with Pejibayense, as well as the social ties linking them to individuals they had not previously known. What took place, and continues to take place, in other words, is that a given migrant might have heard of Pejibaye from, let us say, a cousin. At first, this cousin may be his only social contact in the community. Before long, however, he introduces the new migrant to some of his friends in Pejibaye. Some of these become friends also of the new migrant and, in time, they introduce him to yet other members of the community. This process slowly continues as the newly
arrived migrant's circle of social contacts increases in geometric fashion until he eventually becomes acquainted with all or most of the other members of the community and comes to be accepted by them as a normal part of this group. According to informants, this state is usually reached an average of one to two years after arrival in Pejibaye.

This discussion points out two crucial aspects of migration to Pejibaye. First of all, the social adjustments required of the migrant in the new community are not terribly dramatic, as is sometimes the case with migration to the cities. Migrants to Pejibaye are of similar socioeconomic backgrounds, come from many of the same parts of the country, and share a common cultural tradition. These factors alleviate the problems involved in achieving full membership in the community, restricting them primarily to the personal need to acquire friends, and to become acquainted with community members and community organizations. These problems are somewhat compounded for a portion of the more recent migrants to Pejibaye, specifically, government employees, whose urban origins, higher educational levels and lack of commitment to their new community make social integration more difficult. These added problems, however, are more than compensated for by the higher social status which gains them quick acceptance by Pejibayense.

A second aspect of migration which emerges from this discussion is the importance of prior social ties - be they of kinship or friendship - in bringing about the social integration of the migrant into the mainstream of Pejibayense society. Indeed, these prior social ties are
important throughout the course of the migration process - in providing information concerning potential destinations, in securing necessary aid upon arrival, and in expanding one's circle of social contacts in the community. An especially critical stage of the migration process, for example, occurs immediately after the migrant has arrived at his destination. Both the decisions he reaches and the actions he takes during this period may have far-reaching effects upon his future success in the community. Often the migrant arrives with little money, no home, and perhaps not even a firm prospect of obtaining employment. Under these conditions the aid given to newly arrived migrants by relatives and friends already established in the region played a crucial role in allowing for the successful transition to life in Pejibaye. Most migrants received aid in one form or another from such sources upon arrival and, especially during the early days of colonization, occasionally from complete strangers. Aid to migrants has consisted predominantly in the provision of shelter, food, information and, to a lesser extent, employment. The extension of hospitality to even the most distant acquaintance is a deeply ingrained value of Costa Rican culture and in this situation it served a vital purpose. It is highly typical even at present, for example, for newly arrived migrants to take shelter in the homes of relatives for the several months prior to the acquisition of separate living quarters. Often the migrant's first land in Pejibaye was leased or purchased from friends or relatives; a number of

\[8\] See chapter VIII, page 221.
peones, in fact, migrated to Pejibaye only because they had been promised employment by former acquaintances. Two families that I know of were even given the use of houses for as long as they wished — and this by complete strangers:10

Migrant Assimilation into the Community: Sexual Differences

In discussing the economic adjustments of migrants to life in Pejibaye, it is usually sufficient to consider only the plight of the male since in Costa Rica, and especially in the rural parts of Costa Rica, there are few employment opportunities for females outside the home. But in discussing the social adjustments of migrants, equal consideration must be given to the members of both sexes since males and females alike feel the need to acquire new friends, engage in social interaction with their new neighbors, in a word, to "feel at home" in their new environment. In light of the basic differences in the role behavior of males and females in Costa Rica, it is not too surprising to discover a corresponding difference in the ways in which the two sexes become socially assimilated into the community, and in the ease with which such assimilation is accomplished. By and large, males have a much easier time acquiring friends and adjusting to the new social milieu, and do so much more rapidly than do females. There are several reasons for this, and each of these is related to the division of labor

9 See chapter X, pages 312-315.

10 One of these cases dates from 1958, and the other from 1973.
between husband and wife, and to the role behavior which is associated with these two statuses.

Reference has already been made to the importance of prior social ties with community members in alleviating the migrant's difficulty in widening his circle of acquaintances and finding acceptance within the community. For the male this really constitutes only a first, albeit important step in the process of becoming socially assimilated into community life. It is also an opportunity of which males are in a much better position to take advantage. Because the male head-of-household acts as the chief and normally the sole economic "provider" of the family unit he can, in fact, he must initiate social contact with other members of the community in the course of properly fulfilling this function. This is particularly apparent for males employed in non-agricultural pursuits. For the pulpero, bodeguero, sastre and carpintero, social assimilation is rapid; there is such great demand for their services that the natives actually seek out the migrant, rather than the opposite. Many campesinos and peones, moreover, have at one time or another worked part-time in a field which would bring them into contact with large numbers of people. The most common of these fields is sastre. There is always a demand for the services of individuals who know how to make clothing, and news of their presence spreads rapidly in the community. A number of men have also worked in the pig-buying business, purchasing local stock and herding it to San Isidro for resale in the marketplace. This activity is one which requires its practitioner to rapidly gain knowledge of who in the community possesses stock, who
is willing to sell it, and at what price. For the recently arrived migrant, this knowledge can be partially acquired by talking to those with whom he is already acquainted; to be competitive in this field, however, it is necessary for the migrant to personally visit as many households as he can, talking to and getting to know the members of each of these households.

Even for campesinos and peones, the need to initiate contact with other members of the community is present, although it is of less immediate importance than for individuals employed in other fields of endeavor. The campesino has to find out from whom he can purchase a finca, the quality of the soils in different areas of the district, the availability of land for leasing, and so on. He must sell his produce and purchase agricultural inputs. The peon, on the other hand, needs to acquaint himself with perspective employers and the wages they are offering for his labor.

At the same time, males are allowed a much greater degree of social contact with non-family members. They can relax at the cantina or while away their spare hours in idle conversation in front of the pulperia. Because males are normally a gregarious group, they do not find it difficult to strike up a conversation with total strangers.

On the other hand, it would not be much of an exaggeration to describe the female as a social isolate. The role of the wife/mother involves housekeeping and child-raising and the locus of these activities is the home. Unlike the male, she has little opportunity to interact with other

\[ \text{See chapter VI, pages 152-153.} \]
members of the community. Practically her only chance to do so is on Sundays when she may attend the Catholic mass in the centro or elsewhere in the district, and while shopping (unless she has a daughter to perform this task for her). It is therefore not at all surprising to find that for longer periods of time the female migrant feels less a part of the community, and less attached to her new pueblo, than does the male. Her difficulties in adjusting to her new life are somewhat exacerbated by the strength of the emotional ties she typically retains with members of her family of orientation, particularly with her mother. These ties seem more difficult to break for the female than for the male, partially because the woman is so much a part of the home and, unlike the male, has little involvement with affairs external to this unit. Recently arrived female migrants are almost universally dissatisfied with their migration to Pejibaye and the reason usually given is that they "miss" their mothers. This emotional orientation toward their former residences is compounded by the lack of opportunity to form alternative social attachments in their new community.

Yet female migrants with long years of residence in the district express contentment and satisfaction with the move or, at worst, apathy. In time, females do succeed in adjusting to life in Pejibaye, though in a somewhat different manner than do males. The female migrant's first social attachments are formed with close neighbors. Women report that within a few weeks or, at most, a month of their arrival, they are visited by neighboring women who typically make small presents of prepared food. These visits continue periodically as the women sit
about and chat during their free hours and slowly get to know one another. Becoming friends with even a few women with long years of residence in the pueblo opens new vistas to the migrant as she is slowly brought into a much larger circle of acquaintances.

At the same time, other strategies are employed by the female to gain social access to the community. Children are often used as a source of information concerning community members and community events. While this information does not in itself lead to the creation of social ties with other individuals, it does minimize her sense of social isolation from the rest of the community. Attendance at events sponsored by church and school organizations and, later, personal involvement in the activities of these groups, constitutes yet another social outlet for the female. A unique opportunity to become a functional member of the community is provided those women who own sewing machines and work part-time in the home as sastres. As is the case with males employed in this profession, news spreads rapidly and soon people from far and wide come to her door with requests for her business services. Under such circumstances, the social assimilation of the female migrant into the mainstream of community life takes place much more rapidly than is otherwise the case.

There is one other factor which is perhaps relevant to this sexual difference in the ease of migrant adjustment to the new social environment, although this factor is difficult to measure with any degree of precision. In the course of conversations with migrants it soon became clear that although the decision to migrate may have been reached only
following numerous and lengthy deliberations between husband and wife, it is the male partner who ultimately makes the final decision in the vast majority of cases. Not only does the male make the final decision, but migration is only undertaken for reasons dealing with his situation - the need for him to acquire a better job, more land, and so forth.\(^{12}\) Although it may be true that these factors are relevant to the entire family unit, they most directly impinge upon the role of the male. It may thus very well be the case that males have more of an incentive to make a successful transition to life in Pejibaye and thus validate the soundness of their decision to migrate. If this is true, and it is a proposition difficult to prove, it would reinforce the many other factors which give males an advantage over females in overcoming the problems of post-migration social maladjustment.

**Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility**

When migrants were asked to evaluate the success of their move to Pejibaye by comparing their present situation here to their former one elsewhere in the country, the overwhelming majority responded with a positive evaluation. Two basic reasons were given for this satisfaction with life in Pejibaye: the possession either of more land or of a better job and, thus, a higher standard of living; and "la gente" (the people) or "el ambiente" (the atmosphere). These statements indicate that the

\(^{12}\) In fact, Duncan and Perrucci (1976) found that even among American families in which both spouses are employed, migration is almost exclusively undertaken for factors pertinent to the husband's occupation.
people who made them had achieved both economic and social success in their new environment. Not only are they well-satisfied with their present standard of living, but they are well-satisfied with the quality of their interpersonal relations with other Pejibayense and with their general way of life.

This positive self-evaluation of the success of migration is corroborated by economic and occupational data supplied by migrants. Table 12 compares the former and present economic status of migrants employed in the agricultural sector of the economy, by far the largest group to have migrated to Pejibaye. Included in this table are only the heads of migration units still residing in Pejibaye at the present time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Migration</th>
<th>Post-Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peon/Leaser</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Campe
do    | 7             | 13            | 6             | 26   |
| Peon/Leaser  | 6             | 15            | 12            | 33   |
| Campesino    | 5             | 34            | 6             | 45   |
| Hacendado*   | 5             | 9             | 1             | 15   |
| Other        | 3             | 3             | 4             | 10   |

*Defined here as the owner of a finca of 100 or more manzanas.

The figures presented in Table 12 are liable to one interpretation only: clearly, there has been a marked improvement in the economic status of the large majority of migrants listed. While 74.8 percent of the sample had been peones prior to migration, only 32 percent remained
in this category following migration. In the pre-migration sample, there are no hacendados, pulperos or bodegueros; 24.3 percent of the post-migration sample had reached this level of success. If the rather large intermediate category of "campesino" is itself subdivided, this upward trend is likewise apparent: while only one of the twenty-six campesinos in the pre-migration sample had owned over 50 manzanas (35 hectares) of land, six of those in the post-migration sample own between 50-99 manzanas.

Additional data only serve to support this picture of the upward economic climb of migrants following their arrival in Pejibayé. Two individuals who had been employees in commercial establishments in San Isidro prior to migration presently own and operate their own businesses in Pejibayé. The same occurred to three men who had previously been peones. One man began his career as a sastre/peon; today he is a prosperous bodeguero/ganadero. Another former peon today works as a fontero; yet another is a self-educated radio and television repairman.

Independent findings from elsewhere in Costa Rica furthermore indicate that Pejibayé does not constitute an isolated case with respect to the high degree of upward economic mobility associated with migration. Jimenez Castro (1956:85-90) presents the results of a survey of 458 families of migrants in another former frontier area - the district of La Mansion de Nicoya, located at the other end of the country. Of the migrants who settled in this region, 63.3 percent had been peones prior to migration while 34.7 percent had been campesinos. At the time of
the survey in 1951, only 5.2 percent of these same individuals remained
in the peon category while 92.6 percent labored as campesinos on their
own fincas. These figures are very similar to those described for
Pejibaye.

But can this picture of migrant success be accepted at face value?
In other words, is there such a direct equation between geographic and
socioeconomic mobility as these data would seem to suggest? More
specifically, does the frontier act in so powerful a manner that even
the most impoverished who seek refuge there can justifiably expect to
undergo a "rags to riches" transformation?

The answer to each of these questions would seem to be "no," albeit
a qualified "no." While the experiences of the migrants interviewed
point in the opposite direction, these are really nothing more than a
reflection of the selective nature of this group itself. Who, after
all, could be expected to remain in Pejibaye if not those who had
succeeded in finding here the "better life" for which they had dreamed?
For many migrants, the move to Pejibaye was simply one in a series of
similar moves. Previous migrations had yielded unsatisfactory returns,
with the result that the individual ultimately chose to move on to
"greener pastures." Some found these "greener pastures" in Pejibaye and
remained to the present day. Others, perhaps at an earlier stage in the
migratory cycle, found the landscape of Pejibaye barren and continued on
to other places in the hope of bettering their lot.

Thus, the sample of migrants we are dealing with consists essentially
of the "success stories" of Pejibaye. Yet for every migrant who came to
Pejibaye and remained, several others came but later left the district. This is a fact which is impossible to document, but which becomes eminently clear through numerous discussions with Pejibayense. Every informant questioned on this matter could very easily list the names of several relatives or friends who had migrated to the district, remained for a period of time, and then had left for other destinations. In fact, my interest in these out-migrants was the cause of no small measure of bewilderment on the part of informants. Typically, they would list a few names, smile, and then state: "But Jaime, there were so many people that fit this description that I could never list all their names ..." This response seldom varied, regardless of when the informant himself had arrived in Pejibaye.

When asked why these people had left, a number of reasons were given: land, better paying jobs, the desire to educate one's children; by and large, the same reasons as were given by informants for migrating to Pejibaye in the first place. Underlying these many specific motives for out-migration is one basic theme. To paraphrase several informants: "They (the out-migrants) didn't find what they were looking for in Pejibaye, and so they looked elsewhere."

For most migrants, then, the move to Pejibaye must have fallen considerably short of their expectations. It did not lead to any significant change in their financial position, nor to any major transformation in their social ranking. Yet at the same time it cannot be denied that a considerable number of migrants actually did experience upward mobility in both these areas as a direct result of their migration
to Pejibaye. This leads us to ask two interrelated questions: "What factors underlie successful migration?"; and "why did some migrants achieve economic success while others failed to do so?"

Many ingredients go into the making of a "successful" man. Some of these are highly personal in nature and fall into the area of individual psychology and intelligence: thrift, industry, achievement orientation, the ability to perceive opportunities for economic advancement, and the knowledge of how to utilize them. However, while traits such as these are important, they are nevertheless inadequate in explaining later success or failure in the "migration game." Of the countless individuals possessing the necessary personal qualities, only some succeeded in turning them into later prosperity.

In analyzing the many cases of upward socioeconomic mobility among migrants to Pejibaye, two factors stand out as being of prime importance in predicting the degree to which this takes place following migration: the migrant's time of arrival, and the amount of capital he brings with him. Thus, the earlier on he arrived, the greater were his chances for improving his socioeconomic status. The more capital in his possession, the greater was his ability to take advantage of investment opportunities during all phases of Pejibaye's history. Obviously, these two factors are not unrelated. During the first decade following the colonization of Pejibaye, a firm basis for future prosperity could be established with very little capital. For the first colonists, land was free, and they went about claiming vast tracts of fertile baldios. With only a few coins in his pocket, and the fortitude to endure the elements of Pejibaye until
the arrival of additional colonists, the individual could assure future riches with only an insignificant financial investment. Even until 1960 land prices, although steadily climbing, were fairly low and with a small investment one could purchase a large finca. This was made especially easy by the practice of selling land in pagos (installments). Typically, ten percent of the sale price was paid immediately by the purchaser, with the remainder being paid in yearly installments.

Ever since the available supply of free lands had become exhausted, a process largely completed by 1945 in the vicinity of the centro, more and more initial capital was required to make a start in agriculture. Land prices rose annually in Pejibaye, and in especially marked form after 1960. Table 13 documents this rise for the pueblo of Gibre, located just to the east of the centro.

Table 13. Land Prices in Gibre 1945-1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Size of Finca</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price Per Manzana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>200 manzanas</td>
<td>¥4,000</td>
<td>¥20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>200 manzanas</td>
<td>¥5,000</td>
<td>¥25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>240 manzanas</td>
<td>¥10,000</td>
<td>¥42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>200 manzanas</td>
<td>¥10,000</td>
<td>¥50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>400 manzanas</td>
<td>¥40,000</td>
<td>¥100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3.5 manzanas</td>
<td>¥1,000</td>
<td>¥286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>120 manzanas</td>
<td>¥250,000</td>
<td>¥2,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>400 manzanas</td>
<td>¥1,200,000</td>
<td>¥3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, over time it became increasingly difficult to acquire land in Pejibaye, and to utilize this productive resource as a means of individual economic gain. In other words, the same amount of capital had different
values at different stages in the development of Pejibaye. A man with G1000 to invest in 1945 was in a much better position than a man with ten times this amount two decades later.

The same situation holds true for non-agricultural activities. It was much easier to begin operations as a bodeguero or pulpero in the early 1950's than it was at any time thereafter. With a little money, the proper level of financial astuteness, and plenty of hard work, any man could better his lot by engaging in commercial activity. During later periods of time, these opportunities were available only to those initially possessing much larger sums of money for investment.

Thus, most of the really large fortunes made in Pejibaye belong to those migrants who arrived prior to 1960. With but few exceptions, all of the contemporary hacendados are pre-1960 migrants. Most of the bodegueros in the district, and all of those operating in the centro, are also of pre-1960 derivation. So too are the majority of pulperos. Generally speaking, upward socioeconomic mobility among more recent migrants has been neither so common, nor so drastic. No cases of men arriving in Pejibaye as peones and working their way up to the status of hacendado or pulpero date from the post-1960 era. Several such cases occurred prior to this time.

In order to fully comprehend the "migration strategy" of socioeconomic advancement, it is necessary that we place migration to Pejibaye within the larger context of the totality of moves made by migrants pursuing this strategy. As noted earlier, most individuals did

13 See chapter VIII, pages 229-230.
not migrate directly to Pejibaye from their natal villages, but only following several intervening migrations. Not completely satisfied with the end results of previous migrations, these individuals had continued on to Pejibaye. The migrants who remained in the district are predominantly those who achieved success in this locale; others, who did not, continued migrating. A very important question is raised by this fact - what is the relationship, if any, between previous moves and upward socioeconomic mobility in Pejibaye?; are there, in fact, observable regularities in these movements such that we can posit the existence of a "migratory cycle" common to all or certain classes of migrants?

In order to facilitate answering these questions, Table 14 lists the number of inter-community moves made by upwardly mobile migrants who came to Pejibaye as campesinos or peones and who later achieved social and economic success here. Included in this table are only those migrations in which the individual listed acted as head of the migration unit, in other words, where he was responsible for the decision to migrate. Specifically excluded from consideration are migrations made as children where the subject had no say in the matter.

Table 14. Number of Independent Inter-Community Moves Made by Upwardly Mobile Migrants to Pejibaye (Farming Population). a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Moves</th>
<th>Average Number of Moves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a"Inter-community" movement is defined here as migration between non-adjacent communities.
As Table 14 clearly demonstrates, migrants most often found success following their second migration. At first glance, this may not appear to be of any great consequence. But it does illustrate what, in retrospect, turns out to be the basic "migration strategy" of upward socio-economic mobility. The qualifying phrase "in retrospect" is added because this was not a strategy consciously designed by migrants prior to their departure, but rather one which the wisdom of hindsight shows to have been the most efficacious.

This "strategy" involves a "two step" migration from rural village - frontier - frontier, and is a pattern which applies specifically to members of the farming stratum of the population. Typically, the individual who pursued this strategy was either a landless peon in his natal village, or a very poor campesino. When he migrated to his first frontier, one recently opened by colonists, he did so with little capital. However, because of the availability of cheap land, he was able to acquire a medium-sized finca. After several years of hard work on the frontier, the arrival of a second wave of land-hungry colonists caused the value of his property to rise drastically. When this occurred, he sold his finca at a huge profit and moved on to his second frontier, also one of recent colonization. This time, however, he was in a much better financial position to take full advantage of the opportunity to purchase the extremely cheap land available. Buying as much of this as he could, he again waited until the arrival of new waves of colonists caused the value of his property to soar and at the same time allowed him to fully exploit it by means of the vast labor pool slowly being
created. At the end of this second stage of the migratory cycle he was not merely prosperous – he was wealthy.

This strategy was one successfully pursued by almost all of the contemporary ricos of Pejibaye. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this point. In 1939, a peon left his natal village of Barrio Mercedes de Atenas for the frontier of Quizarra. He took with him his entire assets – $150, a horse and the clothes on his back. In Quizarra, he purchased a 100 manzana finca for $1000 in installments of $200 per year. In 1951, he sold this same finca for $20,000, migrated to the recently settled frontier of Pejibaye, and purchased a new finca of 240 manzanas for $10,000. Today he owns a pulperia, a panaderia, several manzanas of prime development land in the heart of the centro, and a 450 manzana cattle finca. His brother, who preceded him to both frontiers, is even richer! Besides owning several thousand manzanas of land scattered throughout Pejibaye, he recently sold a 45 manzana finca to the Ministry of Education (as the site for the new colegio) for a reported $2 million!

Yet another case is that of a man who inherited a 10 manzana finca in Copey de Dota upon the death of his father. Selling this for $2000 in 1934, he migrated to the frontier of San Ramon Sur where he bought a 50 manzana finca for $600. In 1945, he sold this finca for $9000 and migrated to Pejibaye where he purchased a 200 manzana finca for only $4000. Today he is a wealthy ganadero (cattleman). One of his sons received a university education and works for the government in San Jose.
Another owns a salon in the centro and yet a third is a maestro in Barrio Nuevo.

Our final example diverges slightly from the usual pattern in that he required three rather than two migrations to fully establish his wealth. A peon in his native Coronado, this man migrated to San Isidro as a youth where he worked on the construction of the Interamerican Highway. The wages paid for this work were three times the going rate for peon labor at that time and so after a few years he had accumulated sufficient capital to purchase a small finca on the frontier of La Hermosa, located just to the south of San Isidro, and close to Quizarra. In 1950, he then migrated to Pejibaye, purchasing a 240 manzana finca for $10,000. Today he owns a bodega, a pulpería and a 500 manzana cattle finca in China Kicha (in the extreme east of the district).

The common denominator linking these individuals together is the employment of the "two step migration" formula as strategy by which they rose from humble beginnings to contemporary positions of wealth. Even the last example cited does not violate the basic lines of this pattern since the entire country south of San Isidro was, in reality, part of a single broad frontier in 1940. It is quite likely, in fact, that this pattern of movement is characteristic of frontier colonization throughout Costa Rica. Sandner (1964), for example, states that the original colonists of any given frontier almost always sell their land to newcomers and move on. Unfortunately, he does not describe what happens to them afterwards, but this bit of information does strongly point in the direction of a "two step" strategy.
This pattern has moreover been described for at least one frontier outside of Costa Rica - that of Ouro Verde, located in the State of Parana, Brazil. In her study of this frontier, Margolis (1973:11) notes that:

As a frontier community is settled, a significant portion of its land is purchased by former sharecroppers and renters who have earned money in older, more easterly areas of the state. Their small capital does not permit them to buy land in these former frontier regions, for by the time they have sufficient savings to invest in farms land values have skyrocketed, and they can afford to buy only the inexpensive lands of the frontier. As the frontier moves farther westward, leaving settled communities in its wake, former sharecroppers move along with it, buying small farms at its outer fringes. Upward mobility (as measured by the acquisition of land) does not occur in the same community where the sharecroppers worked to earn the purchase price of land. Invariably, the transition from sharecropper to farmer takes place in two geographically distinct communities (emphasis added).

This similarity in the economic mobility patterns of Costa Rican and Brazilian frontier migrants is even more remarkable in light of the fundamental social, cultural, political, and economic differences between the two countries. Despite the fact that both are members of the Latin American tradition, they really have very little in common — except for the historical significance of the frontier. Thus, it may well be that the pattern of "two step migration" is a trait characteristic not just of the Costa Rican frontier, nor even of only the Latin American frontier, but of the frontier per se.
X. MIGRATION AS SOCIAL PROCESS

In the present chapter our discussion of migration takes a slight shift. Until now, our main concern has been with the individual migrant - his prior motives, subsequent adaptations, and long-term fate in Pejibaye. Henceforth, relatively greater emphasis will be laid upon the aggregate migration pattern. In an effort to understand this aggregate pattern, migration behavior shall be firmly grounded within the context of the socioeconomic structures of donor and recipient communities. In this way, we hope to discover the "causes" of migration, and to explain changes in the pattern over time.

The Intensity of Migration to Pejibaye

Of the 223 migration units in the research sample, 18.4 percent arrived in Pejibaye during the colonization period, 51.6 percent during the formative period, and only 30 percent during the integration period. In view of the fact that early migrants are perhaps slightly under-represented due to the time factor, while recent government employees are highly overrepresented, a better estimate of the relative intensity of migration to Pejibaye is probably gained by eliminating this latter group entirely from consideration. Doing this yields the following figures: 21.2 percent of migrants arrived during the colonization period, 58.5 percent during the formative period, and 20.2 percent during the integration period.
This breakdown of the flow of migration is supported by several additional lines of evidence, including the impressions of Pejibayense themselves, pertinent census materials, and the historical trend of migration documented for other frontier regions of Costa Rica. Each of these indicates a tripartate flow of migration: an initial period of slow in-migration, an intermediate period of heavy in-migration, and finally, a period of out-migration of indefinite duration.

All early colonists agree that prior to 1952, the population of Pejibaye was very small. Table 15 demonstrates this for the area in the vicinity of the centro. Since El Agüila was not settled until 1946, and the population of Las Mesas has consistently lagged behind that of the centro, the number of inhabitants in the entire district in 1952 was probably not much more than twice the twenty families living near the centro in that year.

Table 15. Population Within a One Kilometer Radius of the Centro.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the pace of migration was slow during the colonization period, it reached a stage of take-off during the succeeding formative period. This point is clearly demonstrated by census figures for the years
1950-1963. Until 1966, Pejibaye was part of the district of San Pedro, as were the present districts of Platanares and Cajon. The total population of this area in 1950 was only 2,073 inhabitants. By 1963, it had grown to 15,322 inhabitants, a dramatic increase over this span of time, and accountable only by a massive wave of in-migration. The same picture prevails at the cantonal level, where the population expanded from 19,630 in 1950, to 47,319 in 1963. During this period, Perez Zeledon experienced one of the highest rates of in-migration in Costa Rica; much of this in-migration was directed to the southern portion of the canton, in the vicinity of Pejibaye (Buarque de Hollanda y Raabe Cerccone 1975:23).

After 1963, however, census figures show the rate of in-migration to have waned considerably. By 1973, the population of the San Pedro - Platanares - Pejibaye - Cajon sector had risen by only 5,176 inhabitants, to a total of 20,498 inhabitants. The population of Perez Zeledon in that year stood at only 67,089 inhabitants. In fact, since 1968 at the latest, the canton has become an area of net out-migration, losing 10 percent of its inhabitants between the years 1968-1973.¹

Past research shows this trend to be not at all unusual. Along every colonization front in Costa Rica over the past one hundred years migration has been slow at first, and then of massive proportions as news of the opening of yet another frontier spreads to other parts of the country (Sandner 1962, 1964). Most colonists, in fact, prefer areas of secondary

¹There were 55,778 inhabitants in Perez Zeledon in 1968. Between then and 1973, 9,035 of these migrated to other cantons in Costa Rica. During this same period, Perez Zeledon gained only 3,343 inhabitants through in-migration, for a net loss of 5,692 (-10 percent).
colonization, where the conditions are not as harsh as in areas of primary colonization (Sandner 1964). In time, every former frontier has become overpopulated, and the direction of migration has been reversed to one of out-migration (Nunley 1960; Sandner 1964; Hall 1976). When this takes place, these post-frontier areas typically serve as the points of departure for the settlement of yet other frontiers.²

The Geographical Origins of Migrants

Table 16 lists the birth places of the adult heads of migration units to Pejibaye by province, canton and, where relevant, by community. Most migrants are from only two of Costa Rica's seven provinces - San Jose and Alajuela, which respectively account for 51.8 and 32.3 percent of the sample. Only 15.9 percent of the migrants were born in other provinces, and none in the province of Limon.

On a regional basis, three areas of the country supplied 89.2 percent of the migrants to Pejibaye. These are the Valle Central, with 38.9 percent of the sample, the Valle de El General, with 12.3 percent, and the region geographically intermediate between these two places, with 38 percent of the sample. Within the Valle Central, most migrants originated in its northwestern portion: Atenas (12.3 percent of total

²That the Costa Rican frontier has been a constantly expanding one is implicit in the "two step" strategy of upward mobility (see chapter IX, pages 281-284), where this expansion took place in a single generation. Alternately, this expansion has taken place over the course of two generations, with the parents of migrants to Pejibaye having been among the first-wave settlers of previous frontiers to the north.
Table 16. Places of Birth of Migrants to Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puriscal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desamparaditos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercedes Sur</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarrazu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acosta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dota</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perez Zeledon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alajuela</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Ramon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atenas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrio Mercedes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naranjo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmares</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartago</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heredia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Barbara</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belen</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Rafael</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanacaste</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puntarenas</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>196</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td><strong>334</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
migrants, and 31.5 percent of those from the Valle Central); San Ramon (8.4 and 21.5 percent, respectively); Palmares (2.7 and 6.9 percent); and Naranjo (2.4 and 6.2 percent). The intermediate region includes Puriscal (13.2 percent of total migrants and 34.6 percent of those from the intermediate zone); Tarrazu (10.8 and 28.3 percent, respectively); Acosta (7.5 and 19.7 percent); and Dota (6.6 and 17.3 percent).

The northwestern Valle Central and the intermediate zone to the south have several things in common: rugged topography, poor and highly eroded soils, and a moderate to heavy concentration of land ownership, with a tendency toward the accentuation of the latifundio-minifundio complex in recent decades (Buarque de Hollanda y Raabe Cercone 1975:27-31). Both, furthermore, are former frontier zones colonized during the middle to late nineteenth century. But in both these areas, the lure of the frontier disappeared within a generation of their settlement; for the past several decades they have been regions of heavy out-migration, continuing the frontier cycle of Costa Rica by providing the human masses who have gone on to colonize more distant frontiers, including that of Pejibaye.

The Geographic Pattern of Migration

Although the three regions mentioned in the last section may be viewed as the "hearthlands" of the population of Pejibaye, migrants did not typically move directly to Pejibaye from these places, but only following one or more intermediate migrations. Analysis of the aggregate movements of all migrants shows many to have been highly specific and little related
to one another. Yet certain regularities in these movements are observable, as we shall shortly see.

One of the basic features which emerges from the data is that different parts of Pejibaye were settled by different migration streams, that is, by groups of migrants originating from different areas. This fact is demonstrated in Table 17, which lists the places of birth of migrants according to which of the three major parts of the district they first settled in: Las Mesas (north), Pejibaye (central) or El Aguila (south). The Las Mesas region, it appears, was settled predominantly by migrants from San Ramon de Alajuela which represent 33.3 percent of its migration stream. Also important are elements from Puriscal (15.9 percent) and Tarrazu (14.3 percent). In the central part of the district, the largest single group of migrants come from Atenas (18.3 percent). Also present are sizeable contingents from Perez Zeledon (11.3 percent), Dota (8.5 percent), Tarrazu (8.5 percent), Acosta (6.6 percent) and Puriscal (5.6 percent). To the south, Puriscalenos far outnumber other groups of migrants with 37.9 percent of the total. Also present are migrants from Tarrazu (15.5 percent) and Acosta (13.8 percent).

The distinctness of these separate waves of migrants becomes even more evident when several additional facts are considered. For instance, 95.1 percent of the rather large contingent from Atenas settled in the central portion of the district. Two of the cantons bordering on Atenas - Palmares and Naranjo - sent a small group of 17 migrants to Pejibaye. Of these, 16 first settled in the central part of the district.
Table 17. Places of Birth of Migrants According to Area of Settlement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Las Mesas a (North)</th>
<th>Pejibaye b (Central)</th>
<th>El Aguila c (South)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puriscal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desamparaditos</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercedes Sur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarrazu</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acosta</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Dota</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perez Zeledon</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alajuela</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Ramon</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Atenas</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Barrio Mercedes</td>
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<td>Naranjo</td>
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<td>Heredia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guanacaste</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puntarenas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Includes San Marcos and San Gabriel.
b. Includes Barrio Nuevo, Achiotal, Gibre, Zapote, and San Miguel.
c. Includes San Martin, La Trinidad, Las Cruces, and Veracruz.
Those born in a yet a fourth canton located in the northwestern Valle Central, San Ramon, settled almost in their entirety in the Las Mesas region. Proportionately, there are twelve times as many San Ramonense in the northern part of the district than there are in the central part, and nineteen times as many as in the southern part. On the other hand, migrants from Dota and Acosta are found predominantly in central and southern Pejibaye, where they are three and eight times more numerous, respectively, than in the north. Puriscalenos form an important element of the migration stream of all three areas; but they are most important in the El Aguila region where their proportion of migrants is seven times greater than in the central portion of Pejibaye, and twice that in the north. Finally, 72.7 percent of the migrants born in other parts of Perez Zeledon first settled in the central part of the district, although on a proportional basis they are about equally numerous in the south.

It is somewhat more difficult to follow the specific migratory paths of individuals between the time they departed their home communities and the time they arrived in Pejibaye. To aid in the discovery of possible regularities in these movements, Tables 18-20 were constructed. These tables list the last residences of migrants prior to their move to Pejibaye. They are ordered according to time of arrival and area of settlement.
Table 18. Place of Last Residence of Migrants to Pejibaye: 1942-1951.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Las Mesas (North)</th>
<th>Pejibaye (Central)</th>
<th>El Aguila (South)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarrazu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacuar/Reyes</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Total</td>
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</table>

a. Includes San Ramon Norte and Quebradas.
b. Includes General Viejo.
c. Includes San Pablo and San Juan Bosco.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Las Mesas (North)</th>
<th>Pejibaye (Central)</th>
<th>El Aguila (South)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td><strong>Acosta</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Turrubares</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Pacuar/Reyes&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Barrio Mercedes</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Cartago</strong></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Puntarenas</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Banana Zone</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>102&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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a. The unit listed is from the pueblo of Quebradas.
b. Includes General Viejo.
c. Includes El Ceibo, San Juan Bosco, San Carlos and San Pedro.
d. The last residences of an additional 13 units are unknown.
Table 20. Place of Last Residence of Migrants to Pejibaye: 1966-1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Las Mesas (North)</th>
<th>Pejibaye (Central)</th>
<th>El Águila (South)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Puriscal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turrubares</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Perez Zeledon</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Isidro</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Palmares/Repunta</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Quizarra/Hermosa&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Alajuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Ramon</td>
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<td>Puntarenas</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Includes La Division, Santa Cruz and Caanan.
<sup>b</sup> Includes only General Viejo.
<sup>c</sup> Includes San Rafael, Pacuarito, San Augustin and San Pablo.
<sup>d</sup> The last residences of an additional 11 units are unknown.
A quick glance at Table 18 makes it quite obvious that most migrants during the colonization period were already residing not far distant from the frontier of Pejibaye just preceding their migration there. During this period, 85.3 percent of migrants came from pueblos elsewhere in Perez Zeledon, especially from the Palmares/Repunta area. It may be recalled that the first colonists came from these villages.

During the formative period, a major change occurred. The percentage of migrants from Perez Zeledon is almost halved, to 44.1 percent of the total. Thus, the geographic pattern of migration shifts from one predominantly of short-distance migration to one predominantly of long-distance migration, with the majority of migrants arriving directly from one of several distant locales. There is only one explanation for this shift - the construction of the landing strip in Pejibaye and, later, of better roads linking it to the rest of the nation. During the colonization period, only residents of nearby communities to the north were aware of the opening of a zone of colonization in Pejibaye, and only they could gain first-hand knowledge of its potential for settlement. Once the landing strip was built, however, this information soon became available to a much wider audience. This trend continued during the integration period as only 45.5 percent of migrants arriving during this time are from Perez Zeledon.

One other aspect stands out from the data in Tables 18-20. Just as the majority of the migrants born in Perez Zeledon first settled in the

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3 See Table 19, page 295.

4 See Table 20, page 296.
central part of the district, so too did those last residing elsewhere in the canton. Of the 105 migrants falling into this category, 73.3 percent migrated to the area surrounding the centro. Although there has been a tendency for this pattern to diminish over time, for all periods the percentages are quite high: 82.9 percent during the colonization period, 71.1 percent during the formative period, and 64 percent during the integration period. In fact, of the migrants who last resided in Palmares/Repunta, only one of thirty did not settle near the centro. Similarly, of the twenty-two migrants who last resided in the Quizarra/La Hermosa/General Viejo area, only four settled in the northern or southern parts of Pejibaye.

The logic underlying this pattern of migration becomes clear once it is recalled that the central part of the district is the area with the most level, fertile and well-watered lands and one therefore favored by early colonists. To some extent, the El Aguila region shares in these traits but the northern part of the district most certainly does not. Since migrants residing in Perez Zeledon got a "head start" in the settlement of the region due to their closer proximity to Pejibaye, it is not at all surprising that they should have chosen the most favored portions of the district. Throughout its history, in fact, the central part of Pejibaye has been the area with the greatest employment opportunities in both agricultural and non-agricultural fields, the area with the best educational system, and the area with the highest level of material comforts available.

Grouping together the data pertaining to migrant origins, places of
last residence, and intervening migrations reveals several significant patterns of geographical movement. Perhaps the earliest of these patterns to take shape, and the one involved in the original colonization of Pejibaye, is a "two step" movement from one of three cantons to the north of Perez Zeledon - Dota, Tarrazu or Acosta - to a basically frontier community in the vicinity of San Isidro, and from there to the central portion of Pejibaye. This pattern continued until well into the formative period and is depicted in Figure 7.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 7. Pattern of Migration From Dota - Tarrazu - Acosta.**

A second pattern of geographical displacement of migrants took shape during the colonization period but reached significant proportions only during the formative period. This pattern involves movement from Barrio Mercedes de Atenas to the frontier of Quizarra and from here to the central part of Pejibaye. Alternately, movement along this channel has been directly from Barrio Mercedes to Pejibaye. The first route was taken by migrants during the colonization period and by some migrants during the formative period; the second route was taken by most migrants...
during the formative period. With the end of this period, this channel of movement closed, but before it did all but one of the thirty-one migrants born in Barrio Mercedes used it to reach Pejibaye. It is diagramed in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Pattern of Migration From Barrio Mercedes de Atenas.

A third pattern of movement originates in two districts of Puriscal - Desamparaditos and Mercedes Sur - and actually involves two independent patterns. The first is a direct movement from Mercedes Sur to El Aguila. The second pattern is somewhat more complex and involves movement from Desamparaditos to Los Reyes, and from there either to the central portion of the district via Las Mesas, or directly to El Aguila. Both these patterns, shown in Figure 9, took place for the most part during the formative period.
A less important pattern, but one nevertheless used by at least eight migrants as a route of upward mobility, involves migration from one of the cantons to the north of Perez Zeledon - Atenas, Puriscal or Acosta - to the Banana Zone along the Pacific coast (usually Parrita), and from there to either the central or southern part of Pejibaye. Movement corresponding to this pattern is restricted to the formative period.
The final significant pattern of migration is the one largely responsible for the peopling of the Las Mesas area - direct movement from San Ramon de Alajuela to Las Mesas. This pattern was established late in the colonization period and is one still used by a few migrants during the integration period. It is depicted in Figure 11.
When the in-migration data thus far presented are aggregated with those pertaining to out-migration and viewed from a diachronic perspective, the result is shown in Figures 12-14. These figures represent the flow of migration during each of the three major phases of the historical development of Pejibaye.

5See below, pages 320-323.
Figure 12. Pejibaye: Migration Flows 1942-1951.
Figure 13. Pejibaye: Migration Flows 1952-1965.
Figure 14. Pejibaye: Migration Flows 1966-1977.
KEY

1. Pejibaye
2. Palmares/Repunta/Quizarra/Hermosa
3. San Isidro
4. Dota
5. Tarrazu
6. Acosta
7. Parrita
8. Puriscal
9. Atenas
10. San Ramon
11. San Jose
12. Guargaral/Jabillo
13. Maiz de Boruca/San Antonio de Terraba
Chain Migration

Clearly, the families and individuals who migrated to Pejibaye did not, for the most part, do so independently of one another. This is explicit in the fact that most migrants learned of Pejibaye and received resettlement assistance from relatives and friends who had previously migrated there. It is furthermore strongly implied by the limited number of geographic origins of migrants. Thus, a total of only six of Costa Rica's eighty cantons supply 58.9 percent of the sample of migrants. Viewed in a slightly different way, the district of Barrio Mercedes of Atenas had a population of only 1,004 inhabitants in 1950. Yet at least twenty-six families from this area eventually made their way to Pejibaye.

Most migrants, then, came to Pejibaye as parts of "migration chains" of varying length. Most of these chains are quite small, consisting of only two or three related families. Intermediate in size are chains composed of between eight and twelve migration units interrelated through ties of kinship and friendship. Chains of this length originate in Puriscal, Dota, and in the Palmares/Repunta region of Perez Zeledon. By far the largest migration chains are two composed of twenty or more families each. The best documented of these can be traced to its source - a man born in Barrio Mercedes de Atenas who later migrated to Quizarra and from there to Pejibaye. In both cases he was the first in the community to leave for the next destination. Thirty-four families later followed him to Pejibaye, including all but one of the groups originating in Barrio Mercedes. The second large chain consists of
those migrants born in the canton of San Ramon de Alajuela who settled in the Las Mesas area. It was not possible to trace this chain back to its "founder," nor was it possible to link together all the families involved in this migration into one large chain. This indicates the possibility that we may be dealing here with several smaller, independent chains, although this is unlikely.

The formation of migration chains is made possible only because some form of contact is typically maintained by the migrant with individuals still residing in former places of residence. This contact takes the form of writing or, more commonly, occasional visits. It was during these visits that information of Pejibaye was spread to potential migrants and the "seed was sown" for their later decision to move there. Although the majority of rural dwellers in Costa Rica are literate, few informants claimed that the written medium served as their major source of information.

In analyzing the formation of migration chains, the roles played by four aspects of Costa Rican society stand out. These four are the emotional importance and obligations attached to kinship relations; the nature of friendship ties; the social institution of the "cantina"; and the obligation to extend hospitality to visitors. Each of these four, as we shall see, has been instrumental in the creation of the large and small migration chains which channeled migrants to Pejibaye.

The role played by kinship ties is quite basic - they constituted the major link between the migrant and his former residences, especially with his natal community which was often located at some distance from
Pejibaye. Return visits were usually undertaken to spend time with close relatives, primarily parents. Naturally the subject of "life in Pejibaye" would crop up in conversation with kinsmen, and in this way information was spread among a small group of families.

But for knowledge of Pejibaye to spread beyond the bounds of the limited circle of kinsmen, it was necessary for the returning migrant to interact with other members of the community. This is where the nature of friendship relations and the cantina came into play. Friendship ties in Costa Rica tend to be quite diffuse, the major emotional attachments being reserved, by and large, for family members. Thus, while the Costa Rican male may have few or no close friends, he has many "friends" - males with whom he is on a first name basis, and with whom he is minimally acquainted. It is for this reason that return visits were seldom undertaken for the purpose of seeing "old friends," and it is for this reason that "old friends" were seldom singled out for special visits while the returning migrant was staying in his former community of residence.

However, while in his old community, the migrant would naturally spend some time wandering about town. On the streets he would encounter many of his old "comrades." They would inquire about his present life and the migrant would tell them about Pejibaye. He might chat in this way for several hours in the streets or in the pulperia. If he drinks, the migrant would sooner or later stop at the cantina. The activities which take place in this establishment have been described elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the conditions of life in Pejibaye would form one of the

6See chapter VI, page 155.
major topics of conversation among those present and in this way even complete strangers would hear of its existence. As a matter of fact, I personally witnessed migrants who had returned to Pejibaye from San Antonio de Terraba and Maiz de Boruca discussing their migration with other Pejibayense in the cantina there.

Thus, while returning to visit relatives in former residences, news of Pejibaye was disseminated by the migrant to kinsmen in their homes, and to other members of the community in the streets, in the pulperia and in the cantina. Among those who listened to the migrant, many paid little heed. Others, however, had been thinking of moving themselves and marked Pejibaye firmly in their minds as a potential destination.

But what, it may be asked, eventually led them to decide to migrate to Pejibaye and in this way join a migration chain to the area? More than anything else, it was the presence of a relative or friend already living in Pejibaye which accounts for this decision.7 Were the individual satisfied with life in the community, it is not likely that he would consider leaving it. At the same time, there was something in what he had heard of Pejibaye that led him to believe that this was a place in which he could prosper. Of course, there were many other rural areas in Costa Rica with potential similar to that of Pejibaye. But of these, it was of Pejibaye that the individual had the best knowledge, and it was in Pejibaye that he had relatives and friends.

More than the mere presence of acquaintances, however, it was the expectation that they would receive him warmly and hospitably that led

7See below, page 329.
the potential migrant to actually undertake the final move. In adjusting to life in a new community, the migrant needs immediately to secure shelter, to find a job, and to acquire the knowledge with which to go about doing this. In Pejibaye he could count upon the hospitality and assistance of even the most distant former acquaintance in undertaking these tasks. Thus, while the presence of kinsmen and friends in Pejibaye may not account for the decision to migrate it does, in large measure, account for the decision to choose Pejibaye as the destination. And it was in this manner that migration chains to the area came into being.

Induced Migration

We saw in the last section that the formation of migration chains took place in a somewhat haphazard fashion. While it is true that migrants who had experienced upward mobility in Pejibaye went to some trouble to communicate this information to close relatives in an effort to "spread the wealth" among the family group, they did not usually go out of their way to do so to other members of the community. Non-relatives usually learned of Pejibaye only through chance encounters with returning migrants and not through any intentional effort by the latter.

This is not, however, true in all cases in which non-relatives followed the lead of previous migrants in coming to Pejibaye. It may be recalled that in the early and middle phases of the area's settlement, when population was sparse, colonists were eager to see others join them on the frontier. In part, this was due to the need for labor with which
to exploit the large land holdings that a small number of colonists had acquired during the early days of Pejibaye's colonization. Not content to let "nature take its course," some of these men actually returned to their former residences and convinced former acquaintances to migrate to Pejibaye on the promise of wage employment on their fincas. This type of purposeful intervention in the migration process is what I refer to as "induced-directed" migration or, for the sake of brevity, simply as "induced" migration. Of course, all migration is induced in the sense that it is the outcome of factors which lead the individual to depart for some other community. But what distinguishes "induced" migration is that the destination of the migrant was predetermined beforehand by other individuals or, as we shall see, by institutions.

At least five hacendados in Pejibaye were discovered to have acted as the catalysts in this type of migration. One of these was Jesus Mesen, founder of the pueblo of Pejibaye, who brought in peones from Repunta and Palmares. Another was the man responsible for the formation of the large migration chain from Barrio Mercedes de Atenas and Quizarra who also settled near the centro and who secured peones primarily from Quizarra. Yet a third was a man who bought a large finca in Achiotal and induced peones from his former residences of San Pablo and Los Reyes to come work on it. The fourth and fifth men jointly operated a finca in Gibre and brought with them peones from La Hermosa. 8 In addition, several informants claim to have migrated to Pejibaye to work for still

8 All of these men arrived in Pejibaye prior to 1952.
other _patrones_, although these _patrones_ have long since departed the scene.

Induced migration of this type had some effect upon the intensity of migration to Pejibaye, although it is difficult to state precisely how great this effect was. Only nine men who came to Pejibaye as _peones_ in the employ of _hacendados_ were located in the area, although each of the five men cited above were responsible for the in-migration of at least ten _peones_ each, a figure agreed upon by _patrones_ and _peones_ alike. This figure is not very significant in terms of the overall number of migrants who entered Pejibaye during the colonization and formative periods. But the indirect effect induced migration may have had upon stimulating movement to the area is potentially much greater. Many men worked as _peones_ for a short time in Pejibaye. Later, they returned to their former residences or migrated elsewhere. It is quite possible that they, in turn, spread news of the area to yet other potential migrants and some of these later appeared in Pejibaye. Although this cannot be verified, it is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility.

In recent years a second form of induced migration has had a significant impact upon the intensity of migration to Pejibaye. Rather than being directed to the area by other individuals, the migrants involved in this form have been directed to the area by institutions - agencies of the central government of Costa Rica. In the sample of migrants from the integration period, almost one-half (41.8 percent) had been sent to Pejibaye by either the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the _Banco Nacional_, or by any one of several other government agencies active
in the district. In view of the sharp decline in in-migration experienced by Pejibaye in comparison with previous phases of her development, this type of institutional induced migration acquires added importance in terms of its contribution to the overall migration stream.

Thus, migration to Pejibaye has never been entirely spontaneous but has been intentionally stimulated, first, by individuals and, later, by institutions with a vested interest in seeing certain types of people settle in the region. During the colonization and formative periods, the type of person sought was the peon whose labor was needed to efficiently exploit the recently cleared farmlands of the district. During the integration period, it was teachers, health workers, bankers and extension agents who were induced to come to Pejibaye.

**Intra-District Migration**

Ever since Pejibaye was first settled, some amount of population redistribution has been going on entirely within the confines of the district. In 1945, for example, Rafael and Dolores Elizondo, after a brief sojourn in Gibre, left for El Aguila where they founded the first colony in the southern part of Pejibaye. A few years later they were joined by Lolo Vargas who had originally come to Pejibaye as a peon of Jesus Mesen. In 1956, a man settled in Achnotal. Over the course of the next twenty years he moved first to Desamparados, then to the centro, then to Zapote and, finally, back to the centro a second time. Another man migrated to the centro from San Isidro in 1967. In the next decade he moved to Barrio Nuevo, back to the centro, to La Sierra, and then to Barrio Nuevo a second time.
Most Pejibayense have not moved about the district to the degree shown by the last two individuals cited above. Yet once a migrant arrives in Pejibaye there is no assurance that he will not search around for a more advantageous residence. At times, this translates into leaving the district entirely. At other times, it involves relocation within the district itself. Of the 218 families interviewed during the course of fieldwork, 106 or 48.6 percent had, at one time or another, migrated from one pueblo in Pejibaye to another located within the same district.

With two exceptions, however, intra-district migration follows no coherent pattern, nor has it had any systematic effect upon the distribution of population in Pejibaye. These two exceptions involve the centro, which during the past twenty-five years has gained population at the expense of other parts of the district, and Gibre which appears to have lost population, in great part, to the centro itself. Thus, of the seventeen documented cases of out-migration from Gibre, thirteen left for the centro, while the other four departed the district entirely.

What has taken place in Gibre is a growth in land concentration coupled with an increase in absentee ownership as hacendados have relocated their families in growing numbers to the centro to take advantage of the conveniences there, as well as the better educational opportunities for their children. Over the past decade Gibre has actually experienced a decline in its population. Because of this decline its escuela, which has operated continuously since 1960, was scheduled to be shut down in 1978 because the number of students enrolled fell below the minimum operating requirements.
The centro, on the other hand, has experienced an opposite fate. Ever since it was first founded in 1952, it has acted as the major pole of attraction for Pejibayense living elsewhere in the district. As noted in chapter VI, the centro is the major commercial center in the area and it is here that most governmental services are concentrated. In addition, the district's only colegio is located here, giving it an added attraction to Pejibayense with adolescent children. When Jesus Mesen offered town lots for sale in 1952, a number of individuals bought as much prime land as they could afford, foreseeing the growth here of Pejibaye's major town. During the formative period, a number of pulperias, bodegas and other commercial establishments were established in the centro, but the size of its population remained relatively small. Only in the last decade has this changed as more and more families, predominantly upper and middle class families, have moved to the centro to take advantage of the many services offered only in this pueblo.

Table 21 documents migration to the centro over time.

See page 135.
Table 21. Migration to the Centro of Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Pejibaye</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>105(^b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Includes only the densely populated part of the pueblo of Pejibaye which extends from the site of the colegio to the Rio Pejibaye.

b. Of this total, only 62 families continue to reside in the centro at present.

Notice that the majority of migrants to the centro originate in other parts of the district - this in spite of the fact that most government employees took up residence here also, and most of these originate outside Pejibaye. Clearly, the extraordinary commercial, recreational and educational development of the centro made it a very attractive place in which to live for other Pejibayense residing in less developed pueblos. However, this development was not so extraordinary as to attract large numbers of people from outside the district, people residing closer to pueblos at a similar level of development.

At the same time, Table 21 demonstrates that most migration to the centro (68.6 percent) took place following 1966. This is not simply an error due to the overrepresentation of more recent migrants in the sample, but corresponds to the consensus view of Pejibayense themselves. Informants note, for example, that many of the contemporary town
structures had not yet been built in 1966. In that year there were, in fact, a number of ranchos remaining in the centro. But by the beginning of the integration period this pueblo had apparently reached a "critical density" in terms of its economic development and as services increased dramatically in subsequent years, so too did its population.

The reasons given for moving to the centro reflect its status as the social, political and economic hub of the district, as well as the specific trajectory of its evolution. These are given in Table 22. Included in this table are migrants both from within the district and from outside it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 22</th>
<th>Motives for Migration to the Centro of Pejibaye.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two major points emerge from the data presented in Table 22. The first is that although only thirteen individuals from outside the district migrated to Pejibaye from 1942-1977 to take advantage of business opportunities\(^{10}\) - and two of these settled in Las Mesas - a total of

\(^{10}\)See Table 11, page 258.
thirty-one migrated to the centro alone to open pulperias, tiendas, bodegas, panaderias and cantinas, or to offer their services as sastres, carpinteros and carreteros. Thus, the growth of Pejibaye's population and its growing prosperity led to a greater commercial development than might be supposed taking into consideration only the figures dealing with migrants from outside the district boundaries. These developments also had a greater effect upon population movement than the inter-district migration data indicate. Knowledge of local conditions was more readily available to those already residing in Pejibaye, and this to a large extent accounts for their being able to take greater advantage of these opportunities than were individuals living in more distant locales.

A second point which emerges from these data is that with the growth of the centro people began migrating, albeit over short distances, for other than economically related reasons for the first time in Pejibaye's history. Chief among these reasons are the conveniences of life in the centro and the greater educational opportunities available to one's children. The increasing importance of these non-economic motivations to migrate serves as a clear signal that during the formative period the frontier phase of Pejibaye's history was drawing to a close and that by the end of the integration period it was already a thing of the past.

Out-Migration

At all phases in its development, Pejibaye has witnessed some degree of out-migration as in-migrants decided that their future lay elsewhere or as native-born Pejibayense faced serious obstacles to their economic
advancement. Based upon interviews with returning out-migrants (26), with their relatives (42) and with close friends (22), a total of ninety cases of out-migration from Pejibaye were documented. The destinations of these out-migrants fall into three major categories: frontier areas, other rural areas and urban areas. The percentages of each are presented in Table 23.

Table 23. Destinations of Out-Migrants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frontier</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular destinations of out-migrants from Pejibaye have been frontier areas to the south of the district, and urban areas to the north. The frontier destinations are concentrated in the canton of Buenos Aires - Maiz de Boruca, San Antonio de Terraba, Guargaral and Javillo. These account for 68.6 percent (24) of frontier out-migrants. Of the urban destinations, San Isidro with 63.4 percent (26) of urban out-migrants and San Jose with 22 percent (9) are the preferred areas.

In terms of the motives underlying out-migration, our evidence is less sound, though equally clear. Frontier out-migrants were following the same strategy as did in-migrants during the early phases of Pejibaye's own life cycle. Predominantly landless or nearly landless peones and
campesinos, they migrated to the frontier in search of land or better paying wage labor. Migrants to other rural areas consist primarily of return migrants who had failed to achieve their goals in Pejibaye, and of individuals attracted by business opportunities or agricultural wage employment. Urban migrants, on the other hand, were drawn to the cities largely by the expectation of securing better paying jobs and, to a somewhat lesser extent, to more thoroughly educate oneself or one's children.

Through time, there is a more and more pronounced tendency to migrate to cities rather than to either the frontier or other rural areas of Costa Rica. This is a reflection of two factors: first, the increasing level of education received by Pejibayense as a result of the development of a more efficient educational system in the district and, along with a higher level of education, a higher level of aspirations; and, second, the disappearance of frontiers as their settlement nears completion. This is a trend which is not restricted to Pejibaye, but is national in scope. Until the last decade the predominant flow of migration in Costa Rica has been directed to the colonization of unsettled frontiers (Sandner 1962; Bermudez M. y Gomez B. 1970). But as these frontiers have shrunk, a strong rural-urban flow has come to take the place of the rural-frontier one (Zumbado Jimenez y Raabe Cercene 1976).

At the same time, the fact that Pejibayense have colonized frontiers to the south links Pejibaye firmly to the colonization of the entire southern part of the nation which originated in the Valle Central beginning in the 1840's. The first waves of this movement were directed
to the settlement of Puriscal, Dota, Acosta and Tarrazu. By the 1860's advance colonists reached the northern Valle de El General, although full-scale colonization of this region did not begin until after 1936. From the northern Valle de El General, Pejibaye was, in turn, colonized beginning in 1942. Within a decade, advance colonists from Pejibaye and other parts of the central portion of the valle were beginning colonization activities to the south. At each step in this long-term process, it was the disappearance of free lands, the decline in soil fertility as a result of frontier agriculture, and population increase coupled with the accentuation of the latifundio-minifundio complex which led colonists ever southward. In Pejibaye these features, although not so developed as in previous fronts of colonization, nevertheless have taken root and have led to the same result - out-migration.

The Causes of Migration

In chapter IX, it was demonstrated that most migration to Pejibaye has been economically motivated. Migrants were attracted to the district by the desire to obtain land, by the availability of employment in agriculture and other fields, and by the opportunities for business investment in an area of growing population, and growing prosperity. Although the importance of specific economic factors varies over time, the economic basis of migration does not.

See Sandner (1964) and Margolis (1977).
Thus, it would appear that we have already segregated the "causes" of migration, these causes being synonymous with the personal motivations verbally reported by informants. To settle upon this interpretation, however, would be somewhat naive and more than a trifle misleading; it would also be repeating the same methodological error made in many migration studies, which assume that migration is a completely rational behavior, and that migrants are fully cognizant of their self-motivations (see Hawley 1950; Goldscheider 1971). As we shall shortly see, migration to Pejibaye was not quite as rational as this interpretation would imply, nor was it so directly a function of differential economic opportunities, real or perceived, between donor communities and Pejibaye, as the push-pull and cost-benefit models would imply.

This study of intra-rural migration and frontier colonization in Costa Rica is not the first to have been made nor, perhaps, will it be the last. Mention has been made several times previous to the valuable research undertaken in the late 1950's by the German geographer Gerhard Sandner (1959, 1961, 1962, 1964). As in the present study, the areas dealt with by Sandner consisted of regions of recent colonization. Here is what he had to say concerning the factors underlying migration to the frontier:

The cause of the internal migrations and the colonization of continuous surface areas cannot be explained simply and solely by the country's high birth rate, nor by the fact that the Valle Central reached an extraordinary demographic density since beginning in the last century ... the most densely populated zones, and those in which the property is most divided provide the greatest number of emigrants but there is no direct relationship between natural demographic
increase and its components according to sex or age, on the one hand, and the intensity of migration, on the other ... The recent colonization of the virgin jungle of Costa Rica can be explained, in the final analysis, by the mobility of certain groups of the population influenced by economic, sociological, and psychological factors. While there is an abundance of unutilized land, factors of small importance can, and will, cause internal migrations of greater or lesser magnitude. (1962:144-145).

These "certain mobile groups" Sandner speaks of consist of peones and poor campesinos, groups whose ties to the land have been largely severed, and whose stake in the status quo is small. Motivated largely by the desire to free themselves from economic bondage to the patron, they have always been quick to seize any opportunity, no matter how slim, to establish themselves as independent cultivators or self-employed businessmen.

The marginality of individuals of this type is the result of several long-term forces which have led to the monopolization of wealth, resources, and political power in the hands of a small minority of the population throughout Latin America, and to somewhat lesser extent, in Costa Rica also (Feder 1971). The relationship of this structural configuration to rural out-migration in Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Costa Rica was explored by R. Paul Shaw (1976:104-105) who concluded that:

... an uneven distribution of labor to land resources in combination with relatively high rates of population growth is an important influence in Latin American rural migration ... high proportions of land held by latifundistas are more significantly related to rates of out-migration than proportion of the rural population centralized on minifundios in both the within- and between-country analyses. This finding conforms to the theoretical model in that it implies that dominance
of the rural-agricultural labor, land, and credit market by latifundistas affects the income-earning opportunities of not only those on minifundios but also the landless employee class.

The implication of these findings is that much migration in Latin America, including Costa Rica, is not voluntary, but to a large degree, forced mobility. This would seem to support the "adjustment-to-stress" approach which assumes that "motivation to migrate (is) initiated by the emergency of noxious or unsatisfactory conditions ..." (Shaw 1976:52) and "unless motivation to migrate exists, serious decisions about whether or not to migrate are not likely to occur" (Shaw 1976:36). In Costa Rica, the motivation to migrate has been strong among large segments of the rural population for well over a century. Demographers, in fact, estimate that at least twenty percent of Costa Ricans have made the long-term change of residence between cantons, and intra-cantonal migration must surely be even more pronounced (Alberts 1970).

The lack of strong social integration into the community structure of their former residences, and their peripheral access to the major economic means of production, was a theme reiterated time and again by in-migrants to Pejibaye. Many spoke at length, and with a good deal of bitterness, of their former poverty, and of the humiliation of being constantly at the beck and call of the patron. To paraphrase the response of one informant when questioned as to his reasons for migrating:

Why did I migrate? Because in San Isidro de Coronado I had nothing; I was poor and worked as a peon. And there, the differences between ricos and pobres are much greater than they are here, where everyone is treated more or less equally. In San Isidro, to go to a dance, or any other social event, one had to wear a tie. And how many pobres could afford to buy
a tie? All the ricos belonged to country clubs and looked down upon the pobres as if they were cattle. There was no way for a pobre to better himself there; all the doors were closed in your face ... One day, I heard that a family was going to move to El General, so I went and asked them if they'd take me along ...

Another informant recounted his life in San Rafael de Heredia in the following terms:

Every day, you'd have to be in the fields before the break of dawn, and you'd have to walk for several hours before even reaching them - and sometimes the patron wouldn't even bother showing up, so it'd be a complete waste of time ... But you could never complain, because if you did, you could easily be replaced. It was always "yes sir" and "no sir" and "can I do anything else for you sir?"

Responses such as these were not at all uncommon; many of the in-migrants to Pejibaye stated that they had left their former residences simply because: "There, I had nothing ... and I heard that things were better here."

The economic marginality of in-migrants to Pejibaye prior to migration is furthermore demonstrated by Table 24, which aggregates the several residential shifts of 110 informants who were employed in agriculture previous to one or more of their migrations. Over 80 percent of all moves were made by the individual while he was in the status of peon/lesseer. Clearly, these data support the thesis that migration is the result of "an uneven distribution of labor to land resources" and that the individuals who migrate are those economically marginal in the community.
Table 24. Occupational Status at Time of Migration (Agricultural Sector)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Units</th>
<th>Number Moves</th>
<th>Campesino</th>
<th>Percent Moves</th>
<th>Peon/Leaser</th>
<th>Percent Moves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is under conditions of socioeconomic marginality such as this that seemingly trivial factors are sufficient to precipitate large-scale migration to areas such as Pejibaye. Often the mere presence of a kinsman, or even of a distant acquaintance, was sufficient cause to crystalize in the mind of the individual the decision to leave his former community and migrate to Pejibaye. In other words, even the slightest nudge was enough to turn a potential migrant into an actual migrant. Many Pejibayense fit into this category and all give economic motives for their decision to migrate (e.g., land, employment). I suspect, however, that in many cases these are ex post facto rationalizations and that oftentimes the individual was not precisely aware of how great were the opportunities in Pejibaye prior to migrating there. Surely, not even personal reconnaissance would yield a completely satisfactory picture of life in Pejibaye, allowing the potential migrant to adequately compare economic opportunities there to those in his community of residence at the time. Thus, it appears that rather than migration being the result of a rational calculation of higher returns to be gained than costs involved and opportunities foregone, migration to Pejibaye was, in the final analysis, the result of "the emergence of noxious events" at place of origin. So noxious were these events that even mere heresay was a sufficient basis upon which to select a destination.
One example suffices to illustrate this point. "Paco" is living in Pejibaye and is doing quite well for himself. He owns a large finca and earns a decent livelihood at farming. After living in Pejibaye for several years, he returns briefly to his natal village to visit his parents who still reside there. While in town, he encounters "Berto" on the streets. Although not intimately acquainted with "Berto," "Paco" recognizes him on sight. The two chat for a while and "Paco" casually remarks: "Things are going well for me in Pejibaye. You should come down and visit the place sometime." Two months later "Paco," having returned to Pejibaye, hears an "upe" outside his front door and looks to see who is there. It's "Berto," come to accept the "invitation" made several months previous.

This is not an isolated case and it serves to illustrate the fact that "migration begets migration in a way not directly related to ... economic allure" (Browning and Feindt 1970:67). Most migrants had friends or relatives living in Pejibaye prior to migration there. It was through these individuals that they had gained initial knowledge of Pejibaye, and it was upon their aid that they could depend in adjusting to their new life upon arrival. That they would have migrated somewhere sooner or later is beyond question; most Pejibayense can very easily name several close relatives presently living in diverse parts of Costa Rica. That they migrated to Pejibaye is typically due to a combination of the facilitating presence of friends and relatives, the subjective evaluation of Pejibaye as more conducive to personal success than alternative destinations also marked by their presence, and fortuitous circumstances.
Several men, in fact, had not the slightest notion of what would later befall them when they first set out on the road that eventually led them to Pejibaye. Based upon nothing more than the reputation of Perez Zeledon as a "land of opportunity, a land of freedom," they packed their meager belongings and headed south, hoping for the best. After arriving in San Isidro, they reconnoitered the surrounding area and settled where they perceived conditions for upward mobility to be best. For some, things turned out well; but for many others, things must have turned out badly.

Thus, in order to make sense of what has taken place in Pejibaye, we must view it in the context of the larger society of which it is a part. In many rural areas of Costa Rica, forces at work for well over a century have created conditions conducive to out-migration. In chapter IV we saw how, beginning with the introduction of coffee into the national economy in the 1840's, great riches were accumulated by a small minority of the population who gained control of the productive resources of the country, while at their side was created a large class of landless peones.\textsuperscript{12} The birth rate of the population soared and has only diminished during the past two decades; this led to an increasing subdivision of small properties, further exacerbating this trend. These, in the final analysis, are the "causes" of migration to Pejibaye, leading to the "forced" mobility of certain groups of the population who became increasingly marginal, both socially and economically, in their home

\textsuperscript{12}See page 101.
communities. In a very real sense, then, the colonization of Pejibaye was determined by events that took place over a century ago, events that set in motion forces which only now are drawing to a climax. Given the high degree of residential mobility of Costa Ricans, it was only a matter of time before migrants would filter into Pejibaye; once they did, they brought friends and relatives in their wake.

**Migration and Social Change**

In the last section we saw that migration to Pejibaye can best be explained as a by-product of forces at work in other parts of the country. In other words, had things been "all well on the northern front," masses of impoverished colonists would never have made the long and arduous trek southward in search of land and a future. But things were far from well, with the result that any chance whatsoever for upward mobility was quickly grasped by the most desperate of the inhabitants of these regions. For some, this change lay in Pejibaye.

Nevertheless, the migration stream to Pejibaye has undergone a basic revision over the course of the past three and one-half decades. This revision can be explained only minimally by changes that have taken place in the agrarian social and economic structure of the areas that have traditionally served as the sources of migrants to Pejibaye. Heavy out-migration continues from Puriscal, Acosta and Dota; it continues from Tarrazu, Atenas, San Ramon and the northern Valle de El General. But these migrants are no longer coming in large numbers to Pejibaye. Instead, most are swelling the already crowded cities of the Meseta Central.
Thus, we must look to changes that have taken place in Pejibaye to explain changes in the migration stream directed to it. Migration involves a relationship between at least two geographical points and cannot be fully understood by reference only to either the one or the other. While the factors leading to out-migration from the donor areas are necessary conditions for the generation of a specific pattern of migration to Pejibaye, they are not sufficient conditions.

Table 25 outlines the major features of migration during each of the three major periods of Pejibaye's development, comparing these to the given social, economic, and environmental features of life at corresponding points in time. The basis of community organization and its historical evolution have been explained elsewhere; let us now turn to the question of how, given a high rate of rural out-migration elsewhere in Costa Rica, this community organization has acted to attract migrants of specific types and numbers to Pejibaye between the years 1942-1977.

Table 25. Historical Comparison of Migration Pattern to Community Structure of Pejibaye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Migration</th>
<th>Community Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-1951</td>
<td>low rate of in-migration</td>
<td>jungle environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>light out-migration</td>
<td>inadequate road system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peones and campesinos</td>
<td>virtual isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predominate</td>
<td>dispersed settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>migrants motivated solely</td>
<td>low population density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by the desire to obtain land or agricultural</td>
<td>subsistence farming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employment</td>
<td>no commercial activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>family groups predominate</td>
<td>egalitarian social relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>short-distance migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from other parts of canton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 See chapters VI-VIII.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Migration</th>
<th>Community Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952-1965</td>
<td>heavy in-migration</td>
<td>area under cultivation increasing dramatically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moderate to heavy out-migration</td>
<td>growing integration with the national society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heavy turnover of population</td>
<td>plane service initiated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peones and campesinos continue to predominate, but merchants and artisans</td>
<td>road building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>make their appearance in the migration stream</td>
<td>growing population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>migrants still motivated predominantly by land and agricultural employment</td>
<td>development of community organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opportunities, but some migrants now attracted by business considerations</td>
<td>some government services provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>family groups predominate</td>
<td>commercial boom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long-distance migration for slight majority of immigrants</td>
<td>increasing wealth differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emergence of the pulpero and bodeguero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1977</td>
<td>low rate of in-migration</td>
<td>breakdown of egalitarian social organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heavy out-migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>net out-migration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peones and campesinos unimportant in migration stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>merchants, artisans, and non-agricultural laborers predominate, as do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>government employees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>individual migrants more numerous than family units</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long-distance migration still predominates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intra-district migration directed to centro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>deforestation nearly completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>integration with national society nearly completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>continued road building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bridge construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>regular bus service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>population density high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>full government services provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>growing commercial orientation of agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cattle and coffee emerging as dominant factors in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>local economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>construction of coffee beneficio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>greater degree of land consolidation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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The changes that occurred in the overall character of the migration stream between 1942-1977 are changes which stem directly and logically from changes that had taken place in the community organization of Pejibaye during this interval of time; migration, in other words, appears to be a function of the configuration of community social patterns. During the colonization period (1942-1951), Pejibaye constituted a recently opened frontier zone. The intensity of in-migration was low because its isolation, total lack of commercial and governmental services, and thick forest cover made it an unappealing place in which to live. Only the most ambitious or, alternately, those with the least to lose were willing to risk migrating there. Pejibaye's only attraction whatsoever at this time was the existence of unclaimed baldios. This explains why the migration stream was composed solely of land hungry peones and campesinos; members of other classes had no rational motive for migrating to Pejibaye, nor were they so badly off in their home communities that they would be driven to seriously consider taking such drastic action. These colonists were not youths seeking excitement and adventure; they were middle-aged men and women seeking a better life for their families, and they came to Pejibaye as parts of such units. Because of the isolation of the frontier, news of its settlement spread slowly and, at first, only as far as the nearest fully colonized regions in the northern part of the Valle de El General. For some, frontier life was more than they had bargained for and they rather quickly returned to their former residences. Others left Pejibaye after a short sojourn when they realized that the best lands had already been claimed,
and continued on to more distant frontiers.

During the formative period (1952-1965) Pejibaye changed and so too did the pattern of migration. By 1952, at least some services were available in the district: a pulpería, an escuela, and postal service. More and more forest had been cleared as the population had grown in small increments. Life was not nearly so isolated nor nearly so difficult as it had been several years previous. At the same time, air communication with San Isidro and San Jose was initiated. This gave the relatives and friends of early colonists, to whom news of Pejibaye had slowly been filtering, the opportunity to visit the region with little effort on their part. Together, these factors created a heavy wave of in-migration when compared to earlier and later periods of time. As always, however, some found Pejibaye not to their liking and returned to their previous residences while others, noting the rapidly decreasing opportunities in agriculture, continued on to new frontiers. As before, most of the colonists were peones and campesinos in search of land; although this commodity was no longer free, land prices were much lower than in other parts of the country.

Because its population was growing rapidly, while ever larger quantities of grain were being marketed in San Isidro, many men saw in Pejibaye the opportunity for profit in the field of commerce. During the formative period, the composition of the migration stream was altered slightly as a small but growing contingent of merchants, and others drawn by commercial opportunities, began to supplement the peones and campesinos who continued to form the bulk of in-migrants. As before,
most newcomers arrived as members of family groups, largely because they were motivated by many of the same considerations as during the colonization period, and arrived at similar points in the life cycle. With the provision of air service, however, they were coming from more distinct parts of the country.

The major socioeconomic feature of Pejibaye during the integration period (1966-1977) is that in certain important respects it began to resemble more and more the areas of out-migration to the north. Opportunities for upward mobility in agriculture had all but vanished as land prices soared beyond the reach of men of modest economic means. Agricultural employment declined as many large landowners converted their fincas to pasture after 1967, and cattle raising absorbs less labor than does farming. Because of this development, there occurred a sharp decline in the number of peones and campesinos migrating to Pejibaye. Although life was not greatly improved for them in the areas to the north over what it had been a decade or two previous, no longer was it sufficiently better in Pejibaye for them to undertake migration there. Since these had formed the bulk of migrants during earlier periods, immigration to Pejibaye slowed to a trickle. At the same time, out-migration remained heavy for precisely the same reasons that agriculturally employed in-migrants were no longer attracted to Pejibaye - insufficient opportunities in this field of endeavor. While some men owned a great deal of land, others owned not enough. Subdivided among a group of heirs, large estates became medium ones, and medium estates became small ones. Within a generation, many properties were no longer of sufficient
dimension to support the families of their owners in satisfactory style. When this took place, some sought employment in alternative fields; others, however, left Pejibaye and sought their destiny elsewhere.

Still, there remained opportunities for upward mobility in other economic endeavors. With a large population, there was a great demand for the services of certain craftsmen. Merchants found the market for their wares as yet unsaturated. A coffee *beneficio* was built and this provided yet further employment opportunities. Thus, merchants, artisans, and unskilled laborers continued to migrate to Pejibaye in the same, or slightly larger numbers than before.

Increasing government intervention also had a rather direct influence upon migration to Pejibaye; one of the largest single sources of integration period in-migrants consists of the many teachers, bankers and other civil servants it has dispatched to the area. Because many of these are young adults recently graduated from college, individual migrants have, since the beginning of this period, outnumbered family units in the migration stream.

Within the past decade the *centro* has furthermore developed as a major pole of migrant attraction in the district, drawing population from nearby *pueblos*, particularly from Gibre. Part of the reason for this is that governmental services such as health, credit, and educational facilities (the *colegio*) are centralized in this location. The *centro*, therefore, offers more comforts and services than does any other *pueblo* in the district, and because of this important population movements were
stimulated by other than economic factors for the first time in the history of Pejibaye. 14

As noted previously, the pattern of community life, and thus, the pattern of migration which emerged in Pejibaye during the integration period is largely the result of government intervention in the area. This intervention was, in the first instance, an expression of the political philosophy of the "welfare state" which has dominated Costa Rican politics since the Revolution of '48. It was also, however, a by-product of the evolution of true representative democracy in the country during the past three decades. In this sense, the rapid population expansion which Pejibaye experienced during the formative period began to pay dividends even before this period had ended. In an effort to attract the votes of Pejibayense, the government began providing them with more and better services, and investing large sums of money in infrastructure improvement. This effectively ended Pejibaye's frontier isolation as roads and bridges were built and, after 1965, year-round bus service begun to San Isidro. The end of this isolation, in turn, allowed the development of wealth and social differences among Pejibayense as some profited more than did others through utilization of the newly created opportunities for upward mobility offered by this increased contact with external market forces. In other words, population increase as a result of in-migration was as much responsible for the development of contemporary social and economic patterns, as these were

14 Particularly notable during this period of time has been the movement of ricos to the centro.
for the character of migration.

In the final analysis, then, migration to Pejibaye has been largely the result of the several forces which have severed large numbers of Costa Ricans in the Valle Central and elsewhere from effective control of land and other resources. This economic marginality has created a high degree of geographic displacement as masses of people have migrated from place to place in search of conditions conducive to their economic betterment. Whether or not they eventually migrated to Pejibaye, which segments of this group did so, and in what numbers, on the other hand, has been largely a function of the community structure of Pejibaye. This community structure has changed markedly during the past thirty-six years; so too has the pattern of migration in Pejibaye. Because the underlying causes of rural out-migration have not been alleviated much over this period of time, population movement is as strong as ever in Costa Rica. But because its community structure has changed, this mobile population is no longer being deflected in the direction of Pejibaye.
XI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has documented the historical development of the district of Pejibaye from the days of its initial settlement to the present. As we have seen, a number of important and basic changes have transpired during this period. In 1942, the whole of Pejibaye was nothing more than one vast "pura montaña" (wilderness). Malaria-ridden, jungle covered, and inhabited by dangerous beasts, it was little fit for human habitation. But in that year, several lone pioneers made their way to the heart of the district. During the next decade they struggled incessantly to wrest the virgin jungle from the grip of nature and by their own efforts slowly shape the landscape to their liking. The greater were the changes wrought by man, the faster did the pace of change accelerate; few were willing to brave the hardships of the frontier, but many were eager to come once some measure of human control had been imposed upon the elements.

As more and more of the downtrodden masses of Costa Rican society flocked to the frontier, the social density of Pejibaye increased rapidly, culminating in the formation of towns beginning in 1952. Commercial enterprise blossomed in the succeeding years; pulperos plied their wares, and bodegueros did a brisk trade. Sastres, carreteros and carpinteros found a growing clientele for their services.
Migrants continued their headlong rush to Pejibaye, eager to share in the fortunes being made on the frontier. But time was against them; by 1960, land prices began to soar, and with this, the major lure of the frontier forever vanished. For the poorest of the newcomers, it was already too late, and most continued on to more distant frontiers, where other "Pejibayes" were being founded.

But for those who had been fortunate enough to have already established their "niche" in the new community, the future appeared bright. With a burgeoning population, Pejibaye could not for long be ignored by a government eager to gain the trust - and the votes - of its inhabitants. Schools were built, roads and bridges constructed, health care provided, and credit facilities established. Pejibaye had "come of age," emerging from the backwaters of national life into a position of full membership in the greater Costa Rican society.

This, briefly, is the story of Pejibaye; a story of dramatic social and economic change paralleled by an equally dramatic transformation of the flow of population to and from the district. As we have seen, these changes can be interpreted as the result of changes in the constraints under which Pejibayense have been forced to conduct their behavior; the actions both of external entities and the reactions of the vecinos have played an equal role in this social transformation. Throughout this period of rapid change, the framework of Costa Rican national culture has served as an element of continuity, linking together the disparate patterns of group behavior which have characterized Pejibayense society at different points in its evolution; but cultural norms and ideas have
been differently translated into concrete behavior as the material conditions of life have been altered.

One of the media through which these material conditions were transformed was the national political system of Costa Rica. Because it is a representative democracy, localities such as Pejibaye were given the means by which to exert a voice in the national decision-making process, and thus gain access to large sums of investment capital from outside the community. This capital was the critical element in Pejibaye's rapid economic growth; but it was gotten only through the individual and group initiative of Pejibayense.

Just as the transformation of the community environment of Pejibaye has been intimately related to forces and events taking place elsewhere in Costa Rica, so too has its flow of migration. The data supplied by Pejibayense strongly indicate that their initial decision to migrate was predicated not upon any positive evaluation of this locale as being more efficacious to future upward mobility, but upon their lack of access to productive resources in their former communities, and their consequent socioeconomic marginality. Thus, among Pejibayense, the decision to migrate and the choice of destination typically occurred as sequential yet separate steps in the decision-making process, findings supportive of the "adjustment-to-stress" position advocated by Wolpert (1965, 1966) and Shaw (1976).

\(^1\)Goldscheider (1971) makes the valuable suggestion that we study non-migrants, as well as migrants, to ascertain the differences between the two. With this, I wholeheartedly agree. See also Uhlenberg (1973).
As noted in chapter II, much migration research has traditionally focused upon the individual as the unit of analysis and has regarded migration as a form of "free mobility," where at least some individual choice is exercised. Yet if the findings of this study are correct, then it would seem that this viewpoint is in need of serious revision when applied to Costa Rica, and elsewhere in Latin America. The element of choice may have been operative in the decision as to where to migrate, but for most Pejibayense, not in the decision to migrate itself.

The idea of migration as constituting a form of free mobility is central to the cost-benefit frame of migration analysis, a recent offshoot of the more traditional push-pull scheme. Yet for Pejibayense, this model is applicable only after the initial decision to migrate had already been made. Thus, the choice of destination to a large degree followed the lines of least resistance with movement taking place toward those areas where relocation costs were least, and perceived benefits greatest. These conditions were met in those areas to which kin and friends had previously migrated, since these could help shoulder the initial costs of readjustment to the new socioeconomic milieu. It was furthermore through such personal contacts that information flows concerning the conditions of life in alternative destinations had previously been directed to potential migrants, a factor which restricted their choice to no small degree.

See pages 24-25.

In fact, both Speare (1971) and Shaw (1974) found that the complicated calculations made by cost-benefit analysts in no way correspond to the actual decision-making process of the migrants they studied. To say the least, this raises serious doubts as to the validity of this model.
Thus, the evidence from Pejibaye supports the main body of previous research, which emphasizes the role of relatives and friends as adjustment alleviating mechanisms, and as the primary medium through which information of alternative residences is channeled to the potential migrant. However, in Pejibaye, relatives and friends were instrumental in the later social integration of the migrant to community life, a finding which contradicts the generally held belief that they retard such assimilation (see Brown et al. 1963; Wilkening et al. 1967; Rieger and Beegle 1974). There are three possible explanations for this lack of agreement with previous research results: either the cultural, social or economic contexts of migration in Pejibaye differ from those of earlier research locales. Of these, the most obvious is the social context. Thus, the studies of Brown et al. and Rieger and Beegle took place in cities, and the in-migrant group from a single donor community was significantly larger than was the case in Pejibaye. On the other hand, Wilkening et al. found the presence of relatives and friends to retard migrant assimilation in a former frontier area in Brazil, indicating that this can only be a partial explanation, and that further research is needed to clarify this point.

Because the choice of destination of migrants to Pejibaye was contingent not only upon the presence of relatives and friends, but also upon their perceptions of the opportunities available, the intensity and selectivity of migration responded to changes in the community structure.

\(^4\) See chapter II, pages 20-21.
of Pejibaye, as documented in chapters IX and X. Thus, the pattern of migration can be seen as part and parcel of the overall process of socioeconomic change, a claim often made, but seldom demonstrated in concrete and detailed fashion.

At the same time as the pattern of migration has responded to changes in community structure, so too has migration effected changes in this community structure. Only through the rapid increase in its population which Pejibaye experienced as a result of in-migration were the conditions created for a breakdown in the egalitarian basis of social relations. This took place as hacendados were able to clear greater portions of their land by exploiting the surplus labor supply which migration created, as bodegueros found a demand for their services, and as pulperos took advantage of the emergence of a sufficient market for their wares. Just as importantly, the changes wrought by government intervention in Pejibaye would never have been effected had not its population grown to politically attractive proportions.

All of these findings indicate the need to view migration as intimately related to other features of the total social system, rather than in isolation from them. Understanding the motives and behaviors of the individual is certainly a necessary ingredient of the successful migration study; but these behaviors cannot be understood unless the

5 In fact, the small trickle of campesinos and peones who continued to migrate to Pejibaye during the integration period, when opportunities in agriculture had all but vanished, may be a function of a delayed response to the opportunities of the previous formative period. See Lianos (1970, 1972) and O'Rourke (1972).
individual is placed within the context of the sociocultural system in which he operates. Because of this tight relationship between migration behavior and the social setting in which it is acted out, migration must be viewed as historically and situationally specific (see Goldscheider 1971; Flinn and Buttel 1975). The validity of this statement is underscored by demonstration of the fact that the migration behavior of Pejibayense can only be understood in light of the values basic to Costa Rican culture, and the socioeconomic contexts of donor and recipient communities.

Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of Pejibaye's character is its frontier heritage. As we saw in chapter II, a number of broad claims have been made concerning the effects of the frontier upon those who settle it. One of these is that the frontier exerts a strong "democratizing" influence upon the body of colonists, erasing or at least minimizing prior social differences, while at the same time encouraging popular participation in civic affairs. The most fundamental element of Turner's famous "frontier hypothesis," it is also the one most heavily criticized by his detractors. Among analysts of the Latin American frontier, for example, there is unanimity that this postulated democratization has not taken place, and that the final product of the frontier experience is a replication of the social structure of the homeland of the colonists. This is the conclusion reached for the Brazilian frontier of Itumbiara (Wilkening and Iutaka 1967; van Es et al. 1968),

6See chapter II, pages 29-40.
for that of Ouro Verde, also in Brazil (Margolis 1973), for the frontier of eastern Nicaragua (Taylor 1969) and for the Costa Rican frontier (Sandner 1962, 1964). 7

However, these conclusions were reached not through analysis of the frontier society, but upon the basis of life during the post-frontier period; in other words, the characteristics of the region once it had become fully or partially integrated into the national society. But is this a totally fair procedure?

Change, like all things in life, is relative and changes, once made, are never permanent. As we pointed out in our preliminary discussion of the frontier in chapter II, the degree of democratization that takes place seems to be related to two factors - the sociocultural backgrounds of the colonists, and the degree and length of isolation from the homeland. 8 Neither Brazil nor Nicaragua are notably "democratic" nations. For any strongly observable degree of democratization to have taken place on their frontiers would therefore require both a high degree of isolation from influences emanating from the homelands of colonists, and a long period of such isolation. Neither of these conditions are met in the frontiers studied by Wilkening and Iutaka, van Es et al., and Margolis in Brazil, nor in that studied by Taylor in Nicaragua. As planned colonization projects, all three were under the supervision of elements of the wider society from the very start.

7 Of these researchers, only Margolis addressed herself directly to the question of Turner's thesis.

8 See chapter II, pages 33-35.
What took place in Pejibaye during and immediately following the frontier phase of its development, on the other hand, tends to support the basic contention that the frontier acts as a social leveling mechanism. In Pejibaye a highly egalitarian society did take root during this period of time and, when necessary, colonists did spontaneously form their own local organizations to meet their own needs. In fact, these same tendencies toward the "loosening" of a formerly more rigid social class structure occurred on all major Costa Rican frontiers. Thus, although Sandner (1964) correctly points out that the frontier experience has not led to the development of important regional differences in Costa Rica, he does emphasize that one of the first things that took place on all recently settled frontiers was "the progressive disappearance of the differences which existed among the colonists prior to their emigration to the new zone; this phenomenon can be attributed to the decisive influence of the surroundings; to the isolation and equality of lifestyles" (1964:19).

But in Pejibaye, as along other Costa Rican frontiers, the period of isolation from external influences was too short for these tendencies either to advance very far, or to become fully institutionalized.

For example, the gathering of the vecinos to clear the jungle for a landing strip in 1952, the Junta Edificadora, and the Junta Progresista.

Author's translation.

Perhaps a better test of Turner's thesis would be the frontier of Costa Rica during the Spanish colonial era. Here, local government and egalitarianism developed as a result of poverty and long-term isolation from the motherland.
No sooner did integration with the national society commence than the egalitarian structure of Pejibaye began to crumble. This was due not so much to any reintroduction of cultural norms - these had not, in any case, changed in Pejibaye - but to the reestablishment of social and economic ties with the external society. With this development, social differentiation among the population proceeded rapidly. Even so, class distinctions are not nearly so sharp, nor nearly so rigid in Pejibaye at the present time as they are in some parts of Costa Rica.  

Thus, the case of Pejibaye does not, in its essentials, contradict the results of studies made of other frontiers in Latin America. But it does point out that in interpreting the effects of the frontier experience, we must not approach the matter in an "all or nothing" fashion. The experience of Pejibaye strongly suggests that some degree of democratization does occur on all frontiers. But this does not imply that subsequent events may not counteract this tendency. Needless to say, all frontiers sooner or later become post-frontiers. When this happens, their natural evolution usually leads them in a direction convergent with the areas from which the colonists had originated. Who, after all, would claim that contemporary big-city government in the United States is as democratic as was the town assembly of colonial New England?  

A second major criticism which has been leveled at the frontier hypothesis is its role as a "safety-valve" zone where even the least promising members of society encounter the proper conditions for upward mobility

\*12\* However, there are signs that class cleavages in Pejibaye are widening as time passes.
(see Shannon 1945; Margolis 1973). Yet the data from Pejibaye indicate in no uncertain terms that numerous economically marginal Costa Ricans did, in fact, succeed in utilizing the opportunities of the frontier to rise to economic heights undreamed of in their former communities. As demonstrated earlier, the degree of upward mobility experienced by the frontier migrant of Pejibaye was determined by two factors: his time of arrival, and the amount of capital with which he arrived on the frontier. To circumvent these restrictions most individuals, and more precisely, the poorest individuals, followed a pattern of "two step" migration from home community to frontier and then to another frontier. In this way, they climbed upward in stages rather than all at once, and themselves created the proper conditions for success by the time they arrived to a new frontier community for the second time.

Nevertheless, caution must be exercised in interpreting the meaning of these data. Most frontier migrants probably do not experience the fulfillment of their "rags-to-riches" dream. For the poorest of those who flee to any frontier, it would seem that no amount of effort would suffice to raise their status more than minimally. But for others, the frontier does indeed constitute an avenue of upward mobility, and to a much greater degree than would continued residence in their home communities. Many of those who came to Pejibaye as peones or poor campesinos, or had been such prior to their first frontier migration, are today hacendados, pulperos, or bodegueros. Had they not come to the

13 See chapter IX, pages 277-279.
frontier, it is highly unlikely that they would ever have risen above their humble origins.

Most assuredly, the success of these men gave hope to others who continued to search for their personal "El Dorado." The effects of this "psychological safety-valve" have indeed been far-reaching upon the evolution of Costa Rican institutions. Had massive out-migration from the Valle Central not taken place, it is likely that increasing demographic pressure and the socioeconomic marginalization of ever greater numbers of Costa Ricans would have led to widespread rural unrest, and perhaps to the toppling of the political, social and economic status quo. As it was, the frontier safety-valve allowed the release of these pent-up pressures, preventing the achievement of a critical density of revolution. It was always much easier for the Costa Rican government to legislate liberal land-claim laws, than to deal directly with the flaws inherent in the institutional structure of Costa Rican society.

On the other hand, the emergence of modern Costa Rican democracy after 1948 followed close on the heels of over a century of frontier expansion. Although it is beyond the bounds of this study to prove this claim one way or the other, it may be speculated that the frontier experience was critical in this development. One of the bulwarks of rebel support, for example, was the recently colonized zone of Perez Zeledon, and it was here that much of the fighting took place which ultimately secured the victory of the democratic forces.

Just as important as all this is what Pejibaye tells us about the developmental cycle of the frontier, and about what happens to the
frontier once it has become a post-frontier. As we have already seen, the frontier of Pejibaye passed through three major phases of development. The first of these was a period of initial settlement characterized by a slow transformation of the jungle into farmlands, a low level of material comforts, the formation of an egalitarian social organization, and a low rate of in-migration. The second phase of this cycle was a "boom" period marked by rapid commercial development, intensive deforestation, a very high rate of in-migration, and the growth of socio-economic differentiation among the body of colonists. During the third phase of the cycle, Pejibaye had definitely entered into the post-frontier period of its development. Its social structure assumed a more standardized and rigid form, opportunities for upward mobility had become negligible and its land became unable to absorb the natural increase of its population, with the result that a period of net out-migration had begun.

The first two phases of this cycle are perhaps typical of frontiers throughout the world, and most assuredly of those in Latin America - although their duration may vary considerably. What takes place during the third phase of this cycle, on the other hand, is something which differs from frontier to frontier, and about which it is impossible to predict simply on the basis of an area once having gone through the frontier experience. Many factors specific to the given frontier go into the making of post-frontier society. A number of these can be tentatively identified: the prior sociocultural backgrounds of the colonists; the length and degree of frontier isolation from external influences; the
intensity and nature which integration with the larger society ultimately assumes; the make-up of the larger society itself; the fertility of its soils and productivity of its agriculture; and the potential for developing alternative economic specialization in other fields.

Indeed, it is the form which the post-frontier society assumes during this third phase that constitutes the major bone of contention between the supporters and opponents of the frontier hypothesis. Opponents emphasize the end point of the frontier continuum, noting that the results of the frontier experience have not been uniformly equal the world over; with this observation I am in complete agreement. But if the proponents of this thesis can correctly be attributed with the belief that the changes specified take place on all frontiers - though they need not be total, uniform through time and space, nor perpetual - then the data from Pejibaye strongly support their contention.

In a sense, the frontier still lives on in Pejibaye. Its visible traces are all about: the inexplicable dirt road branching off from the centro which in another era served as the major point of entry to the frontier; the fields of maize growing in the midst of this pueblo as a sure sign of its relative youth; the location of its main business district apparently dangling in space but which in reality mimics the path of the old air field.

The frontier also lingers on in a more important respect - in the behaviors of Pejibayense. In times of need, a person can still count upon the support of his close neighbors. Patterns of social deference do not accompany to any great extent the relations among ricos and pobres in
Pejibaye; after all, even the wealthiest Pejibayense was once himself a pobre.

Finally, the frontier continues to live on in the minds of Pejibayense. The spirit of egalitarianism pervades their mentality. So too does the firm belief that any man, given enough fortitude and hard work, can make his mark in the world. Early colonists, now in their middle and late years, recall the hardship and struggle of taming the frontier - and reflect proudly upon this accomplishment.

But otherwise, the frontier has forever vanished, and with its passing closes an important chapter in the story of Pejibaye. The post-frontier era brings with it new problems; already the fertility of the district's soils has experienced a notable decline, partially the result of the agricultural practices introduced by the early settlers. With each new generation there is less and less of an inheritance to be divided among more and more heirs; already there is not enough land for all the inhabitants of Pejibaye and many are seeking their fortunes in other parts of the country. Many of these problems are more complex than those faced by the pioneers thirty years ago. But they are problems which must be resolved if the bright promise of Pejibaye's youth is to be fulfilled.
APPENDIX A. RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

A. General Information

1. Name.
2. Marital Status.
3. Where and when married (if applicable).
4. Name of spouse (if married or common-law).
5. Number of children.
6. Number of children residing in household at present.
7. Does anyone else reside here? If so, relationship to household heads.
8. Do you have any relatives in Pejibaye? If so, names and relationships.

B. Occupational History

1. What is your present occupation?
2. Secondary occupation?
3. What other jobs have you ever worked at in your life? (in sequence). In Pejibaye?

C. Economic Data

Agriculturalists

1. Do you own a finca?
2. If so, of what size?

3. What crops do you cultivate on your land? In what quantities? (or how much surface area is devoted to each?).

4. Do you keep livestock? If so, of what kind, and in what numbers?

5. Do other family members work on your land? If so, what are their relationships? Ages? Marital status? Do they work under your direction, or independently? How are they paid? How much?

6. Do you hire peones? If so, how many? During what parts of the year? For what crops (or livestock)? For what tasks? How much do you pay them? How does one go about hiring a peon? Do you have regular peones or do you hire different men each year?

7. To whom do you sell your produce? Why?

8. Do you rent land from other finqueros at present? Have you ever rented land?

9. If so, from whom do you rent land at present? How much? Where? From whom in Pejibaye have you previously rented land?

10. Under what terms? (i.e. rent per mañana; when is payment made?; obligations of landlord to renter, renter to landlord; what happens if the crop fails?).

11. Do you lease land from other finqueros at present? Have you ever leased land?

12. If so, from whom do you lease land at present? How much? Where? From whom in Pejibaye have you previously leased land?

13. Under what terms? (i.e., obligations of owner, lessee; division of harvest, etc.).

14. Do you work in jornal at present? Have you ever worked in jornal?

15. If so, who is your present patron? How long have you worked for him? What other patrones in Pejibaye have you worked for?

16. How does one obtain a job in jornal?

17. What is your salary?

18. Does your patron assist you in any other way (e.g., loans, gifts).
Non-agriculturalists

1. Do you own a business? If so, what type?

2. Do you employ family members? If so, how many? What are their relationships? Ages? Marital status? Full-time or part-time? Which, if any, are paid? How much? What are their duties?

3. Do you employ non-family members? If so, how many? What are their duties? How much are they paid?

4. If a bodeguero, what types of foodstuffs do you deal in? Approximately what quantities of granos did you purchase from local farmers in the past year? In what pueblos do the bulk of your suppliers live? Do you pay in advance of the harvest? Do you loan money to your clients? At what interest rate, if any?

5. If a pulpero, do you extend credit to your customers? Do you lend money to customers? Is there any interest charge for these services?

6. If a salaried worker, who is your employer? What are your duties? What is your salary?

D. Migration

1. Date of birth (or age of respondent).

2. Place of birth.

3. How many years have you lived in Pejibaye? (in this pueblo).

4. Where did you live before this?

5. With whom did you come to Pejibaye?

6. If respondent came with parents, where were they born? (and remaining questions revised accordingly).

7. In what field were you employed just prior to your arrival in Pejibaye? (If agriculturalist, did you own a finca? If so, of what size? If a non-agriculturalist, in what field did you work? If an employee, how much did you earn?).

8. Why did you leave this residence?

9. Why did you come to Pejibaye?
10. From whom did you learn of Pejibaye?

11. Did you visit Pejibaye before deciding to migrate here?

12. How did you make a living after you arrived in Pejibaye?

13. Did you receive any assistance upon arrival? If so, what kind and from whom?

14. After you left your place of birth, where was the next place in which you lived? (If respondent answers "Pejibaye," verify that these are the only two places in which he has resided). In what field were you employed prior to this move? After? Why did you make this move? With whom? In approximately what year?

15. Repeat question 14 until migratory history completed.

16. Verify history by repeating to respondent.

17. Repeat questions 1-16 for spouse.

18. Do you like living in Pejibaye more, less, or about the same as in your last residence? Why? (Repeat for spouse).

19. Where do your adult children presently reside? How long ago did they leave the household? For what destination? Why? In what field were they employed prior to their departure? After their arrival at destination?

20. In what other parts of Costa Rica do you have close relatives? (what relation are they to you?).

21. Do you write to or visit any of them? If so, to whom? How often?
Appendix B. Chronology of Pejibaye

1942
Cleto Garbanzo, Pablo Mesen and Eloy Porras found the first permanent white settlement in Pejibaye. These three pioneers, formerly of Palmares de Perez Zeledon, settled along the banks of the Rio Pejibaye in what is now Barrio Nuevo and the adjacent part of the pueblo of Pejibaye.

1944
Jesus Mesen Mora of Dota claims all the land presently encompassing the centro of Pejibaye.

1944/45
Colonization of Las Mesas begins as several colonists, including Omorio Salas of Santa Barbara de Heredia, settle in the vicinity.

1945
Humberto Elizondo and his family settle in Gibre, just across the Rio Platanares from the centro.

1945
Rafael and Dolores Elizondo, brothers of Humberto, continue on to El Aguila, founding the first seat of colonization in the southern part of the district.

1947
Audon Umana claims or purchases most of what is now the pueblo of Achiotal.

1947
Arrival of Padre Bernardo Leben, Catholic missionary priest. He was to continue to visit the region once yearly by horseback until 1952. Church services were held in a small rancho constructed by the vecinos near the trapiche of Humberto Elizondo.

1947
First ambulatory merchants arrive in Pejibaye to buy local farm produce for resale in San Isidro.

1948
Junta de Caminos organized in the centro by the canton. This was the first community organization formed in the district.

1950
Junta de Caminos widens road leading northward from the centro. At about this time the route was altered from that followed by the first settlers of the region to near its present course.

1950
First pulpería begins operations in the present-day centro. The proprietor of this establishment was Gonzalo Carmona of San Jose. Within five months he left Pejibaye and sold his pulpería to Lico Mesen. From this time forward there would always be at least one pulpería in the centro.
1951 Plebiscite conducted in the district of San Pedro de Buenos Aires to determine its future political affiliation (February 8).

1951 San Pedro annexed by the canton of Perez Zeledon in accordance with the outcome of the above plebiscite. The district of San Pedro at this time included all the territory encompassing the present-day districts of San Pedro, Platanares, Pejibaye and Cajon (July 13).

1951/52 First escuela in district commences operations in San Marcos.

1951/52 First pulperia in Las Mesas opens for business.

1952 The pueblo of Pejibaye founded by Jesus Mesen. In addition to laying out the street pattern, he divided his property in the centro into small lots which he then sold cheaply to interested parties. Don Jesus also donated land to the new pueblo to be used as the sites for an escuela, church, and public plaza.

1952 Landing strip built in the centro by the vecinos and inaugurated in a grand public fiesta attended by the president of Costa Rica, don Otilio Ulate. The company providing plane service was A.V.E., owned by Hector Cruz. Planes landed every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday in the centro, providing quick and inexpensive transportation to San Isidro and nearby pueblos. Seating capacity was for 4-6 persons, and the cost of a one-way trip was $17.50.

1952 Bishop of the province of San Jose visits Pejibaye by plane.

1952 Catholic priest begins visiting district monthly to say mass now that the plane service is operative.

1952 First plaza de deportes built in centro next to the air field.

1952 By this date the Junta Edificadora had been formed in the centro. Its purpose was to raise funds for the construction of a church.

1952 Yellow fever epidemic in Pejibaye. First doctor to visit district arrives by plane to vacinate inhabitants. A few years prior to this event, there had been a malaria epidemic in the district.

1953 First coffee planted in the pueblos of Pejibaye, El Aguila and Las Mesas. Production would not begin for at least three more years.
1953 First bodega begins operations in centro. The owners were Odilio Sanchez Ramos and Baltazar Acuna Valario.

1953 Escuelas founded in Pejibaye, Las Mesas and Desamparados.

1953 Patronato Escolar becomes the third junta organized by the vecinos of the pueblo of Pejibaye.

1953 Postal service initiated in the centro. Pickups and deliveries were made twice a week by horseback.

1954 Residents of the centro construct a wooden escuela to replace the former rancho structure.

1954/55 Second pulperia opens in the centro.

1954/55 American Evangelical missionary takes up residence in centro.

1955 First pulperia opened in El Aguila by Santiago Fernandez of Puriscal.

1955 Plows used for the first time on lands near the centro.

1956 Escuela founded in Zapote.

1956/57 Agency of the Rural Guard established in the centro, marking the first police presence in the district.

1957 Commercial sale of locally produced coffee made for the first time. The coffee had to be hauled by oxcart to Mollejones for sale to merchants. A recibidor was later established there by one of the beneficiarios located in San Isidro.

1957 First sawmill installed in centro.

1957 Salon Atletico built by the vecinos of the centro on land donated to the pueblo by Jesus Mesen. Ownership was eventually turned over to the Junta de Deportes and its profits used to support the centro's soccer team. Within a few years the second salon in the centro, 'El Centro de Amigos', would also be constructed.

1957 First motored vehicle enters Pejibaye. This was a Willys jeep owned by Odilio Sanchez.

1957 First movie house opens in centro. Located just to the opposite side of the Rio Pejibaye, this facility was owned by Jesus Mesen. Old Mexican Westerns were shown at an admission price of $2-$2.50. This theater closed down in 1962.
1957  Junta Progresista formed in the centro. This was the first community-wide organization devoted to diverse ends of community development. As such, it constituted an unofficial body of local government. It was to be the fore-runner of the District Council.

1957/58  Escuela founded in El Aguila.

1959  First running water in Pejibaye. A privately owned water tank was installed in the hills to the east of Humberto Elizondo's house and a system of pipes supplied it with running water.

1959  First recibidor of coffee established in Las Mesas.

1959  The Ministry of Public Transportation widens the road from Pejibaye to the Interamerican Highway. Motored vehicle traffic possible during the dry season.

1959  Bus service provided by a private company from the centro to San Isidro during the dry season. During the rainy season the buses only went as far as Mollejones. The first buses consisted of Willys jeeps and a one-way trip cost $10.

1959  A.V.E. ceases operations in Pejibaye. Because of the road improvement and the initiation of bus service to the district, there was insufficient demand for air transportation. Bus fares were only about one-half the price of air fares.

1960  Construction begins of Catholic church in the centro.

1962  Voting booths set up in the centro. Before this, the vecinos of Pejibaye had had to travel either to San Pedro or to San Isidro to vote in national and regional elections. Later, separate booths would be set up in each of the district's major pueblos.

1963  Work begins on ballasting the road leading northward to the Interamerican Highway. This work was financed by the Ministry of Public Transportation at the request of the local inhabitants. The actual ballasting was done by the private firm of Zamora y Quiros, based in the province of Heredia.

1964  Road completed from the centro to Las Mesas. Work stops due to the beginning of the rainy season.

1964  First panaderia opens in the centro.
1965 Road completed from Las Mesas to the Interamerican Highway. Motored vehicle traffic now possible year-round.

1965 Year-round bus service as far south as the centro.

1965 Second movie house opens in the centro, located in a building situated to one side of the public plaza. The first movie house had closed down in 1962 and this second one, operated by Luis Ramon Blanco, also went out of business in 1968.

1965 First pulpería built in Gibre.

1965 First pulpería/cantina built in Achiotal.

1965 Escuela founded in Barrio Nuevo.

1966 Pejibaye constituted as District No. 7 of the canton of Perez Zeledon (May 13).

1966 Junta Progresista ceases to function and is reconstituted as the District Council of the newly formed district of Pejibaye.

1966 Juan Rafael Vargas Guillen elected as the first sindico to represent the district of Pejibaye on the municipal council in San Isidro.

1967 First television set in Pejibaye.

1967 Banco Nacional de Costa Rica initiates large-scale loan program for investment in cattle herding. This was to lead to a great increase in the number of cattle produced in Pejibaye.

1967 Douglas Mehrkins, Peace Corps worker, sent to the pueblo of Pejibaye. He was to stay until 1971 and during his residence in the district he organized the local branch of the Cooperativa de Ahorros y Creditos de Perez Zeledon.

1967 House of the pastor evangélico burned to the ground.

1968 Bridge across the Rio Pejibaye constructed.

1968 Running water installed in the houses of the centro with the construction of the canaria in Pejibaye. This system, financed by the central government, consists of a series of water collection tanks located in the hills to the south of the centro and a series of pipes connecting these tanks with the houses.
1968  First celebration of the Fiesta Patronal of the pueblo of Pejibaye on the feast day of the Virgen de Lourdes on February 11.

1969  Two more Peace Corpsmen assigned to the centro. Charles Timms was to work in agriculture, demonstrating the beneficial effects of chemical fertilizer use by setting up demonstration plots in the district. "Carlotta" organized the Centro de Nutricion in the pueblo of Pejibaye.

1970  Beneficio constructed in El Aguila.

1971  Sucursal (branch office) of the Banco Nacional de Costa Rica established in the centro.

1971  Casa Cural constructed in centro.

1971/72  Centro de Nutricion constructed in centro.

1972  Transistor radios appear in great numbers in the district. At the present time nearly every household possesses at least one.

1972  Chemical fertilizers used for the first time on a large scale by the farmers of Pejibaye.

1972/73  Road connecting the centro with El Aguila ballasted by the Ministry of Public Transportation; motored vehicle traffic now possible during the rainy season.

1972/73  Year-round bus service provided as far south as El Aguila.

1973  Universidad Nacional opens branch campus in San Isidro.

1973  Association of Integral Development founded (December 9).

1973/74  Last Fiesta Patronal celebrated in the centro.

1974  The centro of Pejibaye receives regular visits by a doctor for the first time. This doctor visits the area once monthly and administers to patients in the Puesto de Salud which would be constructed within the year.

1974  Juan Rafael Vargas Guillon elected as the first regidor to represent the district on the municipal council. Marino Perez Sanchez elected sindico. Both are from the centro.
The colegio commences classes in Pejibaye. The original site of this institution was in a building constructed with community funds located just outside the centro along the road to Achiotal.

Local maestros visit residents of several pueblos located outside the centro in an effort to stir interest in the upcoming elections of the District Council. The political monopoly held by a small group of individuals from the centro is greatly weakened as attendance at the election assembly is large and several non-centro residents are elected to this organization.

Beneficio de Cafe constructed in the centro.

Junta Pro-Defensa del Colegio organized by several individuals dissatisfied with the political machinations of the Junta Directiva del Colegio, which intends to locate the future colegio buildings on a site considered unsuitable by the majority of the residents of the centro and elsewhere in Pejibaye.

Colegio dispute in full swing.

New escuela building constructed in the centro on the opposite side of town from the former escuela. The funds for this construction were primarily community raised. The old building, which had been built in 1954, becomes the new colegio in Pejibaye.

Beginning of government financed free lunch program in the escuelas of Pejibaye sponsored by the Asignaciones Familiares program of the central government of Costa Rica. The distribution of free milk to the poorer residents of the district would later be financed through this same program (September).

Testigos de Jehovah (Jehovah's Witnesses) begin missionary work in Pejibaye.

Visits to the centro by a Catholic priest from San Isidro become more regular as he now arrives every two weeks to say mass instead of monthly as he previously did (May).

Expendio of the National Production Council opens for business in the centro. Also opened at this time is a credit office offering low interest loans to poor campesinos in Pejibaye.
1976 Junta Edificadora of the centro reorganized as the Consejo Pastoral.

1976 Hector Sancho, extension agent and community developer from DINADECO, arrives in the centro (May).

1976 Elections held to name the members of the Junta Directiva of the Association of Integral Development. Opposition party members sweep all posts. Formerly, this organization had been dominated by Liberacionistas.

1977 Catholic priest begins weekly visits to the centro to say mass each Sunday (January).

1977 Three Catholic nuns arrive to take up permanent residence in the Casa Cural located next to the church in the centro (February 25).

1977 Night classes begin in the colegio for adult residents of the district (April).

1977 New colegio constructed near the centro by the Ministry of Education. Construction begins in May and is completed by August.

1977 Donald Villalobos, agricultural extension agent, sent to the centro by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (May).

1977 Construction begins on the Templo Evangelico (Evangelical temple) located near the Catholic church in the centro (June).

1977 Town meeting held in the new colegio during which Dr. Guido Miranda of the Caja Costarricense de Seguro Social (Costa Rican Social Security Board) announces that a medical dispensary staffed by one doctor will be established in the old escuela/colegio building beginning in February of 1978 (August 13).

1977 Instituto Nacional de Vivienda y Urbanismo (National Institute of Housing and Urbanization) surveys the roads leading to the centro and makes recommendations concerning the possibilities of urbanizing the town (September).

1977 Daniel Oduber Quiros, president of the Republic of Costa Rica, visits the district to officially inaugurate the new colegio (December 27).
1978 Rodrigo Carazo Odio, presidential candidate of La Unidad Nacional, elected to a four year term of office, defeating the candidate of Liberacion Nacional, Luis Alberto Monge, by a landslide margin. The political hegemony of Liberacion Nacional in Pejibaye begins to crumble (February).
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