A COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SAN JUAN SUR, A PEASANT COMMUNITY, AND ATIRRO, AN HACIENDA COMMUNITY LOCATED IN COSTA RICA, CENTRAL AMERICA

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1951

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND OCCASION FOR THE STUDY

Peoples of the American countries are distinguished by wide differences in levels of living, and the trend appears to be toward an even greater diversity of living standards. Those of the United States who enjoy the opportunities and advantages of a general and comparatively high standard of living are envied by those in the neighboring Latin American countries where life is a harsh existence devoid, in many instances, of even the barest necessities.

Such primary interrelated factors as poverty, political instability, technical backwardness, low degree of productivity, lack of accumulated capital, and the prevalence of poor health and malnutrition all contribute to a correspondingly low level of living among the inhabitants of the Latin American countries.

Other factors which contribute to this retarded level of living are:

(1) Geographical diversities. Certain geographic conditions are modifiable by human effort such as increasing soil fertility or clearing and adapting land to the best possible usefulness; but unmodifiable characteristics such as temperature, humidity, rainfall, altitudes, ocean currents, and prevailing winds have a tempering effect upon living conditions and degree of development.

Marked variability in these geographic characteristics is found even in small areas such as Costa Rica where the climatic conditions

and vegetation are diversified by altitude and by the contrast between the wet Caribbean and the drier Pacific side of the isthmus.[1] These differences and contrasts, some of which occur within short distances, make local developments so varied that there is serious limitation as to what can be accomplished in less favored areas.[2]

(2) The relatively small population. The land lying south of continental United States in the Western Hemisphere is equivalent to eight million square miles. This represents 19 per cent of the world's total area of inhabited continents, but the approximate one hundred and thirty million people living in this region compose only about 6 per cent of the world's population. Even areas of concentrated settlement in Latin America have a relatively low population density and only a few of these regions have rural densities in excess of one hundred and twenty-five people per square mile.[3] Most inhabited areas have a rural density of less than one hundred per square mile, and in many cases, less than twenty-five.[4]

(3) The pattern of settlement. The European village pattern of settlement is evidenced throughout Latin America. The people are grouped together into clusters, areas of concentrated settlement which remain dis-

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[1] Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1942), p. 710.

[2] Chester Lloyd Jones, Costa Rica and Civilization in the Caribbean (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1935), p. 146.

[3] James, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[4] Ibid., p. 5.

tinct and somewhat isolated from one another. Within these clusters there is an urban core and relative to the degree of isolation there is very little overlap between the territory served by one city and that served by a neighboring one. These rural settlements tend to focus their economic, social and political phases of life on one large and centrally located city.[5] As an urban nucleus it is metropolitan and innovatory, with national energy and pride emanating from it like the radiants of a fixed and central star. The attraction of this urban center is such that the people living in the rural areas are predisposed to move in towards this central zone instead of exploring and expanding the frontier regions.[6]

(4) Racial and cultural diversity. The population clusters, common to Latin America, are composed of racial and cultural combinations.

The three major racial elements are Indian, Negro, and White (which includes people born in America or of European ancestry), with the Mestizo[7] being the most common racial type. The predominant racial composition differs from one area to another.[8] Even in the diminutive country of Costa Rica which is noted for its racial homogeneity there are variations in the predominate racial composition. In the highland central plateau region 91 per cent of the people are White and 8 per cent are Mestizos; in the Caribbean lowlands, 56 per cent are Negroes and 33 per

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[5] Loc. cit.

[6] Loc. cit.

[7] A Mestizo is, in Latin America, a person of White and Indian ancestry.

[8] James, op. cit., pp. 8-17.

cent White; and in the Pacific coastal region, 50 per cent are White and 46 per cent are Mestizos.[9]

This heterogeneous racial and concomitant cultural milieu lend to a state of underdevelopment in the country. The distinctive racial characteristics, ethnocentrism, and the deeply imbedded cultural traits of the different racial groups result in a mutual lack of understanding which finds expression in non-cooperation and sometimes hostility between these groups.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

The low level of living in the lesser developed countries of Latin America has become, in recent years, a source of increasing concern to the American peoples. As a step toward alleviating the general and varying degrees of backwardness a remedial action was begun in 1941 among the Pan American nations to determine a cooperative means through which major agricultural problems could be worked out to the benefit of all participants.

Evolving as a consequence of these discussions, an Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences was founded in 1944, by convention agreement among the American Republics. The Institute was established as a part of the Inter-American system and was given the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to serve as its Board of Directors.[10] Financial

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[9] Ibid., p. 716.

[10] "Inter-American Co-operation in the Social Sciences at Michigan State College," School and Society, Vol. 66 (Pennsylvania: The Society for the Advancement of Education, Inc., 1947), p. 293.

support was arranged through quota funds to be received from member countries and based upon population.[11] Special grants from such organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Cacao Research Committee, the Standard Oil Development Company, etc. that are interested in carrying on research work in tropical and semi-tropical areas also augment the monetary support of this Institute.

The Institute functions primarily as a research and educational center which incorporates research activity, post-graduate instruction, and agricultural extension work. These activities fall within four departments--Plant Industry, Animal Industry, Agricultural Engineering, Agricultural Economics and Rural Welfare.

Because of geographic advantages and diversities, it is located at Turrialba, Costa Rica, near the geographic crossroads of the Americas and covers an area of 2,500 acres.[12]

CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE INSTITUTE AND MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

As the Institute expanded and developed, an idea was conceived which began as a recognition of the importance of a socio-economic analysis of Costa Rican life in better orienting programs of research and extension.

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[11] Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, Venezuela, Mexico, Guatamala, the Dominican Republic and the U. S. are participating member nations. (Loc. cit.).

[12] "Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences," (unpublished announcement of the study program, 1947), p. 1.

In view of the success achieved in other areas by this means,[13] a plan was initiated which was designed to be experimental in nature and an integral part of the Institute's research program.

In conjunction with the plan the services of specialists in sociology and anthropology were secured under a cooperative agreement arranged between the Institute and Michigan State College. This agreement was signed in the fall of 1947 and under the terms stipulated, Michigan State College became the central cooperator in the field of sociology and anthropology for the United States.[14] Acting in this capacity Michigan State College is responsible for supplying all service or personnel as required for investigational work by the Institute. Unless unobtainable the personnel will be either staff members or graduate students from Michigan State College and they will have the opportunity, in exchange, of conducting research investigations in Latin American communities.[15]

COMMUNITY STUDY PROJECT

Dr. Charles P. Loomis, the administrator for Michigan State College met in conference with the officials of the Institute and in cooperation with them began the plan of action. Several months of planning resolved into actual work under the cooperative venture. In the beginning the

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[13] Charles P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany (Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945), pp. 1 et sqq.

[14] "Cooperative Agreement between The Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences and the Social Research Service of Michigan State College" (Unpublished), 1947, pp. 1-3.

[15] Loc. cit.

general objective of the program was to ascertain, through the study of people and their ways, the best possible means of effectuating agricultural extension in Latin America. The problem was to induce farmers and stockraisers to adopt improved agricultural practices, specialize in more productive crops, and invest in better breeding stock as research in tropical agriculture at the institute and similar organizations progresses along these lines.[16]

As the program was enlarged and developed, the objective assumed a broader perspective which included not only agricultural extension work but the whole problem of raising the level of living through the introduction of innovations, and the acceptance of these innovations by the populace. It was decided to confine the area of research to the community.

The community being more or less self-contained, tends to be a naturally divided section of the whole society which in many aspects is the society in exiguity.[17] By this it can be hypothesized that the basic problems of a nation can be attacked through a careful administration of scientifically designed programs in the transversion of communities within a country.

National projects involving a re-education of the people operate as a composite of community programs since a country is usually too large,

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[16] A. T. Hansen, "Rural Sociology and Anthropology in Latin America," (unpublished paper, n. d.), pp. 1-3.

[17] Thomas Wilson Longmore, "Possibilities of Agricultural Colonization in Peru with Reference to Persons of European Origin," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1950).

diverse, and unwieldy a unit for effective research.[18] Although a community may differ basically in characteristics and problems from other communities, the closer spatial relationships which lend to a certain homogeneity within communities affords an interplay of basic human nature from which intrinsic principles may be drawn and molded into adaptable methods and devises usable in the study of any community.

The program, by being pointed at the community level quite naturally assumed the title "Community Study Project." Being experimentally designed, the project is to educe the effectiveness of certain methods and techniques that could be used in furthering similar programs in other areas having either a greater or lesser degree of development. As conceived by Dr. Loomis and those of the Institute, the Community Study Project will be comprehensive in approach and will go forward under an intense scientifically guided program of education. Stress will be laid upon simplicity in methodology or the formulation of simple devices with a set of minimal instructions which may be manipulated by an intelligent person not technically trained or those persons upon whom most communities must depend for guidance and leadership.[19]

The objectives of the Community Study Project are:

A. General

1. To ascertain the most effective means of improving the level

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[18] J. O. Morales, "An Economic and Social Study of a Community," (unpublished paper, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Department of Economics and Rural Welfare), 1948, p. 2.

[19] Hansen, loc. cit.

of living of a community.

B. Specific

1. Establish bench marks of social and economic conditions from which past and future changes can be measured.
2. To determine the existing social organization in order to channel properly the educational program.
3. To appraise the real needs -- both the felt needs and those of which the people are ignorant or disregard. This will be used as a basis for assigning priorities useful in drafting the educational program.
4. To study the institutional and ecological structure of the area, thus enabling the project leaders to determine spheres of institutional development which seem to be below standard as compared to similar areas of comparable cultures.
5. To study the evolutionary aspects of the educational program, and its results in bringing about the desired objectives:
   a. Revealing the need for shifts in emphasis in the various phases of the action and educational program through time.
   b. Revealing relative effectiveness of the effort devoted to individual programs in contributing to the attainment of the general objective of the project.
   c. Revealing the evolution of the whole program with a

view to ascertaining the most effective over-all pattern.[20]

Because of the magnitude of the program, the Community Study Project has been divided into a series of sub-projects which will engage specifically the services of sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists, physicians, nutritionists, home economists, agricultural economists, agricultural extension agents, geographers, and other scientists in general.

Each of the sub-projects will formulate its own set of specific objectives from within the basic frame of reference set up for the Community Study as a whole, and will focalize its action program upon achieving its established goals as complementary to the success of the total project.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL SUB-PROJECT

Basic to the total program is the sociological and anthropological sub-project. Upon suggestions from Dr. Loomis, the following objectives for this sub-project were formulated:[21]

A. To find out what constitutes the community of Turrialba (delineation).

B. To study the ecological structure of the community.

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[20] Morales, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[21] The author was the first to go to Costa Rica under the cooperative agreement and, as the pioneer, contributed in large part to the program's inception.

C. To analyze the institutional structure of the Turrialba community and the effectiveness of the services rendered.

D. To discover the association patterns of the informal prestige and congeniality groupings using a sample procedure.

E. To analyze the class structure of the community.

F. To examine the effects of the educational program upon the attitudes and opinions of the people.[22]

A year was spent in Turrialba developing and carrying out, in cooperation with the Institute's Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Welfare, a study designed to achieve objectives A, C, D, and E of the sociological and anthropological sub-project; and by so doing, to provide the basic information requisite to the maximal effectuation of the other sub-project programs.

Methodology and procedure. In an effort to accomplish more fully the objectives of the study, a combined sociological and anthropological approach was utilized involving a system of note-taking and the use of a formalized schedule.

At Michigan State College, immediately preceding the trip to Costa Rica, and in anticipation of the work there, studies[23] were reviewed that have been carried out both in Latin America and this country which were

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[22] Reed M. Powell, "Application of Sociometric Techniques, (unpublished seminar paper given at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Turrialba, Costa Rica, 1948), pp. 1-2.

[23] Loomis, loc. cit. (see bibliography for other sources).

in line with the broad general objectives of the community study project. Through a combination of this information, previous experience among Latin American people, and helpful criticism from Dr. Loomis and Dr. A. T. Hansen, then a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State College, an empirical schedule was formulated for the purpose of tentatively studying the areas of proposed investigation and the type of questions to be used.

Synchronous with the schedule, instructions were drafted to serve as a guide and subject to the same degree of revision, addition, or elimination as the schedule might undergo in the light of existing conditions and local cultural features.

Upon arrival at Turrialba, Costa Rica, an informal survey of the surrounding area was made for an orientation to the proposed area of study and at the same time for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the people and their local institutions. Notes were taken on observations and conversations for the combined purpose of adapting the preliminary schedule, determining the fringe area of settlements surrounding Turrialba, and supplying information that would be supplementary to the proposed schedule data.

Specifically the investigation touched upon the services offered by the Turrialba area both in the town and in the surrounding caserios and barrios (settlements); and the educational, political (executive and judicial), health (Social Security Hospital and Unidad Sanitaria), and religious (Catholic) institutions present in the area and their performance. This accomplished, and in collaboration with the head of the Department

of Agricultural Economics and Rural Welfare, the area including and surrounding the central district of Turrialba was chosen as the laboratory for the Community Study Project. Proximity, diversity in rural communities, and antithetic climate and land use were the factors that influenced this decision.

Selection or elimination of the settlements to fall within this area was determined by whether or not the localities could possibly fall within the community service area of Turrialba. All Settlements encircling Turrialba that evidenced the contingency of service utilization in Turrialba were included as well as enough area beyond this point to insure the establishment of a definite boundary line. With this as the criterion of selection, twenty-four localities and three highway sections constituted the focus for the work accomplished in the sociological and anthropological sub-project.

Figure 1 is a map of the central district of Turrialba. Although it does not include all of the selected localities, it does show a large proportion of them. It should be mentioned further that Atirro and Pueblo Nuevo, both part of the same finca and two of the twenty-four localities included in the study, do not fall within the central district, but were added to the original map in cooperation with Paul C. Morrison.

A survey of the population in the proposed area of study revealed that from the standpoint of time and money, the area was too large for complete coverage in the administration of the formalized schedule. Also, in keeping with the experimental objectives of the Community Study it was desired to attempt devices which would reach masses of people with expedience

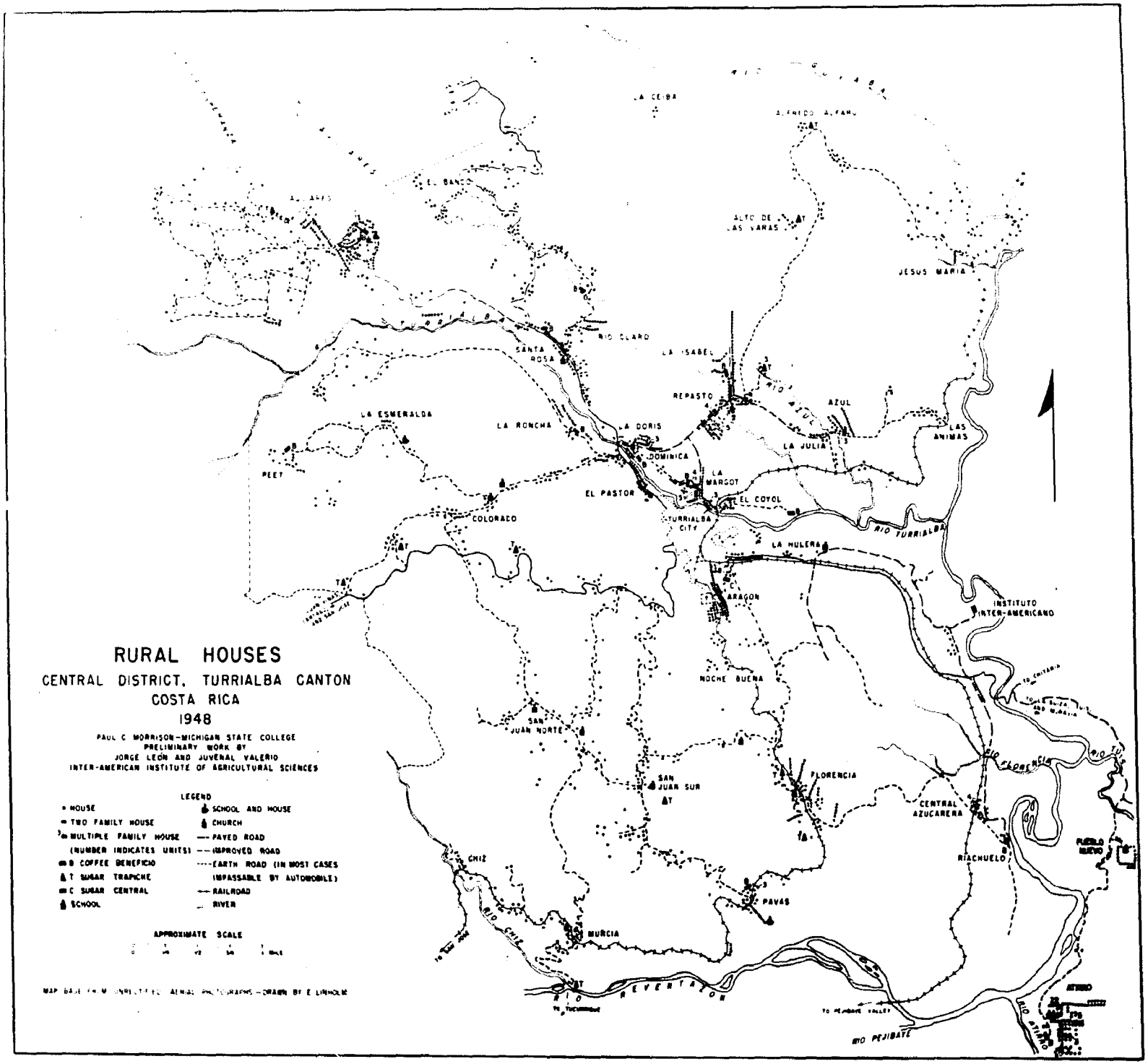
RURAL HOUSES
CENTRAL DISTRICT, TURRIALBA CANTON
COSTA RICA
1948
PAUL C MORRISON—MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
PRELIMINARY WORK BY
JORGE LEON AND JUVENAL VALERIO
INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES
LEGEND
HOUSE
TWO FAMILY HOUSE
MULTIPLE FAMILY HOUSE
(NUMBER INDICATES UNITS)
B COFFEE BENEFICIO
T SUGAR TRAPICHE
C SUGAR CENTRAL
SCHOOL
SCHOOL AND HOUSE
CHURCH
PAVED ROAD
IMPROVED ROAD
EARTH ROAD (IN MOST CASES IMPASSABLE BY AUTOMOBILE)
RAILROAD
RIVER
APPROXIMATE SCALE
LA CEIBA
EL BANCO
ALTO DE LAS VARAS
JESUS MARIA
RIO CLARO
SANTA ROSA
LA ISABEL
REPASTO
AZUL
LAS ANIMAS
LA ESMERALDA
LA RONCHA
LA DORIS
DOMINICA
LA JULIA
LA MARGOT
PEET
EL PASTOR
EL COYOL
COLORADO
TURRIALBA CITY
LA HULERA
ARAGON
INSTITUTO INTER-AMERICANO
NOCHE BUENA
SAN JUAN NORTE
SAN JUAN SUR
FLORENCIA
CENTRAL AZUCARERA
RIACHUELO
CHIZ
PAVAS
MURCIA
RIO REVENTAZON
RIO PEJIBAYE
RIO TURRIALBA
RIO FLORENCIA

FIGURE 1

and economy. Therefore, a sample procedure was needed which would effectuate, by sociometric methods, programs of extension and education. Formerly, similar studies employing sociometric techniques have been carried out over predetermined areas either by complete coverage or the random sample procedure which covers every nth house. Although such an arbitrary selection will usually give a representative sample there are limitations in the likelihood of bias in the basis of arrangement. For example, "if the entry is by community, or alphabetical, the systematic selection may not yield a random sample."[24]

A mechanical method such as the drawing of numbered capsules from a container in which they have been thoroughly mixed eliminates this possibility of bias. Consequently, it was decided to try this type of random sample which requires that the population be numbered consecutively and represented by beans, capsules, or tickets bearing their number. Therefore, after the proposed area of study had been stratified into three separate zones, a random sample was drawn from within each of these at the level of the locality.

As indicated in Figure 2, the size of the samples drawn varies from one-half to one-eighth--the first zone have one-eighth, the second zone having one-fourth, and the third zone having one-half sample coverage. Using this variation for comparison, the size needed to study effectively the patterns of informal association by sociometric techniques could be determined.

The first zone includes the central city of Turrialba and Aragon,

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[24] George W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods (Iowa: The Iowa State College Press, 1948), p. 2.

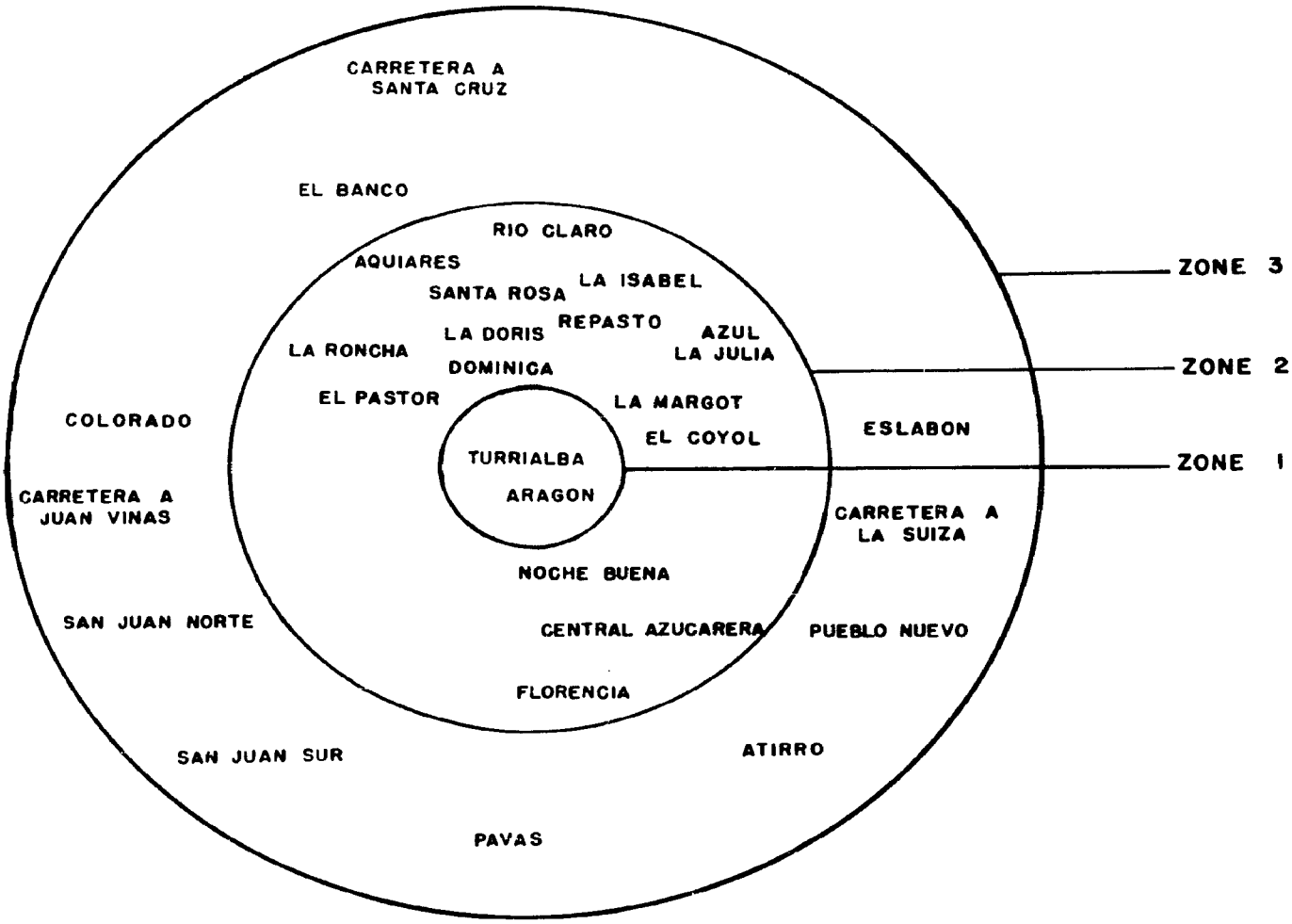

FIGURE 2

SETTLEMENTS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL SUB-PROJECT STRATIFIED ACCORDING TO LOCATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF DRAWING A RANDOM SAMPLE

the second incorporates those settlements situated contiguous or readily accessible to the city, while the third zone is comprised of the three highways and those localities surrounding the settlements in zones one and two.

Schedule and schedule instructions. Schedule revision and adaptation to suit the local condition and the general situation followed in sequence to the categorization of the area according to size sample.

Knowledge gained from observations of and conversations with the people as well as information obtained from the survey and investigational work provided the basis for revising the original schedule. In addition, advice and criticisms were obtained from persons within the culture,[25] and those persons constituting the "team" similarly engaged in work on the Community Study Project.

Seven complete drafts were made before the schedule assumed its final form. After each draft, it was tested in the field to ferret out the faults and weaknesses.

Comprising the schedule are sections centering on general demographical data, interpersonal relations (which places emphasis on deducing the prestige and congeniality groupings), community delineation, an analysis of socio-economic status, and social class structure in general.

The schedule was reconstructed to enable the interviewer to establish rapport with his informants before entering into questions of a

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[25] Such persons as Mrs. Josefa R. Hardin of the Servicio Tecnico Interamericano de Cooperacion Agricola who is a veteran field worker and who was able to give valuable criticisms and assistance on schedule construction and interviewing techniques.

personal nature, and to facilitate administration. Although the schedule is lengthy, it may be successfully administered in thirty to sixty minutes. The sociometric questions, being the most difficult, were placed so as to evolve out of preceding questions. For example, after the interviewer had received the information relative to the number of dead in the family, he would sympathetically inquire as to whom the informant would turn to first in the event of other such crises or if another death should occur whom would be the first persons he would invite to the vela.[26]

Information obtained by the schedule was accomplished by three methods--indirect questioning, direct questioning, and observation. As an example of the indirect approach used, the enumerator would ask, "What was the name of the Catholic Father who married you?" The answer given by the unsuspecting informant would indicate whether or not their civil status was that of legal marriage or "conviviente."

In filling in the socio-economic status section, the enumerator would successfully and yet informally maneuver himself into the living room of the home and while administering the questions, or informally visiting, he could fill in those sections requiring only observation. For example, he would have the people show him the family snapshots and while listening to their explanations of these pictures, he not only counted the number and type, but also the number of saints in the room.

In addition to filling in the desired information, the enumerators

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[26] At a vela, groups of individuals gather to keep watch over a deceased loved one or friend during the night immediately after his death and before he is buried.

made explanations or notes pertinent to the study on the backs of the schedule pages.

As the schedule arrived at the point of completion, instructions were developed by setting up limits, categories, and definitions as a means of giving consistent direction to the interviewers and simplifying problems of analysis.

Within the instructions are complete and uniform general directions with reference to the manner in which the study should be presented to the informants, the methods to follow in formulating questions, the best procedure to follow in filling in those sections of the schedule requiring indirect questioning or observation, taking additional pertinent notes, and the materials the enumerator should take with him.

Specific instructions include operationally defined terms and concepts--defined for the purposes of the study at hand--so that the enumerators could be constantly aware of the specific objectives around which the schedule was constructed.

Extensive and explicit instructions concerning sociometric techniques and community delineation provide a basis for consistent and objective analysis of these phenomena.

Training of the interviewers. Being long and somewhat difficult, it was recognized that the schedule would require skillful administration.

There were four enumerators including the author, all of whom had excellent language facility, were familiar with the culture, and

were highly trained and experienced persons.[27]

Each enumerator studied thoroughly and understood completely the schedule before going into actual field work. All went together at the beginning with each taking his turn. In this way good ideas were adopted and exchanged in making the schedule administration as effective as possible.

After the enumerators started going separately, periodic visits were made with each of them in order to check on the techniques they utilized to obtain the data. As a further check, some of the homes were revisited, and the families interviewed a second time.

Schedule interviewing. Tenseness of feeling, the imprisoning of political antagonists, and the display of arms resulting from the then current revolution made the people both wary and suspicious of strangers.

As a means of combating the difficulties imposed by the armed conflict, a visit was made to the Catholic Church parrochial headquarters in Turrialba and La Suiza, and the nature and purposes of the study were explained to the Catholic Fathers in charge. Upon requesting their cooperation and support of the undertaking, both Catholic Fathers generously complied by writing letters of introduction with copies for each enumerator.

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[27] Miss Marta Coll-Camalez took her master's degree at Cornell and has had considerable experience at schedule administration. She assisted on Lydia Roberts' comprehensive study of Puerto Rican family life, and Spanish is her mother tongue. Mr. Antonio Arce took his college degree in Costa Rica, has had thirteen years of school teaching, the last four years of which were as principal, and is a veteran at field work of this type. Miss Nancy Hatch took her degree at Columbia and has had a lifetime of experience in India and Mexico.

These letters were directed to the people explaining the study and instructing them to contribute the information asked of them with complete assurance. In addition, the Curas (parrochial heads) announced to the people in Sunday mass the forthcoming field work and of the Church's desire that they assist willingly. Serving as a forerunner, this valuable indorsement prepared the way and actual interviewing began.

Each enumerator as a part of technique made a special effort to establish excellent rapport with his informants. Distinct emphasis was placed upon the establishment of good will not only as vital to the success of the immediate study, but for creating substantial avenues of communication for succeeding sub-projects.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

After a preliminary survey of the settlements comprised within the sociological and anthropological sub-project study, the author selected two contrasting communities from among these for the purpose of making a comprehensive sociological and anthropological comparative analysis with reference to a major variable--land tenure. These communities displayed the characteristics most ideally suited for the purposes of this study, which included such factors as relative isolation, size, physical characteristics, and purity of type.

Both communities, being somewhat isolated, are comparatively free from the influences of neighboring localities. From the standpoint of families, both are comparable--sixty families in Atirro and seventy-five families in San Juan Sur--and large enough to permit certain statistical manipulation of data. Physical characteristics of the two tend to fall within the middle range when compared with the other settlements comprised within the sociological and anthropological sub-project. Atirro is completely an hacienda type community with the entire settlement situated upon and owned by one large hacienda. San Juan Sur is a peasant-farmer type community with the majority of families dependent completely or in part upon the production of their small land holdings.

Objectives of the study. The comparative analysis of these two communities is centered around the following specific objectives:

1. To find out, through the process of community delineation, the

extent to which these settlements are distinct communities.

2. To analyze the institutional structure of each locality and the effectiveness of the services rendered by these institutions.

3. To discover the association patterns of the informal prestige and congeniality groupings based upon a complete coverage of all families.

4. To analyze the social class structure as it exists in each settlement.

Importance of the study. The significance of this comprehensive comparative analysis is twofold:

(1) Investigations such as this, will provide information basic to the resolution of the problem of introducing and bringing about the acceptance of innovations in the underdeveloped areas of the Americas with greater rapidity and success. Studies of this type should be helpful to the social sciences in developing basic principles of guidance for those individuals, groups, or nations interested in accelerating the rate of change and progress in underdeveloped areas, and in their efforts to formulate and effectuate educational and action programs.

(2) Inasmuch as the settlements of Atirro and San Juan Sur are in many respects exemplary of other hacienda and peasant-type communities found in Costa Rica and throughout much of Latin America, a comparative analysis of the social organization, and social class structure in each is of considerable importance because of the role each plays in democratic societies.

Costa Rica, long considered as the country of the peasant proprietors, now appears to be in a state of transition in which the peasant

holdings are gradually being supplanted by the large fincas and corporations, thus reducing the status of the people from that of peasantry to peonage. Increasingly larger numbers of people are becoming "jornaleros" and are working for a subsistence wage as peons for the large land owners. What, then, might be expected if the country continues in the present trend toward a peon-patron type of system? For example, what are the living conditions of the peons of the hacienda as compared to those of the peasant farmers? How do the social classes in these two settlements compare--is there really a larger lower class on the hacienda than in the peasant community? How do the classes in these two situations compare with society at large? Especially important is the influence this transmutation may have upon the possible acceptance of communism or other ways of life by the rural people who have been and are being forced to accept the status of peonage.[1]

Methodology. This study represents a concentrated elaboration of the sociological and anthropological sub-project carried out on the basis of complete coverage in the rural villages of Atirro and San Juan Sur. In addition to the methodological procedures carried out with reference to the sub-project, the author, acting as a participant observer, became familiar with the culture, as exhibited in these two settlements. Through visiting and interviewing, he became personally acquainted with all the families in both localities, and was wholeheartedly accepted into community

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[1] Charles P. Loomis and Reed M. Powell, "Sociometric Analysis of Class Status in Rural Costa Rica--A Peasant Community Compared with an Hacienda Community," Sociometry, XII (February - August, 1949), 144 - 158.

life as attested by many overt acts of friendship and by the complete confidence which the people placed in him.

Aside from the sub-project schedule, notes were taken on conversations and observations. Descriptions of communal events, festivities, and house type were gathered. In short, all information that was at all relevant to the objectives of this study, or that might lend to a better understanding of the social organization and of the people. Being supplementary to the schedule, these notes provide the basis for a more meaningful analysis and interpretation of the data.

Definition of terms used in this study. "Accion Catolica." Accion Catolica is a Catholic auxiliary organization composed of such branches as the Juventud Obrera Catolica (the Catholic youth organization) and the Liga Obrera Catolica (Catholic Workers League).

"Age." Age is based upon years completed if the individuals are more than one year old, and upon months, weeks, or days completed if less than one year old.

"Agricultor." An agricultor is a peasant farmer.

"Ascendencia." Ascendencia refers to nationality relative to family line.

"Cedido." Cedido with reference to land tenure is a loan (free of charge) for either a specified or unspecified length of time.

"Colono." A person who, not possessing land of his own contracts (on a yearly basis) with a land owner to cultivate and exploit a piece of land. For example: In aquiares, the colonos contract with the landowner under the following conditions:

"The 'Colono' has to cultivate, harvest, replant etc. a lot of coffee (1 - 2 hectares) and hand it over to the farm for fixed amount per fanega specified in the yearly contract.

The 'Colono' gets a house, plantains, and feed from the lot.

Some 'Colonos' have separate lots to produce fruits and vegetables, for home consumption or for sale.

At the end of the crop the landowner pays the 'Colonos' the amount of coffee bought at the fixed amount deducting the weekly advances furnished throughout the year. The 'Colono' is under obligation to work for a wage on the farm when it is necessary, especially during the harvest season.

Besides the yearly payment the 'Colono' does not receive any extra money for working his lot. The work is supervised by farm employees, and should be done according to the regulations.

The average extension of the lots (including plantings of food crops) is around 7 acres and varies from 2 - 20 acres."[2]

"Compadre or commadre." Compadre (male) and commadre (female) denotes the relationship between those persons that present a child of another family for confirmation or baptism in the Catholic Church and the parents of that child.

"Conviviente." Conviviente is a state of being as husband and wife without having been united by civil or religious law.

"Curandero." A curandero is a herb doctor who, untrained and without a license, attends cases of ill health, prescribes, and administers medicine.

"Familia." By familia is indicated a person or persons who consider themselves and are considered by others as members of a particular family group. Usually it consists of a person or group of people who inhabit the same vivienda and who are united by blood, natural, or legal bonds.

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[2] Jorge Leon, (unpublished notes, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Turrialba, Costa Rica, 1948), p. 1.

"Absent members of the family." Those absent at the time of the interview and who have been away for more than six of the preceding twelve months are considered as absent members unless the absence is permanent. In the event a family has lived in the community less than a year, those members living away at the time of the interview are also considered as absent members if the absence is not permanent.

"Family income." For the purpose of family income only, those absent members having no economic ties with the family group (i.e., those who neither receive from nor contribute to the family's income) are to be considered as units apart. When it is not known whether or not absent members have economic ties with the family group, they, too, shall be considered as units apart. In both cases the income of the absent members will not be included as part of the family income. If it is indicated that there are economic ties between absent members and the family group, the known incomes of the absent members will be included in the total family income.

"Farmaceutico." A farmaceutico is a person who is educationally prepared, licensed, and authorized to prepare medicants or medicines.

"Ferreteria." The ferreteria is a hardware store.

"Finca." A finca is one or more pieces of land having a total extension of five or more manzanas which is managed by the owner, administrator, or renter. When a person or company possesses various extensions of land in the same district and these are administered separately, each one is considered as a finca provided its area is equivalent to five manzanas or more.

"Finquita." A finquita is one or more pieces of land with a total

extension of less than five manzanas and with a minimum area of one-fourth of a manzana. When the finquita is "cedida," the total profits or benefits accruing from the cultivation and exploitation of the land go to the one operating it unless some provision has been made to include the owner of the land.

"Fogon." A fogon consists of iron bars laid across the top of loosely stacked bricks. The cooking utensils are placed upon the metal bars and an open fire using either wood or carbon is kindled beneath. No chimney is provided for the smoke which fills the room at mealtime and finds its own exit through the crevices and fissures in the roof. Fogones may be constructed upon a piece of sheet metal on the floor of the kitchen or upon a sheet-metal covered table top.

"Jefe de la familia." The jefe is that person who considers himself (or herself) and who is considered by the other members of the family as the head.

"Jornalero." A jornalero is a day laborer.

"Kilometer." A kilometer is the chief unit of long distance in the metric system. It is the distance of 1,000 meters or about five-eighths of a mile.

"Lugar." Lugar is the Spanish equivalent of place. It is a geographical division recognized as such.

"Manzana." A manzana is a unit of area measurement. One manzana is equivalent to 1.73 acres.

"Menor." A menor is an individual less than fourteen years old.

"Nacionalidad." Nacionalidad is nationality with reference to present status.

"Occupation." That type of occupation at which the individual spends the major portion of his time is to be considered as his major type of occupation. In the event that the individual's time is divided equally between two different occupations, that occupation from which he obtains the greater proportion of his sustenance is to be considered as the major one.

"Operational." Terms, Concepts, or definitions referred to as operational are those that have been adapted to the needs of this study.

"Parasitos." Parasitos are those persons who establish their labors, usually of an agricultural nature, upon another's property without permission.

"Partera." A partera is a midwife.

"Pasear." A chief social pastime occuring usually on weekends, holidays, on special celebrations, and during the early evening hours. The women walk in one direction and the men walk in the other, as they pass, friendly greetings are exchanged. The interaction is completely informal.

"Peon." A peon is a day laborer.

"Piezas." Piezas are independent bedrooms beneath the same roof.

"Servicios y actividades." Servicios and actividades are those functions in which the individual participates and cooperates with other members of the society in order to satisfy the social, economic, and physical necessities of life. All of these services and activities are defined by using as a base the "lugar" where the people satisfy these needs. For example: A man who has a cow and sells milk to his neighbor is considered in the same category as a dairy that produces milk on a

larger scale.

Organization of the remainder of the thesis. The remainder of the thesis will be specifically concerned with community delineation, an analysis of the people and their institutions, clique and congeniality groups, and social class structure with reference to a comparative analysis of the two communities.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR

ORIENTATION

Just beyond the eastern boundary of the central district of the canton of Turrialba spreads the 4,312 acre hacienda of Atirro.[1] Located on the Atlantic (eastern) side of the continental divide of Costa Rica, the hacienda falls within the Province of Cartago and is approximately 55 kilometers, on a straight line, from the Atlantic Ocean.[2]

Seventy-five degrees fahrenheit is the average temperature and the altitude from the house of the hacienda owner is 615 meters above sea level.[3] Three large rivers cut through the hacienda--the Reventazon which is the largest and bounds the finca on its western end, the Atirro which threads its way through the southeastern portion, and the river Tuis which runs along the northern confine.

According to historical records, Atirro was, at one time, an important indigenous center through which the Spanish conquistador, Don Diego

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[1] The finca Atirro was purchased November 4, 1947, by the Association, Hacienda Atirro Limitada, for the sum of $220,000. This association is composed of four brothers and their brother-in-law. They have various holdings throughout the country with each of them having the responsibility for a specific enterprise. The finca Atirro became the responsibility of Alvaro Rojas Quiros who, for the purposes of this study is considered as the finca owner.

[2] This distance is the author's estimate.

[3] Taken from the author's notes recorded from conversations on September 18, 1948, with Carlos Manuel Rojas Quiros, associate owner of the finca.

Gutierrez passed in his conquests and persecution of the Indians.[4] It later became a cattle finca and commencing with the last century a large portion of the land was cleared of its virgin forests for the planting and cultivation of crops. Bananas and coffee were planted in quantity. Later, however, the bananas were attacked by disease and ceased to be a major cultivation of the finca. They are now used primarily as shade for the coffee trees.

In 1947, 1800 fanegas[5] of coffee and 5,500 tons of sugar cane were harvested from the finca. By 1948, only 1,763 acres carried virgin growth, 609 acres were planted in coffee, 200 acres were put in sugar cane, and 1,740 acres were turned into pasture land.[6] Although the major agricultural work connected with planting, tending, and raising crops is done by machetes[7] the finca owns a tractor, and six plows. Other farm equipment includes two trucks and twelve ox carts.

Of the poultry and animals maintained by the finca, there are 20 high-quality well fed chickens which are for the use of the finca owner and his family, 275 head of cattle (including 72 dairy cows and 57 oxen), 18 sheep and 25 horses. The horses are utilized by the finca personnel and the sheep are raised for meat since mold, resulting from the humidity, destroys the wool. Cattle raising involves numerous problems some of

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[4] Taken from unpublished notes compiled by Paul C. Morrison.

[5] A fanega is equivalent to 200 pounds.

[6] Author's notes from Carlos Manuel Rojas Quiros, op. cit.

[7] A machete is a large heavy knife used for agricultural work.

which are directly and indirectly related to the warm humid climate. Emerging from combinations of environmental factors which flourish in areas of tropical weather, the cattle are subject to such afflictions as intestinal parasites, torsalos, garrapatas, Texas fever, anthrax, black leg and other malignities. Only certain limited types of animals can survive these conditions.

Indian cattle brought from the U. S. many years ago, Criollo cattle brought by the Spanish, and the Cebu have been the hardiest animals. Interbreeding of these three types and crosses with such types as Holstein, Guernsey and Jersey are found on the finca.[8]

Dairy cows, though of sturdier strain, are less productive than the dairy herds in the United States. Eighteen cows milked the day before the census data was taken produced 60 bottles (10 gallons) of milk.

An important function of the finca aside from raising crops and cattle is a sawmill which is owned and operated by the finca. Approximately 100 carretadas (ox-cart loads) of virgin wood was hauled and 60,000 inches of wood was sawed in 1947. The wood from the sawmill takes care of construction and repair work as it is needed by the finca.

To do the work on the finca, laborers with or without families, have been brought in which has resulted in three settlements within the finca's boundaries--Atirro, Pueblo Nuevo, and El Canada. Atirro, the largest of the three, lies in the heart of the hacienda and is situated on the foothills of a mountain which rises to the east and is compassed

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[8] Author's notes from Carlos Manuel Rojas Quiros, op. cit.

by the river Atirro on the west. The land is damp with numerous small streams seeping down through the network of closely grouped houses. This condition is slightly aggravated during the rainy season which usually extends from April to December, and is alleviated very little during the dry season which includes the remaining months of the year. Ninety-five to a hundred inches is the estimated annual rainfall.[9]

Those in the community, although majorly occupied in labor for the finca, devote a portion of their time to small scale crop cultivations. Thirteen of the families have plots of land cedida to them by the finca owner, and the other families have only the small lots upon which their houses stand. The crops they produce are almost all subsistence crops and are mainly for the consumption of the family. There is some marketing among the neighbors and occasionally a small quantity of produce is sold outside of the community. Of these products raised 176 cajuelas[10] or over 8½ fanegas of corn, 38 cuartillos[11] or over a fanega of beans, 19 quintales[12] of yuca, 11,380 chayotes, 155 stocks of platanos, 42 stocks of bananas, 1½ ox cart loads of sugar cane, and 7½ quintales of tiquisque were produced. Other produce raised for home consumption are small amounts of such items as ayote, papaya, tomate pequeno, chile picante, chile dulce, and malanga.

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[9] Based upon a calculated average of annual rainfall in Turrialba during the period of 1942 - 47 inclusively taken from the U. S. D. A. (Hulera) records.

[10] A cajuela is equivalent to 10 pounds.

[11] A cuartillo is equivalent to 6¼ pounds.

[12] A quintal is equivalent to 100 pounds.

The animals owned by the peon families (not included in the number belonging to the finca) are limited to two cows and a calf owned by one family who may sell an occasional bottle of milk to a neighbor. The other families must depend upon the finca for the purchase of milk. There are, however, three hundred and thirty-seven chickens which are economically easy to maintain since they forage their own food. There is very little egg production, but the chickens provide a good source of meat and a small income when sold.

San Juan Sur stretches out over sloping, heavily vegetated mountainous terrain for a distance in length of five kilometers and extends in some places to a width of two kilometers. The mountain on which this community is situated overlooks the valley of the Reventazon River in the southern end of the central district of the Canton of Turrialba which falls within the Province of Cartago. At an estimated altitude of between 900 to 1,100 meters above sea level, San Juan Sur is a line type settlement.[13] It is composed largely of small land-owner farmers who have established themselves along the main ox cart road and branching subsidiary mountainous trails.

Exact data concerning the average temperature of the community is lacking. Nevertheless, it can be stated with certainty that it is cooler than the valley floor region.[14] The malaria mosquite which frequents the Turrialba valley is not found in the cooler atmosphere of San Juan Sur.

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[13] This altitude is the author's estimate.

[14] Based upon the author's notes and observations.

Throughout the community there are quebradas[15] ranging from large to small through which excess water from rainfall is drained down the mountain which, along with an absorbent soil, keeps the land comparatively dry. The quebradas provide the community with its water supply.

Water is carried to the dwellings for drinking or cooking, but washing and bathing are done at the quebrada.

In 1890 there were about eight families living in the San Juan Sur area. According to legend, the climate was much cooler then than at the present time with heavy rains lasting as long as two months. Because of this there was very little exploitation of the land, a large proportion being virgin jungle forests and pasture land; and, as related by an anciano[16] of the present community, the only cultivation consisted of between one-quarter and one-half manzana of sugar cane. The people pastured the few animals they had in what is now San Juan Sur and cultivated land at a point further down in the valley known as Palmar and which, at the present time, is part of the finca Florencia.[17]

Communication was limited to trails leading to Pavas, Turrialba, and San Juan Norte. Considerable change and expansion took place during the years intervening between 1890 and the present. During this period, the people, by supporting political candidates secured national aid for many of the improvements needed for the community. Bridges were constructed

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[15] A quebrada is a ravine or deep pass which may or may not have water in it.

[16] An anciano is an old person.

[17] Taken from the author's notes.

across the quebrada streams, the ox-cart road to the Turrialba-San Jose highway was completed, and the elementary school building was erected.

With some of the original families forming the nucleus, the population grew to the size of seventy-five families and 446 persons.

At the present time in San Juan Sur there are 150½ manzanas of land planted into coffee, sugar cane, and subsistance crops. Approximately one half of this amount (76¼ manzanas) is taken up in the cultivation of coffee, one fourth (37 1/8 manzanas) is utilized for growing sugar cane, and a quarter (37 1/8 manzanas) of the land serves for the cultivation of various subsistence crops. In addition there are 224 3/4 manzanas of clean pasture land, 102 7/8 manzanas of brush pasture, and 6 3/8 manzanas of rastrojo (stubble ground) in the area.[18] On the land belonging to the resident families, it can be calculated that only 84 manzanas of forest land remains. These data are necessarily conservative estimates since there are 28 finquitas ranging in size from one-fourth to one manzana that were not included in the figures above.

Of the products harvested, coffee is the most important as is indicated by the 552 4/5 fanegas[19] (55.28 tons) marketed in 1947. There is a lesser degree of fluctuation from year to year in the price of coffee than in the price of other foodstuffs. Each family retains only enough coffee to meet their own needs until the next harvest and the remainder is sold. San Juan Sur is considered to be one of the finest coffee pro-

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[18] These statistics are from the Turrialba trial census of 1948.

[19] Ibid.

ducing areas in the region and the highest prices are paid for this coffee.

Sugar cane is another remunerative crop from which returns are achieved either by raising or in hauling it to the sugar mill in Aragon. In 1947 there were 436 3/5 tons of sugar cane cut and hauled.[20]

Subsistence crops of San Juan Sur are grown chiefly for home consumption. Some families are able to grow a considerable proportion of their food on their own small land holdings, others raise these crops in quantities sufficient to meet the yearly needs of the family as well as to sell in the markets of Turrialba, Cartago, and Limon.

In 1947, the products harvested which were both consumed at home and marketed included approximately 36 3/10 fanegas of beans, 33 1/10 fanegas of corn, over 40,000 chayotes, 345½ quintales of yuca, 2,412 pineapples, 1,163 stocks of bananas, and 1,562 stocks of platanos. The 986 stocks of gineos harvested were eaten or fed to the animals. Other produce harvested and utilized at home in 1947 were 10,400 oranges, 1,000 pejivalles and smaller quantities of zapote, bread fruit, tiquisque, balu, chile picante, achiote, malanga, and repollo.[21]

In spite of the fact that most of the land holdings are small with only a limited amount of pasture land, a number of the peasant farmers maintain cattle. Two or three families have comparatively large tracts of pasture land and receive a considerable portion of their income from raising and selling cattle. In 1947 the number of cattle totalled 224.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

Of these 91 were cows and heifers over two years of age. There were 58 horses and mules, the large majority of which were horses. Those farmers having milk cows supply the needs of their own families and sell the excess to relatives, friends, or neighbors at the price of approximately 30 centimos (.05¢) a bottle. In San Juan Sur as in Atirro the cows produce relatively little milk. Twenty-five cows milked the day before the census was taken produced 85 bottles or some 17 gallons of milk.

Oxen, pigs, and chickens also proportionately improve the economic status of the families owning them. Within the community there are 38 work oxen and 16 carretas (ox carts). The carreta if purchased new represents an investment of approximately 600 colones ($100.) and is used extensively for hauling produce, wood, and other items. For example, there were 857 carretades (cart loads) of wood gathered and hauled in 1947.[22]

The oxen are used to pull the carreta as well as to do other work requiring pulling or weight. Families possessing carretas, oxen, or both have the opportunity, in addition to accomplishing their own work, of earning a service fee from families who do not own them.

There are 11 pigs in the community which provide a source of meat and an additional income if sold. Pigs, chickens, and other fowl are easily maintained since they eat whatever they can find. There are 922 chickens and the total number of turkeys, duck, and other yard fowl total 23. These fowls are either marketed or saved for propagation and home consumption.

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[22] Ibid.

TRANSPORTATION

The community of Atirro is connected to the Turrialba-La Suiza highway by a dirt road that is passable for automobiles throughout the year. This highway runs parallel to the northern border of the finca at a distance of five kilometers from the community at the point of junction. Turrialba is nine kilometers west and La Suiza three and a fraction kilometers east of this point.

From an analysis of Table 1, it is evident that walking is the major means of transportation. Of the sixty families in Atirro, fifty-nine travel to Turrialba and fifty-six travel to La Suiza. Walking, as the mode of travel, is the means used by 77.97 per cent of those going to Turrialba, and 92.86 per cent of those going to La Suiza. Most of this walking is done on the week end to purchase supplies, attend Sunday mass, and to paseo. In the villager's trip to Turrialba, he passes over trails, an earth road, an improved road, and a paved road. The median time required to reach Turrialba is three hours on foot, one hour on horseback, approximately forty minutes by bus, truck, or car, and one and a half hours when the person walks from Atirro to the Turrialba-La Suiza highway and travels from there on the bus.

As is shown on the table very few in the community travel to San Jose, Alajuela, and Pejivalle. The trip to Pejivalle must be accomplished over a trail and requires one and a half hours. The one person who travels there visits his former home and relatives.

Expense and time are prohibitive factors for the peon in going to San Jose and Alajuela, and he never or rarely gets to the national capital

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN ATIRRO ACCORDING TO MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION USED, MEDIAN TIME REQUIRED, MEDIAN DISTANCE, AND TYPES OF ROAD UTILIZED IN TRAVELING TO THOSE OUTSIDE LOCALITIES MOST FREQUENTLY VISITED FOR THE SATISFACTION OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND PHYSICAL NEEDS

Locality	Means of Transportation						Median Time Required				Median distance in kilometers	Types of Road Utilized
	On foot		Horse back		Car, bus or truck		Combination of foot and car, bus or truck		On foot	On horse	Car, bus or truck	Combination of foot and car, bus or truck		
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	In hours	In hours	In hours	In hours		
Turrialba	46	77.97	1	1.69	7	11.86	5	8.47	59 99.99	3	1	2/3	1 1/2	14.0	Trail Earth Road Improved Road Paved Road
La Suiza	52	92.86	1	1.79	3	5.36			56 100.00	1 1/2	1/2	1/3		8.4	Trail Earth Road Improved Road Paved Road
San Jose					3	100.00			3 100.00			3		68	Earth Road Improved Road Paved Road
Alajuela					1	100.00			1 100.00			5		91	Earth Road Improved Road Paved Road
Pejivalle*	1	100.00							1 100.00	1 1/2				6	Trail

* The median distance is the author's estimate in this instance.

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sixty-eight kilometers away. The three families that do visit San Jose are those of the finca owner, the commissary owner, and the father of the commissary owner none of whom are peons. The person recorded on Table 1 that travels to Alajuela is the accountant of the finca who goes there to visit family and friends.

Table 1 also indicates that the community of Atirro is comparatively isolated from other centers in consideration of road type and means of travel. The peons feel that the expense of bus fare to Turrialba which is approximately a colon (.17¢) is beyond their means.

San Juan Sur presents a different situation from that of Atirro relative to transportation. The community of San Juan Sur is much closer to the outside service center most frequently used, but the ox cart road over which the people must pass to reach the Turrialba-San Jose highway is very irregular and becomes almost impassible at times during the rainy season. Even when the road is at its best it requires skill to drive an ox cart over it. This factor tends to make the community relatively isolated. For example, the first time the community was entered by a jeep, some of the children ran in fright. After explaining, coaxing, and reassuring, these children warily approached the first vehicle they had ever seen. But the time consumed in digging the wheels out of the mud, and straining over treacherous and very steep inclines made this mode of travel impractical and it was soon abandoned in favor of horseback.

As revealed in Table 2, whether the peasant farmer travels to Turrialba, Florencia, Pavas, or even Cartago, he travels over trails and an ox cart road. All the families have members who travel to Turrialba, 92 per

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION USED, MEDIAN TIME REQUIRED, MEDIAN DISTANCE, AND TYPES OF ROAD UTILIZED IN TRAVELING TO THOSE OUTSIDE LOCALITIES MOST FREQUENTLY VISITED FOR THE SATISFACTION OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND PHYSICAL NEEDS

	Means of transportation								Median Time Required			Median Distance in kilometers	Types of Roa Utilized
	On foot		Horseback		Combination of foot and car or train		Total		On foot in hours	Horseback in hours	Combination of foot and car or train in hours		
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.					
Turrialba	69	92.00	6	8.00			75	100.00	1	1 1/4		6.3	Trail Ox cart road Paved Road
*Florencia	3	100.00					3	100.00	1			4.5	Trail Ox cart road
Pavas	2	100.00					2	100.00	5/12			4	Trail Ox cart road
Cartago					1	100.00	1	100.00			3 1/2	59.9	Trail Ox cart road Paved road

* The median distance is the author's estimate in this instance.

cent travel on foot and the remaining 8 per cent go on horseback. A median time of one hour is required to travel to Turrialba over a median distance of 6.3 kilometers.[23]

It is interesting to note that those who travel on horseback require a longer median time to reach Turrialba than those who go on foot. Explanatory factors which may account for this are: (1) San Juan Sur is a line type settlement which at its nearest point is 3.3 kilometers and at its farthermost point is 8.3 kilometers away from Turrialba. Those who go by horseback live in the farthermost sections of the locality. (2) The ox-cart road is treacherous and must be traveled slowly while on horseback especially if produce is being taken to market.

Turrialba is by far the most popular outside service center. Only three families travel to Florencia, two to Pavas, and one to Cartago. The person who travels to Cartago goes to Turrialba first in order to take a bus. Walking for those in San Juan Sur, as in Atirro, is the chief means of transportation. It is a common sight on the week end to see men, women, and children carrying such items as eggs, chickens, and produce to Turrialba where they hope to sell or barter in the market.

PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

A review of Figure 3, the author's sketch map of Atirro, reveals a highly concentrated pattern of settlement with the entire population and

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[23] The data are consistently based on the trip from the communities (Atirro and San Juan Sur) to the outside settlements, and the distances were recorded from the jeep's mileage reading.

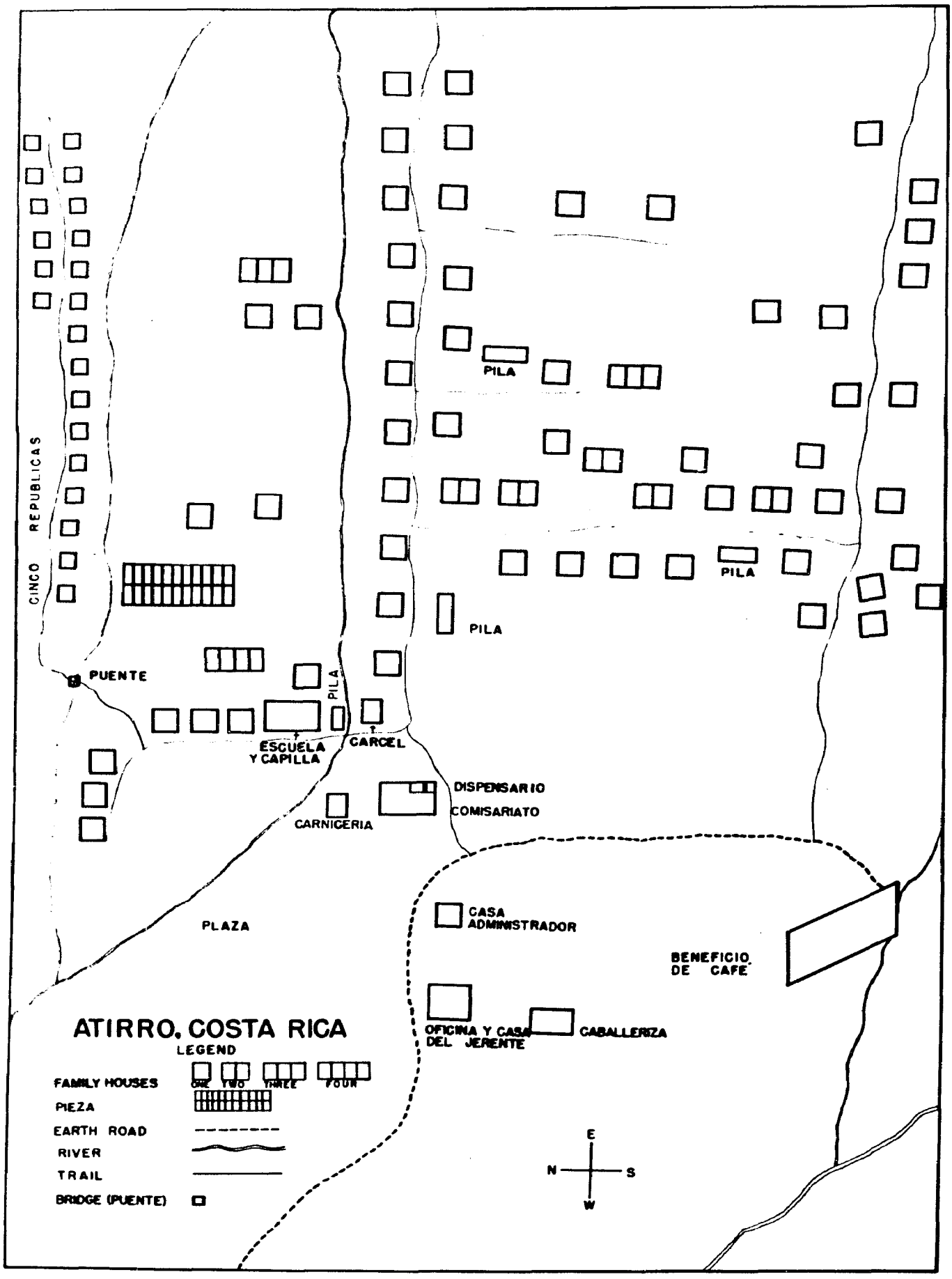

FIGURE 3

SKETCH MAP OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

their local institutions aggregated into a village cluster. A consideration of the fact that the twenty-one-house section, "cinco republicas," has been abandoned reveals the existence of an even more highly concentrated pattern of settlement than may be first observed, the entire population of 296 people being limited to the area south of this section.

The large two story house (oficina y casa del gerente) which serves as the residence of the finca owner, is the official nerve center of the community. Here, the work orders are issued, the men are paid, and all other matters between the men and the finca are transacted. This building, and the house of the administrator (casa administrador) constitute the administrative section of the finca. Standing between the administrative and peon section of the community is the large commissary and dispensary building. This and the butcher shop (carniceria) compose the shopping center of the village. At this center a major portion of all the peon's needs are satisfied. Among the numerous items offered for sale at the commissary are groceries (including a small supply of canned food), some hardware, a few items of clothing, limited medical and drug supplies, and even a few toilet articles. The butcher shop is open on Friday afternoons and Saturdays.

The dispensary,[24] is separate from the commissary and is operated by one of the school teachers who also acts in the capacity of a nurse in the absence of the doctor.

Facing the commissary and butcher shop is the plaza which is a large

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[24] The dispensary is a room equipped with medical supplies and facilities for the treatment of the sick.

rectangular area, that serves as a center for limited recreational activities and informal interaction. Behind the commissary and dispensary building is the combination school and chapel (escuela y capilla). Although the chapel section is very seldom used, the school which is composed of grades one to four meets regularly.

South of the school and chapel and separated by a pila is the jail which is seldom used, and then only for cases of minor offenses.

Within the peon section of the community, the houses are closely spaced and are joined by a series of trails. All of the houses have been constructed fundamentally the same with reference to style and material. The only distinction is between single-family houses and the multiple-family units which are not proportionately as large.

Interspersed among the houses are four pilas which were originally constructed to serve as the clothes washing centers of the community, but are now used for most washing and bathing purposes. The pila is the center of informal association among the women as well as the transmitting station of information and gossip. Lasting friendships are formed there.

The numerous small streams and the many outside toilets constructed over them have created a damp unsanitary condition from which stems sickness and disease. Proximity of the houses and the great amount of interaction among the people tend to induce epidemics in times of sickness. During the course of this study an epidemic of diarrhea and fever was witnessed which resulted in a number of deaths.

The cemetery is located on the finca at some distance from the community and consequently does not appear on the map.

San Juan Sur is a rural community characterized by a spatial separation of families so that there is no important cluster of dwellings. There are, instead, a series of minor groupings and a number of isolated homesteads. Figure 4 gives an exaggerated view of the community which is understandable in view of the fact that there is a distance of five kilometers, as the road goes, from the northern end of the community to the southern end. Actually, the dwellings are much more dispersed than they appear.

Figure 4, a sketch map was made to indicate propinquity of the casas and ranchos to the mountain streams. The people settle as near as possible to both the road and the water supply while yet remaining on their own small land holdings. During the time the schedules were being administered, one family who had settled near bad water tore down their house, moved the materials and reconstructed it in a location near good water.

The shopping center of the community is composed of the local pulperia[25] and comercio.[26] A large proportion of the community's food needs are supplied from the small comercio as well as a limited quantity of medicines, tobacco, and other miscellaneous items. The pulperia specializes in cerveza (beer), cheap white peon cane whiskey, and carries as a side line, bread, cookies, and cakes. Both these service institutions provide gathering places for the people, and informal interaction takes place. However, most of the informal visiting of the community is done in the homes and on the road.

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[25] A pulperia is a retail store licensed to sell intoxicating beverages and grocery items.

[26] A comercio is a retail store where grocery items and other household provisions are sold.

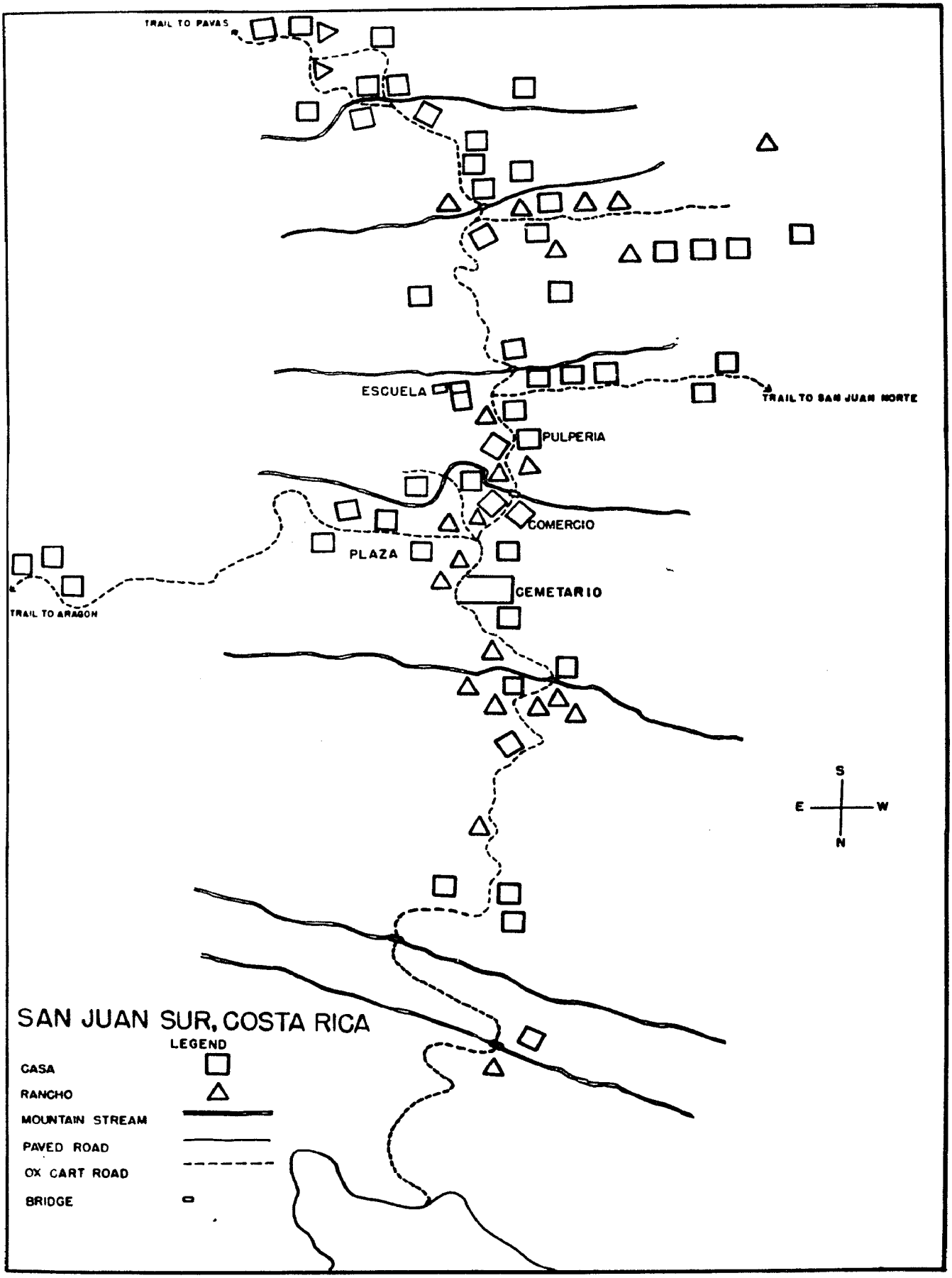

FIGURE 4

SKETCH MAP OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Located in the central portion of the community is a small, yellow school house with a tiled porch surrounding three sides of the structure. The school has two rooms, one serves as the residence of the school teacher and her family, and grades one to three are taught in the other.

The plaza of San Juan Sur is located on a rolling hump of the mountainside. As in Atirro, there are no paseos, nor band concerts, and it is not a center for the usual numerous informal activities. It is used primarily by the young men of the community for playing football.

The cemetery occupies a central position in the community and the procedure of taking care of the dead is the same as in Atirro--simple and ritualistic.

Contrasting characteristics of the two patterns of settlement are obvious in the topography of both localities. In Atirro, for example, 36 to 60 per cent of the families live within 100 yards, as the trails go, from the commissary which is centrally located. The remaining 24 or 40 per cent live within 200 yards of the commissary. In San Juan Sur, the greatest concentration of settlement lies between the cemetery and the school which constitutes a distance of 850 yards. Living within this area are 15 families or 20 per cent of the community. Other contrasts such as the places and amount of social interaction, and the difference in the extent of recreational activity in the plaza are governed by the settlement pattern. Although the majority of social interaction is done within the home in both communities, there is a very great amount of informal association among the women at the pilas and among the men at the service center in Atirro which is not possible in San Juan Sur because of the

distance involved. Similarly the plaza of Atirro is used more frequently than that of San Juan Sur because of its greater accessibility to the people.

In both communities the people are unified by common participation in a homogeneous cultural milieu. In both areas, community life is marked by daily visits and a continuous round of eating, sleeping and working.

HOUSE TYPES

As revealed in Table 3, forty-seven or 78.3 per cent of the families in Atirro live in one-family type houses. The size of the families living in these single units is in all cases more than one member. There are eight or 13.3 per cent of the families living in two-family type houses. Although those families living in these units usually consist of more than one member, there is one instance where two individual member families share a unit in one of these two family dwellings. The three families living in the multiple-family type units (rows of joined houses) and the two families occupying piezas represent 8.3 per cent of the total and are all individual-member families. These persons being single and without cooking facilities board with other families.

One hundred per cent of the families in San Juan Sur live in one-family type houses. Similar to Atirro there is one case of two families living in a single family unit--an individual-member family who pays board and room with another family.

A comparison of the two communities reveals that San Juan Sur has a considerably higher percentage of one-family type houses than does Atirro,

though in both communities this type of house predominates.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF HOUSE LIVED IN

Kind of house lived in	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. One-family house	47	78.33	75	100.00
2. Two-family house	8	13.33		
3. Row of joined houses	3	5.00		
4. Patios				
5. Piezas	2	3.33		
Total	60	99.99	75	100.00

While San Juan Sur is completely lacking in other types of dwelling units, Atirro has 21.6 per cent of its families living in houses other than the one-family type.

The houses of the campesinos in rural Costa Rica fall into two basic categories--"casa," and "rancho." The casa type house usually has a zinc roof, walls and floors of rough wooden planking, and window openings protected by wooden shutters. The most popular campesino casa has three rooms--living room, kitchen, and bedroom.

Characteristic of the rancho are walls of tree branches or bamboo, a thatched roof made of sugar cane leaves, and a hard packed earth floor. Inside there is generally a partition dividing the area into two small rooms--combination living room and bedroom, and kitchen. The open door

and cracks in the walls provide the main sources of light and air for many ranchos. Others may have small window openings with crudely constructed shutters. Neither the ranchos nor the casas have chimneys. Smoke from cooking fills the dwelling and finds its own exit through the cracks and rafters of the walls and ceiling.

All dwellings in Atirro are of the specifications attributed to the casa, and in addition are provided with running water and electric lights. Fifty, or two thirds of the homes in San Juan Sur are casas and the other twenty-five or one third are ranchos.

For a better understanding of the casas and ranchos that house the families of Atirro and San Juan Sur, one of each has been selected for specific description.

The campesino casa selected for description is in San Juan Sur. It has a zinc roof, no chimney, and walls of wide, roughly finished wooden boards. Between some of the boards there are crevices through which light and air penetrate, and there is no ceiling other than the sheet metal roofing and the rafters beneath it.

Across the front of the house is a narrow porch. The house has a dirt floor, which is not usually characteristic of the casa. Within the house there are three small rooms that measure no more than four yards to a side--living room, bedroom, and kitchen--which are separated by partitions made of rough boards. Furnishings consist of a roughly made table, a banco, two escanos, and one trunk. On the walls are a few magazine pictures, and two pictures of Catholic saints placed in improvised, home-made frames.

In the bedroom, there are only two large wooden beds; one is covered

with a mat, and the other is bare. In the kitchen is a grinder used for grinding corn and hanging on the wall are a few cooking utensils. Two gourds filled with drinking water are in the corner, and for the cooking, there is an elevated fogon.

The rancho selected for description is also in San Juan Sur. It is six meters long and four meters wide with a dirt floor. Walls are made of slender, roughly hewn tree trunks and branches that are placed upright one against another much in the same manner as that of a stockade. The roof is composed of matted sugar cane leaves that extend down well beyond the edges of the walls. Windows are neither provided nor needed for ventilation since air and light enter through the walls. When the wind blows, the air seems to enter on all sides causing it to become chilly. Inside, the area is divided into two rooms by a partition in the middle which is constructed of the same material as the walls. One of the rooms serves as a bedroom and living room furnished with two large beds. The beds consist of two wooden horses at opposite ends with planks laid over them. A mat is placed over the planks and the sides of the beds provide the only seats available in the room. The kitchen has an elevated fogon, a few cooking utensils, and a small banco.[27]

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[27] The description of these two dwellings is based on notes taken by Mr. Antonio Arce, one of the enumerators, and upon data from the schedules.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY DELINEATION OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR

A comparative analysis of the two settlements, Atirro and San Juan Sur, logically extends next to community delineation from which may be determined the extent to which these localities are distinct communities apart from neighboring community centers--particularly the city of Turrialba.

CONCEPTIONS AND DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY

In attempting to ascertain the status of these settlements as communities, it is necessary to define the term community.

"Community," is a term that has been used in a variety of ways and its meaning is often confused. "In the broadest sense, community is the mutual awareness among members of a social group of their reciprocal or interdependent, relationships, and is limited only by the strength of this 'consciousness of kind' or 'we-feeling.' It may be extended to 'One World' or limited to the boundaries of a small neighborhood."[1]

"Frequently neighborhoods are built up around a single organization such as a country school or a mill, but the community is formed around common interests and the means of satisfying needs or interests."[2]

In substantiation of the foregoing Lowry Nelson states, "In general,

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[1] Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi, The American Way of Life (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 672.

[2] Kimball Young, Sociology (New York: American Book Co., 1949), p. 240.

the term community refers to a group of people inhabiting a limited area who have a sense of belonging together and who through their organized relationships share and carry on activities in pursuit of their common interests. It is a locality group whether the term is used to describe a neighborhood, a town, a city, or even a nation. In common usage the term is applied to the relatively small aggregates of population."[3]

It appears generally conceded, then, that a community is characterized by a "feeling of belonging" or identification in which there are common interests and responsibilities.

One of two general approaches used in delineating the community is the use of the service-area method. The concept of community as embodied in this method defines it as consisting of a center in which there are various social and economic institutions, and those families who largely satisfy their needs at this center. By this method all those families utilizing a common service center for the satisfaction of a particular need are considered as a part of the natural community with reference to this need.

According to the methodology employed by Sanders and Ensminger, the service area for each service center is mapped separately. Then the areas for all services are superimposed upon one map and a composite area for each center is drawn.[4] All families living within this composite

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[3] Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 71.

[4] Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities A Study of Chilton County," Vol. XXXIII, No. 1A (Bulletin Published quarterly by Alabama College, July, 1940), pp. 74-8.

boundary are considered as constituting a part of the natural community--natural in that it is not confined to the political boundaries.

Another concept of community which is somewhat more inclusive than the service area approach is that presented by Sanderson. This concept considers the aspect of association (interpersonal relations) as a basic criterion in the delineation of what constitutes a community.

Sanderson became aware that if the community was to be made the local unit for social organization a somewhat definite, tangible, and uniform usage of the term was desirable. In accordance with this, he defined the geographical basis of the rural community "as a rural area within which the people have a common center of interest, usually a village, and within which they have a sense of common obligations and responsibilities."[5]

Sanderson recognized that there are sociological and psychological aspects of the rural community which also must be considered--that the real community is a "form of association."[6]

Wherever there is a true community, the people must associate in several of their more common interests or chief concerns of life. The degree to which they voluntarily act together measures the degree of community consciousness for wherever there is a community the people must act together.[7]

While people associate in churches, schools, and stores, the

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[5] Dwight Sanderson, "Locating the Rural Community," Bulletin 413 (Cornell Extension Bulletin published by the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1939), pp. 3-6.

[6] Loc. cit.

[7] Loc. cit.

constituency of any one of these is not necessarily a community. But when several of the chief human interests find satisfaction in the organizations and institutions which serve a fairly definite local area tributary to them there is a true community.[8]

Sanderson finds the definition given by Dr. Robert E. Hieronymus to be one of those most suggestive of the true community. Hieronymus states: "A community consists of a group or company of people living fairly closely together in a more or less compact contiguous territory who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life."[9]

Sanderson points out, however, that whether or not the people live closely together will depend upon the geographical character of the territory in which they live.[10] In fact, in some small communities situated in hilly or mountainous regions, even the trade or business center is not always the same as the center of the chief social activities of the people and hence may not be the community center. It is not unusual in such a community for the church, school, and perhaps a lodge hall to be the nucleus of an open country community which does its business at a railroad station village some distance away. In communities of this type where the church, store, and school are at some distance from each other in different parts of the community, there appears to be no real center, but if these or other institutions draw their constituency from practically

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[8] Loc. cit.

[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Loc. cit.

the same area, the boundary of the community may be determined by a composite of the boundaries of the areas of these institutions.[11]

The concept of community as envisioned by Sanderson and Hieronymous involves more, then, than where the people go to buy their groceries, to school, or to see the doctor. This latter concept includes the important factor of association--that the people act together to satisfy their chief human interests.

In rural Costa Rica especially is this latter concept the more feasible. Among the rural settlements there are hacienda communities of the European village type, and peasant land owner type communities which in their geographical setting are very similar to the open-country community described by Sanderson. Some of these peasant land-owner communities seem to have no real center, and the few service institutions are situated in various sections of the settlement, but they nevertheless draw their constituency from practically the same area.

In communities of this latter type, a simple delineation of the settlement according to the service area method may result in an erroneous classification of a more or less distinct, well integrated local unit which is characterized by a high degree of community consciousness as a part of a larger multi-service center.

Therefore, any definition of the rural community should take into consideration not only the economic services and social activities which provide the physical needs and the secondary or more formalized associations

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[11] Ibid., p. 8.

of the people, but also, the informal primary relationships which satisfy other basic social needs.

Accordingly, the rural Costa Rican community is viewed as a local unit through whose facilities and in which the residents largely satisfy their chief concerns of life[12] and to which they consciously identify themselves as members, being bound together by common interests and responsibilities.

In the rural Costa Rican settlement the size of the service center is usually comparatively small, being limited to those services that provide the most essential, elementary needs of the people. The larger number of "secondary services" (secondary in that they are not considered as essential to the sustenance of life) are found in strategically located multi-service centers, such as Turrialba.

The large majority of the peons or peasants seldom if ever are in a position to utilize most of these secondary services. These services are, therefore, usually found only in the larger towns that serve people from a considerable surrounding area. Perhaps only 15 or 20 people in a small rural community will ever purchase shoes making the maintenance of a shoe store impossible, but a town that draws its customers from twenty such rural settlements can adequately sustain this service.

Because of the simplicity of life among the masses of rural Costarricenses and their limited elementary needs, it would seem that the

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[12] Chief concerns of life, for the purposes of this study, are evaluated in terms of frequency of use. Those services and activities in which needs are satisfied at a correspondingly high rate of frequency are of greater value and concern to the people.

delineator of any rural Costa Rican community could not apply the service area method as it has been largely applied in the United States and expect to correctly delineate the natural community.

In the first place, it is not logical to assume that a service which the delineator feels is essential, is actually important to the lives of the people living in the particular area he is delineating unless he has been a long-time resident of that area. For example, to the delineator's point of view a hospital and its staff of doctors must certainly constitute a basic elemental service, and an excellent institution for use in the delineation of a community, but this service to the people of rural Costa Rica may not be important at all because they either do not care to utilize it or their economic conditions are such as to make this service unavailable to them, so they turn to home remedies or the local curandero for treatment in times of sickness.

The importance of any particular service or activity is directly proportional to the usage made of that service by the people. A service that is never used is no more important than if it were nonexistent except in its potential usefulness. The delineator should, therefore, take into consideration the number of people utilizing each particular service and the frequency with which they use it.

Moreover, the delineator should not delineate on the basis of only a selected number of services. In the same manner that specific treatment is needed for certain illnesses so should the delineator's methods suit the area. Therefore, as nearly as possible, all services and activities

present in the region should be taken into account and the frequency of use employed in determining the importance of these institutions toward the delineation of the natural community.

METHODOLOGY

The social and economic institutions existing in the town of Turrialba and its surrounding region, and the possible spheres of influence and attraction of each of these were studied in accordance with the foregoing basic assumptions relative to the delineation of the natural community.

A complete list of all the services and activities offered by the town was compiled and the extent of their influence was probed by means of a questionnaire which was administered to several of the local merchants. This questionnaire listed the various communities found in the surrounding region and the merchants were asked to indicate the extent to which people from these outside areas frequented their establishments in Turrialba.

From the indications gained by this survey, Turrialba's sphere of influence was tentatively measured. Next, a list of services and activities offered by the town of Turrialba was made and the people in the outlying regions that fell within Turrialba's sphere of influence were asked which of the services and activities offered they had utilized at one time or another during their lifetime.

As a result of this questioning, it was determined that there were certain services and activities utilized so infrequently and sporadically

by the large majority of people living in the surrounding areas that their inclusion in an instrument designed to delineate the natural community was superfluous.

All the other services and activities were included in the community delineation section of the schedule. The specific items included are classified into five major areas--economic, social, health, education, and religion.

Informants from each family residing in the communities of San Juan Sur and Atirro were asked to state where they and the other members of their family group participated and satisfied specific activities and needs. In the event they had never utilized a particular service or activity they were asked where they would go in case the need arose thus giving an indication of the "potential service center."

When the informant did not know where he would go in this hypothetical situation this answer was recorded. Where a family participated or would participate in these services and activities in more than one place, the names of all centers were listed as (a), (b), (c), etc. in accordance with the order of their importance as indicated by the frequency of use. Thus, if, for example, a family in San Juan Sur satisfied its fresh vegetable and fruit needs in (a) Turrialba, (b) Pavas, and (c) San Juan Sur, all three of these were written down with their corresponding frequency of use.

After having indicated the place where a particular service or activity was or would be satisfied, the informant was then asked to indicate the frequency with which his family had utilized this particular

service or activity during the twelve months previous, and this answer was listed in the frequency columns. In the event a family had utilized this service in years previous, but not during the specified twelve-month period, this response was posted.

If the members of the family had never participated in a particular service or activity this reply was similarly indicated in the frequency columns.

The families were asked to indicate those items produced at home. It was reasoned that items produced at home for family consumption were important for consideration in view of the following factors: (1) If these items were not accounted for, the proportion accruing to the centers listed would be conceivably distorted by implication. (2) Interaction with neighbors is stimulated both from the standpoint of visiting while working with the cultivations and selling the excess that might be produced. (3) Any items produced at home that contribute to the maintenance of life lends to the independence of the family or families within a settlement who otherwise would have to utilize an outside service center should there be no service of this kind in the locality.

In delineating the communities of San Juan Sur and Atirro one of the first things that needed to be determined were the boundaries of the two communities. This was relatively simple in Atirro, the village-type settlement, in which the families are grouped closely together, and the settlement is set off at some distance from other villages.

In San Juan Sur, however, it was necessary to investigate. To do this, the families living on the fringe areas of the locality were asked

the question, "what is the name of this place?" to determine with what locality the people identified themselves as members. Then the schedule was administered to ascertain if their associational patterns and other social and economic contacts substantiated their statements of identification. The boundaries of San Juan Sur were found to be clearly defined in the minds of the people living both in and outside the settlement and that, in general, this was corroborated when their contacts were determined.

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

The following rules were formulated for the analysis and presentation of the data:

1. In the event that a family currently utilizes two or more service centers in the satisfaction of a particular need, the one which is used most often was considered.

2. Where a family states that they would now satisfy a particular service or activity at a certain center should the need arise, and when that center is among those utilized in years previous but not within the twelve-month period, this was the one listed as the place of satisfaction.

3. Some families say they would utilize a service in a particular center should the need arise. They have not as yet, however, utilized it in that center, but in years previous utilized it in a different center or centers. In this event, the center where the service was actually utilized was listed.

Where there were two or more such centers, the center most frequently utilized was listed. If these centers were utilized with equal frequency,

then the one most recently used was listed.

4. When family members have never utilized a particular service, but state that they would do so at a particular center should the need arise, this center was listed, and is referred to in the analysis as the "potential service center." If the service has ever been used, the place where this occured was listed.

5. When the frequency indicates equal current usage of two or more centers, that center nearest the community being analyzed was listed.

6. For the purpose of clarifying the terms "activities," "services," and "needs," which are used throughout the analysis, all items except "informal visiting," and "Accion Catolica" are considered as services, and the two exceptions as activities. The word "needs" is operationally used as a general classification for the physical and psychical gains that accrue from the utilization of services and activities.

In accordance with the above mentioned rules the data was tabulated and is herein presented in the following tables and analysis:

ECONOMIC NEEDS

Clothing. Table 4 indicates that while the families of Atirro satisfy their clothing needs at several different service centers, Turrialba is the primary center in this respect as indicated by the frequency of use.

It is interesting to note, that of the 60.01 per cent of the families who satisfy this need in Turrialba, 53.34 per cent do so only occasionally. As a matter of fact, the peon laborers of Atirro are generally

TABLE 4

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF CLOTHING NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			1	1.67	3	5.00	28	46.67	4	6.67			36	60.01
Atirro					2	3.33	12	20.00					14	23.33
La Suiza					2	3.33	3	5.00					5	8.33
San Jose					1	1.67	3	5.00					4	6.67
Alajuela					1	1.67							1	1.67
Total			1	1.67	9	15.00	46	76.67	4	6.67			60	100.01

TABLE 5

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF CLOTHING NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			3	4.00	15	20.00	54	72.00	1	1.33			73	97.33
San Jose							1	1.33					1	1.33
Cartago							1	1.33					1	1.33
Total			3	4.00	15	20.00	56	74.66	1	1.33			75	99.99

poorly dressed by American standards, and even their "Sunday" clothes are little better than one would expect to see on an American manual laborer at his daily work.

When the people buy wearing apparel it is many times purchased in the form of yardage goods (for women's and children's clothing). The amount of clothing purchased by a family during the year is very small and a large percentage of the families satisfy this need on a yearly basis while a few satisfy it even less frequently.

Though most families satisfy their clothing needs in Turrialba, largely on a yearly basis, there are a significant number (23.33%) who satisfy these needs in Atirro in spite of the fact that they are procurable only through the general commissary which understandably is extremely limited in both amount and variety of clothing items handled.

La Suiza functions as a minor center (8.33%) in the satisfaction of the peon families' clothing needs, while San Jose (6.67%) and Alajuela (1.67%) attract the economically favored families.

Although the frequency of satisfaction in all these centers hovers for the majority around a yearly basis, one family (1.67%) satisfies it weekly, while four families have not done so within the twelve-month period.

The families of San Juan Sur depend almost exclusively upon Turrialba for the satisfaction of their clothing needs as is revealed in Table 5. Of the 97.33 per cent who satisfy this need in Turrialba, 72.00 per cent have done so between one to a maximum of six times during the twelve-month period. A large number of these families purchase clothing on a yearly basis as is indicated by the response of one informant represent-

ing a family of eleven members. According to her the clothing of all family members is purchased at the same time, once a year, at a cost of approximately 800 colones ($133.00).

For the many families in less favorable economic circumstances, purchases of clothing consist of a sporadic procurance of a badly needed garment.

San Jose and Cartago are minor centers for the satisfaction of this need, each frequented by one family (1.33%) for this purpose. San Juan Sur is not listed as there is no place within the community where these items can be purchased.

When the two settlements are compared both San Juan Sur and Atirro are observed to be largely dependent upon Turrialba for the satisfaction of the clothing need--Atirro much less so than San Juan Sur. While San Juan Sur offers no such service, the limited items offered at the Atirro commissary supply the needs of almost one-quarter of the families living there.

While both localities are largely dependent upon Turrialba with reference to this service, for most of the families clothing purchases are infrequently and sporadically made, usually on a yearly basis. Among the families of both settlements the clothing purchases are made to a large extent in the form of yardage goods from which the local seamstresses or the housewives themselves fashion their garments. In both areas the clothing of the people reflect their troubled economic situation as will be revealed to a greater extent as their utilization of other services is made manifest through the data.

Staple foods. As is indicated in Table 6,[13] almost all the families of Atirro (96.15%) satisfy their staple food[14] needs most frequently at their own finca commissary. While a number of these same families do occasionally frequent Turrialba and La Suiza for this same purpose, they are primarily dependent upon Atirro.

Only two families (3.84%) primarily frequent an outside center for the satisfaction of this need. Of those satisfying this need largely in Atirro, most of them do so daily (63.46%), and the remainder (34.61%) purchase weekly.

One of the two families traveling to Turrialba for the purpose of procuring these items does so on a weekly basis, while the other satisfies it monthly.

One explanation for the concentrated satisfaction of this need at the Atirro commissary is the distance to outside centers. Perhaps a second explanation is causally associated with the low economic status of the families living there. Their income limits them appreciably in the amount and variety of foodstuffs they are able to purchase. The diet of the average peon consists essentially of black coffee, beans, rice, corn tortillas, dulce, an occasional fresh vegetable or fruit, and a little meat. This means that his food needs can be chiefly satisfied by a general commissa

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[13] This table is based upon the responses of 52 families inasmuch as eight of the family units board with other families in the community. The same applies to the other tables dealing with the satisfaction of food needs--Tables 8, 10, 12, 14.

[14] Staple foods include all food products except those that fall under the classification of fruit, vegetables, fesh meat, milk, and bakery.

TABLE 6

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF STAPLE FOOD NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	33	63.46	17	32.69									50	96.15
Turrialba			1	1.92	1	1.92							2	3.84
Total	33	63.46	18	34.61	1	1.92							52	99.99

TABLE 7

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF STAPLE FOOD NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur	11	14.86	23	31.08									34	45.94
Turrialba			34	45.95	2	2.70							36	48.65
Florencia			4	5.41									4	5.41
Total	11	14.86	61	82.44	2	2.70							74	100.00

such as the one in Atirro which carries a relatively limited variety of stock.

A second economic factor operating in Atirro as well as in other haciendas of the region is the commissary credit system. The life of the peon is mainly one of day to day existence in which he must work consistently if he would eat regularly. Having no opportunity to build up an economic surplus places him in a difficult situation. When a new peon family moves to Atirro for example, it usually has little or no money. They start to work at the finca but must eat until the end of the first week when their pay check is received, so they open a charge account at the commissary. By the end of the week when they receive their pay, the food bill has mounted to such proportions that most of their earnings are spent in getting out of debt.

This process is repeated week after week causing many people to purchase at the finca when they might have otherwise sought out cheaper prices elsewhere. The case of Atirro is regarded as singular when compared to other haciendas in that the peons consider the commissary owner to be very humanitarian in his relations with them. He is known to have carried some sick and disabled families for weeks and then to have forgotten at least a part of their bills. He prides himself in keeping prices equal with those of Turrialba.

All these are factors conducive to trading at the local commissary from the standpoint of the resident peon family.

As revealed in Table 7, the families of San Juan Sur frequent their own service establishments (45.94%) and those of Turrialba (48.65%) in

about equal numbers for the satisfaction of their staple food needs. While a slightly higher percentage frequent Turrialba primarily in the satisfaction of this need, those that utilize San Juan Sur primarily do so with much greater frequency. As indicated in the Table, 14.86 per cent of this latter group frequent the local service establishments on a daily basis while none of the group going to Turrialba attained this frequency.

A third center which is utilized with reference to this need is Florencia. This usage occurs chiefly as a result of families who have members working at that Finca. As these persons return home from their labors they bring groceries with them. It is possible that the credit system is a factor operating in determining where these families working in Florencia primarily satisfy this need.

When the two localities are compared it is observed that of the two Atirro is most independent with respect to the satisfaction of this need. While almost all those families living in Atirro primarily satisfy this need in their own community, approximately one-half the residents of San Juan Sur do so in their community. Those of San Juan Sur who travel outside primarily in its satisfaction, do so less frequently than those who satisfy it within the settlement.

With reference to Turrialba, Atirro may be considered as almost completely independent while San Juan Sur is partially so. Although there are various factors operating in Atirro to induce the family to buy their staple foods at that center, these same factors are not apparent in San Juan Sur. To the contrary, there is at least one factor mitigating against the purchase of foodstuffs within that locality--the price. The local store-

keeper in order to pay for the expense of hauling all supplies up over the rugged mountain cart trail to his store charges a penny or so extra for freight. Many of the people prefer to go to Turrialba rather than pay this extra charge.

The pattern in many instances is for the people to make large purchases in Turrialba when they go to attend church or for some other function, and to utilize the local store to buy the smaller items, and amounts needed.

Fresh vegetables and fruit. According to Table 8, the fresh vegetable and fruit needs for the people of Atirro are satisfied in the majority of cases (78.85%) within their own settlement.

These people supplement their staple food diet with fresh vegetables and fruits of which there is almost an unlimited variety. Some families cultivate a few fruit and vegetable plants around their houses, in the back yard, or on small plots of land specifically loaned to them by the finca owner for this purpose. Others purchase these items from their neighbors within the community and still others procure them in outside centers such as Turrialba either from the venders in the streets or the more permanently established markets.

Of the families (78.85%) satisfying this need within the community, 63.46 per cent procure these items from others on a weekly basis while 9.62 per cent obtain them primarily from their own cultivations. This latter group appears on the Table as having satisfied this need at home. The other 5.77 per cent supply these needs from others at a frequency of monthly or less.

Of the 15.39 per cent who satisfy this need primarily in Turrialba, 5.77 per cent do so on a weekly basis, 5.77 per cent on a monthly basis, and 3.85 per cent have done so at some time within the twelve-month period.

La Suiza is a third center utilized in the satisfaction of this need, but is used primarily by only two families (3.85%) who do so on a weekly basis.

Only one family (1.92%) in the entire community stated that they had never utilized vegetables at some time during the period of their lives.

TABLE 8

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF FRESH VEGETABLE AND FRUIT NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction															
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Satisfied at home		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro			33	63.46	2	3.85	1	1.92			1	1.92	5	9.62	42	80.77
Turrialba			3	5.77	3	5.77	2	3.85							8	15.39
La Suiza			2	3.85											2	3.85
Total			38	73.08	5	9.62	3	5.77			1	1.92	5	9.62	52	100.01

TABLE 9

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF FRESH VEGETABLE AND FRUIT NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction															
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Satisfied at home		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur	1	1.35	27	36.49	3	4.05							41	55.41	72	97.30
Turrialba			2	2.70											2	2.70
Total	1	1.35	29	39.19	3	4.05							41	55.41	74	100.00

In San Juan Sur, as revealed in Table 9, the overwhelming majority (97.30%) of the families satisfy their fresh vegetable and fruit needs primarily within the locality. Of these, 41.89 per cent obtain them from others and 55.41 per cent depend chiefly upon their own cultivations for the satisfaction of this need. Of those who procure them from others, the majority (36.49%) do so on a weekly basis.

There are only two families (2.70%) who frequent Turrialba to Satisfy this need. Both of these utilize that center on a weekly basis for this purpose.

In comparison, although both communities are mainly self-sufficient in these items, San Juan Sur shows a higher percentage of independence with more than half the families supplying their own needs.

Those of Atirro, having less land and means than San Juan Sur to raise their own, must depend more upon purchases from others.

In San Juan Sur a kind of barter system is oftentimes put into operation. When the chayote vine of one family is producing in abundance, a part of the excess is taken to neighbors who later on may give, in return, a hand of platanos when these ripen. This is true of many food items to a degree, but it is particularly true of fruits and vegetables of which there is greater abundance.

Fresh meat. Each Friday, peons from Oriente, a nearby settlement, bring in the week's meat supply, and a local peon becomes the community butcher for the remainder of that day and Saturday morning. This meat, usually a quarter or half of beef or pork provides 80.77 per cent of the families of Atirro, as illustrated in Table 10, with their primary source of meat supply, 78.85 per cent of whom satisfy it on a weekly basis.

Although there are a number of butcher shops in Turrialba open regularly, only 15.38 per cent of the families utilize this center. All those who frequent Turrialba do so on a weekly basis.

La Suiza is a third center utilized in the satisfaction of this need, but serves as the primary source for only two families, (3.85%).

The families of San Juan Sur, according to Table 11, are all provided with their primary source of meat by the butcher shops of Turrialba. Of these 97.26 per cent satisfy this need on a weekly basis and 2.74 per cent do so monthly.

While the families of San Juan Sur are primarily dependent upon Turrialba for the satisfaction of this need, they have other important sources. Practically every family in the community raises a few chickens and a large number have pigs, turkeys, cattle, or some other domesticated animals which serve as additional sources of meat. The killing of a large animal is an event both socially and economically in the community. Early in the week the word goes around that one of the families is going to kill a pig, and that there will be plenty of meat available. On the day the animal is killed, the children gather early to watch it being cleaned and prepared. Later on the adults arrive and visit before making their pur-

TABLE 10

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF FRESH MEAT NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro			41	78.85	1	1.92							42	80.77
Turrialba			8	15.38									8	15.38
La Suiza			2	3.85									2	3.85
Total			51	98.08	1	1.92							52	100.00

TABLE 11

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF FRESH MEAT NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			71	97.26	2	2.74							73	100.00
Total			71	97.26	2	2.74							73	100.00

chases. A favorite spot is the barrel where the fat is boiled and young and old alike wait to taste the rendered "cracklings."

One such occasion was combined with a wedding. The newlyweds entertained friends inside and the larger group mingled outside around the barrel of boiling fat.

When the two localities are compared, Atirro is observed to be largely independent of other centers in the satisfaction of this need while San Juan Sur is apparently completely dependent upon Turrialba.

There are a number of families in Atirro (19.23%) who utilize outside centers. The families of San Juan Sur, though wholly dependent upon Turrialba for their primary source of fresh meat, have animals of their own which upon occasion provide the setting up of a temporary economic service and also the satisfaction of basic social needs as well.

Milk. As indicated in Table 12, the milk needs of the families of Atirro are wholly satisfied within the locality itself. It is interesting to note that while 96.15 per cent of the families are utilizing this service or have utilized it at one time or another in their lives, only 9.62 per cent satisfy the need at home. In other words, only five families of the settlement have cows to provide milk--these families being those of the finca owner, the commissary owner, the commissary owner's semi-retired father, and two peon families.

The milk needs of practically all those who utilize it are supplied by the numerous cows belonging to the finca owner. He maintains a dairy on the finca and sells unpasteurized milk to the residents for 40 centimos a botea (approximately 6.7 cents for one-fifth of a gallon).

Slightly more than one-half the families satisfy this need on a daily basis while 19.23 per cent utilize it weekly and 7.69 per cent do so monthly. There are two families (3.85%) who state that they have never used milk at all.

Some of the people commented that they were unable to buy sufficient milk even for their babies' needs, and on the other hand, the finca owner's wife stated that the peons refused to purchase the milk at a price which they considered to be reasonable. The average daily salary of a good[15] peon laborer is 4.15 colones.[16] If this laborer has a wife and a number

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[15] This qualifying term was added inasmuch as the less productive laborers do not receive this salary which has been stipulated as minimal by national law.

[16] Twenty-four colones comprise the weekly earning with social security taxes taken out. This is equivalent to $6.00.

TABLE 12

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF MILK NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction															
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Satisfied at home		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	30	57.69	10	19.23	4	7.69			1	1.92	2	3.85	5	9.62	52	100.00
Total	30	57.69	10	19.23	4	7.69			1	1.92	2	3.85	5	9.62	52	100.00

TABLE 13

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF MILK NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction															
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Satisfied at home		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur	19	25.68	10	13.51	4	5.41	4	5.41	4	5.41	2	2.70	29	39.19	72	97.31
Turrialba					1	1.35									1	1.35
Florencia	1	1.35													1	1.35
Total	20	27.03	10	13.51	5	6.76	4	5.41	4	5.41	2	2.70	29	39.19	74	100.01

of small children he cannot allot very much of his salary to the purchase of milk at 40 centimos a bottle. In fact, in most cases where milk is used it is only for the babies and small children. The family who buys more than two boteas (two-fifths gallon) daily is a rarity.

As indicated in Table 13, the families of San Juan Sur procure their milk supply almost always from within the confines of their own locality (94.61%). There are four exceptions to this--one family (1.35%) buys a powdered milk preparation (leche Klim) in Turrialba for their sickly baby, one family procures it in Florencia, and two families have never utilized it, but state that they would in San Juan Sur should the occasion ever arise.

A considerable proportion of those who satisfy this need (39.19%) do so at home through their own cows. These families also sell milk to their neighbor families 25.68 per cent of which procure it daily, 13.51 per cent weekly, 5.41 per cent monthly, 5.41 per cent at some time during the twelve-month period.

In San Juan Sur there are evidences of an insufficient supply of milk as is illustrated by the comment of one informant who stated that he would like to buy milk daily but the scarcity of milk and the high cost of buying makes this difficult, and he consequently procures only ten boteas a year.

When the two localities are compared, both are found to be highly independent of all other outside service centers. In Atirro the owership of the cows falls to a limited few and the large majority of families must purchase milk, whereas in San Juan Sur between one-third and one-half the

total families have their own milk cows to supply this need.

Of those families who must buy milk in both communities, the greatest number purchase it on a daily basis. Those families procuring it on a weekly basis constitute the next largest and only other sizeable group.

While a large percentage of the families appear to be satisfying this need regularly there are economic limitations in both localities which prohibits the use of milk by most family members, and it is purchased largely for the babies and young children.

Bakery items. As Table 14 indicates, with only two exceptions, all the families of Atirro (96.08%) primarily satisfy their bakery needs at their local commissary. Those two families (3.92%) who chiefly supply this need in an outside center do so in Turrialba weekly. The majority of those families purchasing bread (which is the only bakery product most people buy) in Atirro also do so on a weekly basis (56.86%). There are, however a considerable number of families (39.22%) who go daily to the commissary for bread.

It is significant to notice the valuation placed upon bread as indicated by the frequency of use. Every family in the community purchases it and all utilize it with considerable frequency--either daily or weekly.

That the people of San Juan Sur also consider bread to be the staff of life is indicated by Table 15. It is consumed by all families and while Turrialba is the primary center for the procuring of this food (59.73%) San Juan Sur is nevertheless of considerable importance in its satisfaction (38.89%). Most families in San Juan Sur (77.78%) purchase their bakery supplies (which consists almost exclusively of bread) on a weekly basis, but of those that satisfy this need daily (20.84%) the majority do so (16.67%) in San Juan Sur.

Florencia is a third center, which primarily supplies one family (1.39%) with their bakery needs.

There is one general store in San Juan Sur and one cantina both of which handle bread and other bakery items. Although the cantina is largely concerned with the sale of beverages--alcoholic and non-alcoholic--it does

TABLE 14

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF BAKERY NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	20	39.22	29	56.86									49	96.08
Turrialba			2	3.92									2	3.92
Total	20	39.22	31	60.78									51	100.00

TABLE 15

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF BAKERY NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba	3	4.17	40	55.56									43	59.73
San Juan Sur	12	16.67	15	20.83	1	1.39							28	38.89
Florencia			1	1.39									1	1.39
Total	15	20.84	56	77.78	1	1.39							72	100.01

specialize in bakery products.

Early each morning a son of the family running the cantina is sent to Turrialba to bring back as much fresh bread and other bakery foods as he can carry. By nightfall this supply is almost always exhausted which results in an almost constant supply of fresh bread.

When the two localities are compared, it is observed that Atirro is more independent with reference to this need, with the large majority of the families satisfying it at the local commissary.

Turrialba, the only other center utilized, is frequented primarily by two families. While a considerable percentage of the families in San Juan Sur satisfy this need at the local stores, a somewhat larger percentage are dependent primarily upon Turrialba. However, those utilizing this service in San Juan Sur do so with greater frequency.

Hardware items. Those families living in Atirro are dependent upon a variety of service centers for their hardware needs as indicated by Table 16. Of the seven centers listed as being utilized, Turrialba is of primary importance having served the hardware needs of 60.00 per cent of the families. Of the other centers, San Jose is the only one of any circumstance supplying the needs of 10.00 per cent of the families. While all but one family have satisfied this need at one time or another, none of them utilized this service oftener than one to six times during the twelve-month period.

There are 56.68 per cent who frequented the various centers in its satisfaction at some time during the year, and 41.67 per cent who did not utilize it at all during the twelve-month period. The infrequent use of this service by many is illustrated in the comment of one informant who stated that she and her husband had purchased cooking kettles when they were married eleven years previously, but that they had had to sell them all when her husband's brother died in order to pay expenses connected with his death.

The families of San Juan Sur, according to Table 17, depend very largely upon Turrialba (94.66%) in the satisfaction of this need. San Juan Sur itself is not listed inasmuch as this service is not found within the locality. There are three centers of minor importance each of which serve to primarily satisfy the hardware needs of one family--Florencia, San Jose, and San Pedro.

The usage of these items is infrequent as indicated in the Table with the majority of the families utilizing this service from one to a

TABLE 16

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF HARDWARE NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct
Turrialba							22	36.67	14	23.33	1	1.67	37	61.6
Atirro							10	16.67	2	3.33			12	20.0
San Jose									6	10.00			6	10.0
La Suiza							1	1.67	1	1.67			2	3.3
Alajuela							1	1.67					1	1.6
Tres Rios									1	1.67			1	1.6
Moravia									1	1.67			1	1.6
Total							34	56.68	25	41.67	1	1.67	60	100.0

TABLE 17

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF HARDWARE NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							55	73.33	16	21.33	1	1.33	72	95.9
Florencia							1	1.33					1	1.3
San Jose							1	1.33					1	1.3
San Pedro									1	1.33			1	1.3
Total							57	75.99	17	22.66	1	1.33	75	99.9

maximum of six times during the twelve-month period. There are in San Juan Sur 22.66 per cent of the families who have utilized this service with even less frequency. For many of this group, several years have elapsed since they last had occasion to purchase hardware items. One Family (1.33%) has never satisfied these needs.

When Atirro and San Juan Sur are compared and related to Turrialba it is observed that both are to a large extent dependent upon Turrialba in the satisfaction of this need, with San Juan Sur much more so than Atirr But while both communities are dependent upon Turrialba in this respect, their infrequent satisfaction is such as to make the effects of this dependency of minor importance in the delineation of the communities. For people in both localities, the satisfaction of this need is largely on a year to year basis or even less frequent.

Footwear. As revealed in Table 18, the families of Atirro depend upon several different centers for the satisfaction of their footwear needs. Atirro is not listed since this service is not provided by the local commissary. Of the various outside centers utilized all are of comparatively minor importance with the exception of Turrialba where 60.00 per cent of the families satisfy this need.

Of the 68.35 per cent who have at one time or another satisfied this need, 1.67 per cent have done so on a monthly basis, 55.01 per cent have utilized it at some time within the twelve-month period, 11.67 per cent of the families have utilized it previous to that period, and 31.68 per cent of the families have never utilized this service. The majority of those who satisfy this need do so infrequently.

Although the Table indicates that of the sixty families living in Atirro approximately two-thirds or forty have utilized this service, it must not be misconstrued as meaning that all members of these families have footwear. Actually the number of people wearing shoes is comparatively limited. Approximately a third of the families (31.68%) have no members at all who have ever utilized this service. Of those who do, seven families (11.67%) have at one time or another purchased shoes, but are not necessarily using them now. Even the remaining 55.01 per cent who indicate usage at sometime within the twelve-month period do not provide footwear for all. In a large family that buys footwear, it will usually be the father who has them, and perhaps occasionally the mother. The children rarely possess a pair of shoes. Where shoes are found in a family, they are many times saved for Sunday morning or Saturday afternoon trips

TABLE 18

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF FOOTWEAR NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct
Turrialba							30	50.00	6	10.00	16	26.67	52	86.6
Alajuela					1	1.67	1	1.67					2	3.3
Cartago							1	1.67			1	1.67	2	3.3
La Suiza							1	1.67			1	1.67	2	3.3
San Jose									1	1.67			1	1.6
No Lo Saben											1	1.67	1	1.6
Total					1	1.67	33	55.01	7	11.67	19	31.68	60	100.0

TABLE 19

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF FOOTWEAR NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							49	65.33	13	17.33	10	13.33	72	95.99
Cartago							2	2.67					2	2.67
San Jose									1	1.33			1	1.33
Total							51	68.00	14	18.66	10	13.33	75	100.00

to Turrialba.

The people mainly work in bare feet in spite of the potential danger connected with this practice.

As is indicated by Table 19, there is no attempt made in San Juan Sur to satisfy the footwear needs of the people because of the limited market for this service. As a consequence of this, those who utilize it must depend completely upon outside centers for its satisfaction. Of the centers frequented, Turrialba is by far the most popular as indicated by the 82.66 per cent who primarily go there. The other two centers listed are of minor importance, satisfying the major needs of only three families (4.00%).

There are 13.33 per cent of the families who have never frequented any center in the utilization of this service. Of those who do utilize it, 68.00 per cent have done so at some time during the twelve-month period. These families obtain their shoes largely on a year to year basis. The other 18.66 per cent have satisfied it at some time or another during their lifetime but not within this period. For a number of this latter group considerable time has elapsed since this service was last utilized.

While it may appear from reading the table that a sonsiderable percentage wear shoes, in reality, only a small proportion do. Those that have shoes usually save them for special occasions and, the community as a whole largely go barefooted.

When both localities are compared it is observed that a considerable proportion of families in both areas have members who purchase or have purchased shoes. Of the two, Atirro has a significantly larger percentage

of families who have never utilized this service than does San Juan Sur. In both instances they are chiefly dependent upon Turrialba in the satisfaction of this need and in both cases procurement is infrequent.

The percentage of people who actually have shoes in both localities is comparatively small. If there are shoes in the family they belong in most cases to the male head and perhaps occasionally to his wife. The children are almost totally without footwear of any kind.

Drug and medical supplies. The drugstore serves an important function in the lives of the people living in the Turrialba region. To a people troubled with frequent illness and disease the "botica" provides considerable relief, carrying an assortment of patented medicines and other medical supplies guaranteed to correct everything from a headache to the ringworm.

While Atirro and San Juan Sur have no "boticas," the commissary in Atirro and the general store in San Juan Sur both provide a limited number of medicines and other medical supplies. In general the amount and variety of these supplies offered in Atirro is considerably larger than in San Juan Sur.

As indicated in Table 20, the powders, pills, and medicines carried by the commissary in Atirro supplies primarily 68.34 per cent of the families with their "botica" needs. Of the remaining 30.01 per cent of the families who utilize this service, 20.00 per cent go to Turrialba, 5.01 per cent visit La Suiza, 3.33 per cent go to Alajuela, and 1.67 per cent frequent San Jose.

Those who utilize this service do so with greater frequency than might be expected. Of those satisfying it in Atirro, one family (1.67%) does so daily, 26.67 per cent weekly, 33.33 per cent monthly and 6.67 per cent at some time within the twelve-month period. From the frequency of use, the importance of this service is readily apparent.

Lesser important centers are frequented by smaller numbers of families in the satisfaction of this need, and are visited less often. Only one family (1.67%) in the locality has never utilized this service.

TABLE 20

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF DRUG AND MEDICAL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	1	1.67	16	26.67	20	33.33	4	6.67			1	1.67	42	70.01
Turrialba			1	1.67	6	10.00	5	8.33					12	20.00
La Suiza			1	1.67	1	1.67	1	1.67					3	5.01
Alajuela					2	3.33							2	3.33
San Jose									1	1.67			1	1.67
Total	1	1.67	18	30.01	29	48.33	10	16.67	1	1.67	1	1.67	60	100.02

TABLE 21

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF DRUG AND MEDICAL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			28	37.33	33	44.00	7	9.33	3	4.00			71	94.66
San Juan Sur					3	4.00	1	1.33					4	5.33
Total			28	37.33	36	48.00	8	10.66	3	4.00			75	99.99

All the families in San Juan Sur have used this service as is indicated in Table 21, although only a few of them (5.33%) have done so primarily within the locality itself because of the limited number of medical supplies procurable from the general store. For the large majority of families, Turrialba provides the main source for the satisfaction of this need, with 94.66 per cent primarily satisfying it at one time or another in that center.

The majority of those who utilize the service do so on a monthly basis (48.00%), although a considerable number do so weekly (37.33%).

When the two localities are compared it is observed that the families of Atirro depend largely upon the medical supplies offered at their community commissary for the satisfaction of this need. Those families living in San Juan Sur chiefly go to Turrialba. With reference to this service, Atirro may be considered as largely independent and San Juan Sur as being primarily dependent upon Turrialba.

In both localities the botica is widely used as indicated both by the frequency of use and by the fact that all families in San Juan Sur have utilized it and only one family in Atirro has never used it.

Bank. According to Table 22, approximately one-half (48.33%) of the families living in Atirro have utilized the bank in one of three outside centers. Inasmuch as there is no service in Atirro, those who utilize this service depend primarily upon Turrialba (43.33%) and secondarily upon San Jose (3.33%), and Alajuela (1.67%).

The usage by the people of these services is infrequent with the majority of them (36.67%) utilizing it at some time within the twelve-month period or less (8.33%). Only two families utilize it weekly--those of the finca owner and the commissary owner.

Of the 51.67 per cent who have never utilized the banking service, 50.00 per cent of them indicate Turrialba to be their potential service center.

As revealed in Table 23, the families of San Juan Sur have no banking service within their locality consequently the 46.66 per cent who utilize it must travel to outside centers. Of these, Turrialba is used by the most families (45.34%), and San Jose is utilized by 1.33 per cent.

More than half (53.33%) of the families have never utilized this service and of those who have, the majority have utilized it only infrequently--usually at some time within the twelve-month period.

A number of the farmers in San Juan Sur are in the process of paying for their finquitas and some of these are financed through the bank. Others obtain loans to enable them to carry on the production of coffee. When the coffee is harvested the loans are repaid.

A comparison reveals that in both settlements a little less than half the families have utilized the banking service. The percentage of

TABLE 22

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE BANK BY THE FAMILIES OF
ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			2	3.33			21	35.00	3	5.00	30	50.00	56	93.33
San Jose									2	3.33	1	1.67	3	5.00
Alajuela							1	1.67					1	1.67
Total			2	3.33			22	36.67	5	8.33	31	51.67	60	100.00

TABLE 23

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE BANK BY THE FAMILIES OF
SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					3	4.00	21	28.00	10	13.33	40	53.33	74	98.66
San Jose					1	1.33							1	1.33
Total					4	5.33	21	28.00	10	13.33	40	53.33	75	99.99

those who have not utilized it is slightly higher in San Juan Sur than Atirro. While both depend on different outside centers for the satisfaction of this service, in each case Turrialba is the primary place of satisfaction. Although both settlements utilize Turrialba with reference to this service the infrequency of use confines its importance.

Postal service. It becomes apparent from an analysis of Table 24 that the majority of the families (78.33%) living in Atirro primarily satisfy the postal service within the settlement. Those few who travel to outside centers in the satisfaction of this need utilize Turrialba (8.33%), La Suiza (1.67%), and Pejivalle (1.67%). There are 13.33 per cent of the families who have never used the service. When this group is combined with those who satisfy the service primarily within the settlement it becomes evident that 91.66 per cent of the families are independent of outside centers.

The majority of users have done so during the twelve-month period at a frequency of between one to six times (31.67%). The next most significant group (21.67%) utilize the service monthly, 16.67 per cent satisfy the need weekly. There are 13.33 per cent who have used it in years previous to the twelve-month period, and 3.33 per cent use it daily.

In San Juan Sur, as indicated by Table 25, 89.05 per cent of the families have utilized the postal service at one time or another in their lives, 64.39 per cent of the families primarily satisfying this need in San Juan Sur. Other centers utilized are Turrialba (23.29%) and Pavas (1.37%). When the percentage of those who have never utilized the service (10.96%) is combined with those who utilize it primarily within the community it becomes apparent that 75.35 per cent of the families are independent of outside centers with reference to the satisfaction of this service.

The majority of those utilizing the service have done so at some time during the specified twelve-months. A significant proportion have

TABLE 24

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE POSTAL SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	2	3.33	10	16.67	13	21.67	17	28.33	5	8.33	6	10.00	53	88.33
Turrialba							1	1.67	2	3.33	2	3.33	5	8.33
La Suiza							1	1.67					1	1.67
Pejivalle									1	1.67			1	1.67
Total	2	3.33	10	16.67	13	21.67	19	31.67	8	13.33	8	13.33	60	100.00

TABLE 25

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE POSTAL SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur			5	6.85	13	17.81	24	32.88	5	6.85	7	9.59	54	73.98
Turrialba					5	6.85	11	15.07	1	1.37	1	1.37	18	24.66
Pavas							1	1.37					1	1.37
Total			5	6.85	18	24.66	36	49.32	6	8.22	8	10.96	73	100.01

utilized it monthly (24.66%), minor groups of families have utilized it weekly (6.85%) and at some time during their lives but not during the past year (8.22%).

When the two localities are compared, both are observed to be chiefly independent of Turrialba and other outside centers with reference to the utilization of this service. Of the two, Atirro appears to be somewhat more independent having both a larger percentage of those who utilize it within the community and a larger percentage of those who have never used it.

The majority falls within the same frequency category--sometime during the twelve-month period--for both localities.

Telegraph. Table 26 illustrates that 70.00 per cent of the families of Atirro have never utilized the telegraph service. There are 30 per cent using it in spite of the limited correspondence among the people.

There are various reasons which could account for this such as: (1) The comparative low cost of sending telegrams around the country, (2) the rapidity of this type of service compared to letters, and (3) the facility it affords to those with reading and writing difficulties.

Moreover, in many instances when the people do correspond, it is usually because of an urgent matter.

Of the centers utilized for sending telegrams, Atirro is slightly more popular than Turrialba and La Suiza according to the frequency, but there is no difference in the percentage of families utilizing the three centers, 10.00 per cent in each case.

La Suiza is the most important potential service center with 30.00 per cent indicating this center as compared to 23.33 per cent for Atirro and 13.33 per cent for Turrialba.

According to Table 27, 44.00 per cent of the families of San Juan Sur utilize Turrialba as the center for sending telegrams. While this is the only center utilized, more than half (56.00%) of the people have never utilized this service and those that have, use it very infrequently.

For a number of the families the telegraph was utilized years ago on an urgent occasion, but has not been used since. Pavas was selected by one family (1.33%) as the primary potential service center.

A comparison of the two localities reveals that more than one-half the families in both areas have never used this service--Atirro having the

TABLE 26

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro					1	1.67	4	6.67	1	1.67	14	23.33	20	33.34
Turrialba					1	1.67	3	5.00	2	3.33	8	13.33	14	23.33
La Suiza					1	1.67	2	3.33	3	5.00	18	30.00	24	40.00
Pejivalle											1	1.67	1	1.67
No Lo Saben											1	1.67	1	1.67
Total					3	5.01	9	15.00	6	10.00	42	70.00	60	100.00

TABLE 27

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							18	24.00	15	20.00	41	54.67	74	98.67
Pavas											1	1.33	1	1.33
Total							18	24.00	15	20.00	42	56.00	75	100.00

larger percentage.

Those who do utilize it in Atirro do so with greater frequency than those in San Juan Sur. However, in both cases it is only occasionally used by the majority of users. San Juan Sur depends upon Turrialba as its telegraph center, but the families of Atirro are largely independent having telegraph facilities within the locality which is used somewhat more frequently than that of Turrialba.

Train. As indicated in Table 28, 96.67 per cent of the families of Atirro have utilized the train.[17] These families must all travel to outside centers in the satisfaction of this need since there is no railroad at Atirro. Of the centers utilized, Turrialba serves as the primary place of satisfaction for the majority of the families (89.99%). There are four other centers utilized, each serving as the place where one family (1.67%) primarily satisfies this need.

The majority of all those utilizing this service have done so at some time within the twelve-month period, but a considerable percentage (33.33%) have utilized it with even less frequency (not within the specified twelve months).

The families living in San Juan Sur have all utilized the train at some time as is indicated in Table 29. For the majority of them, the center of primary satisfaction is Turrialba (60.81%). Of the other centers utilized, Pavas is next in line of importance with 28.38 per cent, and Florencia with a percentage of 10.81 per cent.

Only a small percentage of the families utilize this service on a weekly basis (5.41%) or even a monthly basis (6.76%). The majority have utilized it at some time within the specified twelve months. There are seven families (9.45%) who utilize it with even less frequency. These people may have utilized the service at some time years ago, but have not

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[17] Note: With reference to the usage of the train--that center where the individual pays his fare and boards the train is the one considered. It is from where they go and not to where they arrive with which this study is concerned.

TABLE 28

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE TRAIN SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					2	3.33	32	53.33	20	33.33	2	3.33	56	93.32
Pavas							1	1.67					1	1.67
Oriente							1	1.67					1	1.67
Pejivalle							1	1.67					1	1.67
Peralta							1	1.67					1	1.67
Total					2	3.33	36	60.01	20	33.33	2	3.33	60	100.00

TABLE 29

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE TRAIN SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					4	5.41	38	51.35	3	4.05			45	60.81
Pavas			4	5.41			14	18.92	3	4.05			21	28.38
Florencia					1	1.35	6	8.11	1	1.35			8	10.81
Total			4	5.41	5	6.76	58	78.38	7	9.45			74	100.00

used it within the twelve-month period.

When the two localities are compared both are observed to be largely dependent upon Turrialba in the satisfaction of this service, Atirro much more so than San Juan Sur. In both settlements the service has been widely utilized as is indicated by a large majority of families.

Although the service has been widely used in both areas it has not been used with any marked degree of frequency. The percentage of families using it on a weekly and monthly basis is negligible in both instances.

The majority have used this service at some time within the twelve-month period. There is a substantial proportion, particularly in Atirro, who have utilized it at some time but not within the twelve-month period.

Bus. The bus as a means of transportation is or has been widely used by the families of Atirro as is indicated in Table 30. Of the 89.99 per cent of the families who have at one time utilized this service the majority do so on a monthly basis (45.00%) with a considerable number utilizing it occasionally during the year (25.00%) and a lesser percentage utilizing it weekly (15.00%).

Of the several places utilized, the one of primary importance is La Cruzada with 53.35 per cent of the families utilizing it. The pattern is for the people to walk from Atirro, a distance of 5.2 kilometers, to La Cruzada and from there to take the bus to wherever it is that they are going.[18]

Turrialba (16.67%), Atirro (13.33%), La Suiza (5.00%), and Santa Rosa (1.67%) are other places utilized in the satisfaction of this service, but compared to La Cruzada are all of minor importance.

As indicated by Table 31, a little over one-half (58.67%) of the families living in San Juan Sur utilize the bus. Since San Juan Sur is inaccessible to ordinary vehicles such as the bus, this service must be utilized in outside centers.

Of the centers utilized, Turrialba ranks highest as the place of satisfaction which is evidenced by the 50.66 per cent of the families who listed this center. San Jose is used by some (5.33%) and La Cruzada[19] and

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[18] Utilizing the bus is defined in terms of where the people go to take passage--not the place where they arrive.

[19] This La Cruzada is different from that utilized by the residents of Atirro. It is situated on the Turrialba-San Jose highway in the vicinity of San Juan Sur.

TABLE 30

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE BUS SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Cruzada			4	6.67	13	21.67	14	23.33	1	1.67	4	6.67	36	60.01
Turrialba			1	1.67	8	13.33			1	1.67	1	1.67	11	18.34
Atirro	1	1.67	2	3.33	5	8.33							8	13.33
La Suiza			2	3.33	1	1.67					1	1.67	4	6.67
Santa Rosa							1	1.67					1	1.67
Total	1	1.67	9	15.00	27	45.00	15	25.00	2	3.34	6	10.01	60	100.02

TABLE 31

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE BUS SERVICE BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					3	4.00	28	37.33	7	9.33	31	41.33	69	91.99
San Jose							3	4.00	1	1.33			4	5.33
Cartago			1	1.33									1	1.33
La Cruzada							1	1.33					1	1.33
Total			1	1.33	3	4.00	32	42.66	8	10.66	31	41.33	75	99.98

Cartago by one family each (1.33%). The large majority of those utilizing this service in these places do so infrequently--perhaps once or twice a year.

Some 41.33 per cent of the families have never had any of their members utilize this service.

A comparison of the two localities reveals San Juan Sur to be much more independent of the two with reference to this service. The bus is a major means of transportation for the people of Atirro as is indicated by the percentage of people utilizing it and by the frequency with which it is used.

San Juan Sur, however, shows a much smaller proportion of families utilizing the bus and these do so very infrequently. While San Juan Sur is chiefly dependent upon Turrialba for the use of the bus, Atirro is largely dependent upon La Cruzada.

Cantina. As indicated in Table 32,[20] the majority of the families of Atirro who utilize the cantina go primarily to La Suiza (51.72%). The remaining 27.59 per cent use this service in Turrialba.

There is no cantina in Atirro since finca regulations forbid the sale of liquor and beer. There are twelve families (20.68%) who state that they have never utilized this service. For the majority of these, La Suiza is the potential service center. One family stated that they have never utilized this service and don't know where they would go to utilize it should they ever have occasion to do so.

As is indicated by Table 33, two centers are visited by the families of San Juan Sur in the utilization of the cantina. Of the two, Turrialba is most important with 50.00 per cent of the families being primarily dependent upon it. San Juan Sur does, however, supply primarily the needs of fifteen families (20.27%).

There are twenty-two families (29.73%) who have never used this service at any time. The primary potential service center for this latter group is also Turrialba (28.38%) with the secondary center being Pavas (1.35%).

When Atirro and San Juan Sur are compared it becomes apparent that they are both largely dependent upon outside centers in the satisfaction of this need. Because of finca regulations, the people must go outside of the settlement to use this service. Those satisfying this need are oriented primarily to La Suiza and secondly to Turrialba.

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[20] Because of the strong objection of the Institute staff against this question, no attempt was made to ascertain the frequency of use.

TABLE 32

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF "CANTINA" NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction					
	Yes		No		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Suiza	30	51.72	8	13.79	38	65.51
Turrialba	16	27.59	3	5.17	19	32.76
No Lo Saben			1	1.72	1	1.72
Total	46	79.31	12	20.68	58	99.99

TABLE 33

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF "CANTINA" NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction					
	Yes		No		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba	37	50.00	21	28.38	58	78.38
San Juan Sur	15	20.27			15	20.27
Pavas			1	1.35	1	1.35
Total	52	70.27	22	29.73	74	100.00

While San Juan Sur has a cantina possessing a limited stock of alcoholic beverages, the majority of those who purchase them do so in Turrialba.

In Both communities there is a significant proportion of the populace who have never utilized this service--the proportion being highest in San Juan Sur. When the percentage of those in San Juan Sur who have never utilized this service (29.73%) are combined with those who have utilized it primarily within the locality (20.27%), it becomes apparent that 50 per cent of the people do not leave the community in the primary satisfaction of this service.

Movie. As revealed in Table 34, slightly over half (51.67%) of the families of Atirro have never attended the movies. Of the 48.33 per cent who have utilized this service at one time or another, the majority (30.01%) have indicated Turrialba to be the primary center of satisfaction. San Jose is next in importance with 10.01 per cent of the families primarily satisfying this need there. Other minor centers of satisfaction are Pejivalle (3.33%), Tres Rios (1.67%), Heredia (1.67%), and Cartago (1.67%). One family who has never utilized this service lists Atirro as their potential service center. This may be a reflection of the family's complete detachment from movies since they are not shown in Atirro although the new finca owner has expressed hope that this service can be brought to the settlement soon.

The majority of those who do attend the movies do so infrequently as indicated by the frequency section of the table. The few who do utilize it fairly frequently are generally those of more means and facilities for transportation. For example, the one family who attends the movie weekly is that of the commissary owner.

The finca owner's family, and that of the supervisor of the coffee beneficios are two of the few who utilize it monthly. For the people of the community generally and particularly for the peon population this service is comparatively unimportant.

Table 35, which reveals the movie habits of families living in San Juan Sur shows that the large percentage of families (74.67%) have never attended a movie. The few families who have at one time or another utilized it do so largely in Turrialba (22.66%), though Limon (1.33%), and

TABLE 34

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF MOVIE NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year		Satisfied but not within past year (1yr-6yr)		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			1	1.67	4	6.67	9	15.00	4	6.67	30	50.00	48	80.01
San Jose					1	1.67	1	1.67	4	6.67			6	10.01
Pejivalle							2	3.33					2	3.33
Tres Rios							1	1.67					1	1.67
Heredia							1	1.67					1	1.67
Cartago							1	1.67					1	1.67
Atirro											1	1.67	1	1.67
Total			1	1.67	5	8.34	15	25.01	8	13.34	31	51.67	60	100.03

TABLE 35

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION
OF MOVIE NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year		Satisfied but not within past year (1yr-6yr)		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							7	9.33	10	13.33	56	74.67	73	97.33
Limon							1	1.33					1	1.33
Cartago									1	1.33			1	1.33
Total							8	10.66	11	14.66	56	74.67	75	99.99

Cartago (1.33%) are minor centers. The various families who attend the movies do so very infrequently with only 10.66 per cent utilizing it at all during the specified twelve-month period and with the larger proportion (14.66%) utilizing it with an even lesser frequency.

When San Juan Sur and Atirro are compared it becomes apparent that the movies do not constitute an important service in the lives of the majority of the families living in both localities. In both settlements, over half the families have never been to a movie. Of the two, San Juan Sur is the most independent of this service as is indicated by the considerably greater proportion of families having never used it and by the greater infrequency of usage on the part of those who do use it than those in Atirro. While Turrialba is the center where most families of both communities who satisfy the need do so, the proportion is nevertheless negligible. Both communities--especially San Juan Sur--are, for the most part, independent of this service.

SOCIAL NEEDS

Informal Visiting. An analysis of Table 36 concerning the informal visiting by families living in Atirro reveals that all but one family enter into this activity (98.33%), and that of these, 96.66 per cent primarily participate in this activity within the settlement itself. Only one family (1.67%), that of the finca owner, is oriented outward in their visiting patterns.

The large majority (88.33%) of those visiting within the settlement do so daily, while the remainder of those visiting within the locality (8.33%), and the one family visiting in Turrialba (1.67%) do so on a weekly basis.

The head of the one family who reported no visiting stated that he was very humanitarian, but very much apart from the rest of the people. He further stated that he did not enjoy talking or visiting with anyone, but that he liked and found diversion in work. A short time after he had expressed this opinion, other peons reported that he had become so mentally ill that hospitalization was required. Some months later he was released and returned to the finca.

Informal visiting serves a major function in the village of Atirro. It is not only the most vital form of communication, but is the major means by which the people divert and entertain themselves. The typical day, from early morning until time for retiring at night, is filled with conversation which acts as an integrating force.

As revealed in Table 37 no less than 100.00 per cent of the families living in San Juan Sur carry on their informal visiting primarily within

TABLE 36

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION
IN INFORMAL VISITING ACTIVITIES BY
THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	53	88.33	5	8.33							1	1.67	59	98.33
Turrialba			1	1.67									1	1.67
Total	53	88.33	6	10.00							1	1.67	60	100.00

TABLE 37

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION
IN INFORMAL VISITING ACTIVITIES BY
THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur	61	81.33	14	18.67									75	100.00
Total	61	81.33	14	18.67									75	100.00

the settlement itself and no outward orientation was indicated.

An observation of the frequency section of the Table illustrates that the large majority of families (81.33%) visit daily, and the remainder of the population (18.67%) visit weekly.

The community evidences a very high degree of integration and cohesiveness. As will be further illustrated in a later chapter the system of informal interrelationships bind the families together into a tightly knit social organization.

The lives of the people are characterized by informal, and frequent social interaction. Even when the people are traveling down to Turrialba they stop and visit with friends along the way, both those whom they meet on the road and those living along the route they travel. Some idea as to the extent of the development of "community consciousness" or "consciousness of kind" among the resident families can be gained whenever a non-resident walks or rides horseback through the community.

One incident was observed in which a man, looking no different in dress and general appearance than might be expected from some of those living within the community, was immediately spotted and identified as a stranger, upon his entering the service center area of the locality. The people know who lives in the community--they know who belongs to their group and when a newcomer enters, they are immediately aware of it.

When the two localities are compared with reference to this important social activity it becomes immediately apparent that they are both independent with reference to participating in this social activity, particularly San Juan Sur.

As indicated in the frequency section of the Tables, the informal visiting is very frequent with the majority of it occuring in both localities on a daily basis and with the remainder occurring weekly.

It may be noted that a slightly higher percentage in San Juan Sur visit weekly than in Atirro. This is at least partially explainable in the greater distances between the homes. The families are spread out over a comparatively wide area with the greatest concentration occurring along the ox-cart trail that passes through the locality.

In Atirro all the families are grouped together in a small area.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Elementary school. As revealed in Table 38, the elementary school needs of those living in Atirro are being or have been largely satisfied within the settlement. This is illustrated by the 51.73 per cent of the families (out of a total 79.26%) who have now or who have had in the past members in attendance.

The mobility of the population as well as their heterogeneity of origin is indicated by the large number of places in which the members of the families have attended school. Aside from Atirro, no locality is represented by as much as 4.00 per cent of the families.

The 6.90 per cent of families who have had members attend school in Atirro in the past attests to the recent migration to that settlement of many families.

The 20.69 per cent of the families who have never had any members attend an elementary school in Atirro or anywhere else is indicative of the extent to which the educational system has failed, in this instance, in its theoretical goal to provide an education for all its citizens when they are of school age.

It is no more than to be expected that 18.97 per cent of these families who have never had any members attending elementary school should place Atirro as their potential service center in this respect because of proximity and their physical isolation from other educational institutions of this type.

While Table 39 indicates a certain heterogeneity of origin among

TABLE 38

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	26	44.83							4	6.90	11	18.97	41	70.70
La Suiza									2	3.45			2	3.45
Escazu									2	3.44			2	3.44
San Francisco de Dos Rios									1	1.72			1	1.72
San Juan de San Jose									1	1.72			1	1.72
Juan Vinas									1	1.72			1	1.72
Cartago									1	1.72			1	1.72
Navarro de Cartago									1	1.72			1	1.72
San Jose									1	1.72			1	1.72
Cot de Cartago									1	1.72			1	1.72
Tres Rios									1	1.72			1	1.72
San Rafael de Heredia									1	1.72			1	1.72
Heredia									1	1.72			1	1.72
Pejivalle									1	1.72			1	1.72
San Mateo									1	1.72			1	1.72
Turrialba											1	1.72	1	1.72
Total	26	44.83							20	34.43	12	20.69	58	99.95

TABLE 39

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur	27	36.00					26	34.67	1	1.33	54	72.00		
Turrialba	1	1.33					2	2.67			3	4.00		
San Juan Norte							7	9.33			7	9.33		
Florencia							3	4.00			3	4.00		
Cartago							2	2.67			2	2.67		
San Jose							1	1.33			1	1.33		
San Vicente de Moravia							1	1.33			1	1.33		
Pacayas							1	1.33			1	1.33		
Orotina							1	1.33			1	1.33		
Tres Rios							1	1.33			1	1.33		
Sabanilla de Montes de Oca							1	1.33			1	1.33		
Total	28	37.33					46	61.32	1	1.33	75	99.98		

the residents of San Juan Sur as revealed by their place of elementary instruction, it nevertheless indicates a lack of mobility among those moving to the locality as verified by the 34.67 per cent of families whose members have received education at some time during the past in San Juan Sur. The fact that 70.67 per cent of all family elementary instruction is taking place or has occurred in San Juan Sur in the past is indicative of this fact.

The neighbor locality of San Juan Norte over the hill ranks second with 9.33 per cent of the people having satisfied this need there. Turrialba has contributed to the education of only 4.00 per cent of the families residing in San Juan Sur. The percentage of families have no members with elementary schooling is exceedingly low, being only 1.33 per cent or one family.

A comparison of the two localities reveals that both are almost completely independent of Turrialba or any other community relative to the satisfaction of this particular need. San Juan Sur provides or has provided a somewhat greater proportion of the people with their education (19.94% more) than has Atirro thus indicating less mobility.

The significantly smaller number of centers that have shared in the instruction of the members of the seventy-five families living in San Juan Sur as compared to those sharing in the instruction of the sixty families living in Atirro serves to point out a lesser degree of heterogeneity and mobility among the people of San Juan Sur.

Another striking contrast is in the percentage of those who have never satisfied this function in the two communities. While Atirro has a substantial number (20.69%) in this category, San Juan Sur has only one family, or 1.33 per cent.

Secondary school. The relative lack of use of the secondary school is clearly illustrated in Table 40. Atirro is not represented in the Table since there is no secondary school in that locality.

Of the few families utilizing this service in other centers, 3.33 per cent had done so in Turrialba with an equal percentage in San Jose, and one family (1.67%) has a daughter attending school in Cartago. Of all the young people of secondary school age in the community, she is the only one in school at the present time. The difficulties connected with providing this educational opportunity for a child make it prohibitive for all but a few peons living in outlying communities such as Atirro and San Juan Sur. The fact that 91.67 per cent of the families had never had any of their members attend the secondary school anywhere amply illustrates this point.

In San Juan Sur, as revealed by Table 41, only one family has had a member attend secondary school and that occurred in San Jose. The other 98.67 per cent of the families do not include any of their members as having had this experience.

Neither San Juan Sur nor Atirro provide facilities for secondary education and therefore do not appear on these Tables. Yet an analysis of the two communities does not reveal them to be particularly dependent upon Turrialba for the utilization of this service. Although members of two families from Atirro have satisfied this need in Turrialba in the past, no one in San Juan Sur has ever done so.

Turrialba, in this particular instance, is important only as a potential service center.

TABLE 40

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba									2	3.33	53	88.33	55	91.66
San Jose									2	3.33	1	1.67	3	5.00
Cartago	1	1.67											1	1.67
Heredia											1	1.67	1	1.67
Total	1	1.67							4	6.66	55	91.67	60	100.00

TABLE 41

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF SATISFACTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL NEEDS BY THE FAMILIES OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No/	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Jose									1	1.33			1	1.33
Turrialba											74	98.67	74	98.67
Total									1	1.33	74	98.67	75	100.00

HEALTH NEEDS

Unidad Sanitaria. Table 42 indicates a limited usage of the Unidad Sanitaria by the families of Atirro, though in most of these cases this usage is infrequent. Only two families (3.33%) utilize it monthly in Turrialba, while 16.67 per cent have used it with still a lesser frequency during their lifetime but not within the specified twelve-months.

This service was utilized in Tres Rios and Limon by only one family in each case (1.67%) and that usage was infrequent. It is significant to note that more than half of the families in Atirro (56.67%) have never used this service. One reason for this is that there is no unit of the Unidad in Atirro, but there is a dispensary given to the usage of doctors from the Social Security Hospital who visit the finca twice monthly.

The laborers of the finca furthermore are all insured under the Social Security Law and are entitled to receive this latter service without additional expense thus removing the necessity of traveling out to seek the aid of the Unidad in other communities.

As is revealed in Table 43, the families of San Juan Sur frequent Turrialba exclusively for the satisfaction of health needs through the Unidad Sanitaria; a major reason for this is that there is no other Unidad close to San Juan Sur.

While members of approximately two-thirds of the families have utilized the Unidad, this usage has been infrequent and sporadic. Some 36.00 per cent have utilized it at some time or other during the twelve-month period, but their frequency has not approached what could be termed monthly. The other 29.33 per cent have not utilized it during the twelve-month period

TABLE 42

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE "UNIDAD SANITARIA" SERVICES
BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN
ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					2	3.33	10	16.67	12	20.00	34	56.67	58	96.67
Tres Rios							1	1.67					1	1.67
Limon							1	1.67					1	1.67
Total					2	3.33	12	20.01	12	20.00	34	56.67	60	100.01

TABLE 43

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE "UNIDAD SANITARIA" SERVICES
BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN
SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							27	36.00	22	29.33	26	34.67	75	100.00
Total							27	36.00	22	29.33	26	34.67	75	100.00

but have had occasion to do so at some time in their lives.

Slightly over one-third of the people have never used this service (34.67%) in spite of the fact that the expenses connected with it are defrayed by the government.

In comparison then, both Atirro and San Juan Sur are to a degree dependent upon Turrialba for the satisfaction of this service, though the usage is infrequent in both instances with large numbers of families having never used it. Somewhat greater usage is made by the people of San Juan Sur than by those of Atirro. This is explained in view of the fact that many of the independent farmers are not entitled to free care under the regulations of the government social security law.

Social Security Hospital. As is indicated in Table 44, the Social Security Hospital services have been utilized at some time in the lives of 75.00 per cent of the families living in Atirro. While this percentage might, at first, appear high, it is not unusual since all the peon families of Atirro are insured by the Social Security Law, and under its provisions, are entitled to free medical care, including free medicants. But when this is considered along with the fact that the social security doctor makes trips to Atirro twice monthly to see the sick, it becomes significant that in spite of this, 55.00 per cent of the families have never in their lifetime utilized this service.

Although the regional Social Security Hospital is in Turrialba, the finca, nevertheless, provides a dispensary in which the doctors may receive and treat their patients when they make their visits to the settlement. However, the majority of the families utilize this service in Turrialba (45.00%) rather than in Atirro (25.00%). There are factors which may account for this: (1) While the doctor visits the finca twice monthly he stays only for an hour or two in the afternoon. The limited time he spends in the settlement restricts his contacts with the patients while there. (2) There are only limited facilities available in the settlement and a number of the patients do not report illnesses until they have reached such an advanced stage as to require a more complete treatment and perhaps hospitalization. (3) The people's illnesses are not confined to the periods when the doctor visits the finca and in his absence, they seek aid from the staff at the hospital in Turrialba.

San Jose is the center utilized primarily by two families (3.33%)

TABLE 44

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF SOCIAL SECURITY HOSPITAL SERVICES
BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN
ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			2	3.33	21	35.00	4	6.67	13	21.67	40	66.67		
Atirro			7	11.67	8	13.33			2	3.33	17	28.33		
San Jose					2	3.33					2	3.33		
Limon					1	1.67					1	1.67		
Total			9	15.00	32	53.33	4	6.67	15	25.00	60	100.00		

TABLE 45

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF SOCIAL SECURITY HOSPITAL SERVICES
BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN
SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfactionn											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			2	2.67	9	12.00	28	37.33	11	14.67	24	32.00	74	98.67
San Jose									1	1.33			1	1.33
Total			2	2.67	9	12.00	28	37.33	12	16.00	24	32.00	75	100.00

and Limon was used at one time within the twelve-month period by one family (1.67%). The families who utilize this service did so chiefly within the specified twelve-month period as is indicated by the large percentage of 53.33 per cent. Of those who utilize it on a monthly basis, the majority (11.67%) satisfy the need in Atirro, while those who have utilized it in previous years but not during the twelve-month period (6.67%) have done so exclusively in Turrialba.

In San Juan Sur, as indicated in Table 45, approximately one-third (32.00%) of the families have never utilized this service. A partial explanation for this being that because of their occupational status as peasant farmers who cultivate their own lands instead of working for hire, a number of the families do not fall under the Social Security Law and consequently are denied its hospital and medical care benefits.

Of those who utilize this service the majority (66.67%) do or have in the past done so in Turrialba. The only other center utilized in its satisfaction is San Jose, upon which one family (1.33%) is primarily dependent. San Juan Sur is not listed inasmuch as the social security doctors fail to visit the community.

With reference to this fact, one of the prestige leaders of the community, a hard-working, communally minded farmer, told of how he had taken it upon himself to study the Social Security Law after its passage and in reading he found that the social security doctors were referred to as "doctors of the people" and that in accordance with the law they were supposed to make a trip to San Juan Sur once a month to see the sick. The informant waited and no doctors came, so finally he went down to Turrialba and,

"brought the doctor up by the arm" to San Juan Sur. That is the only time the doctor has ever visited the settlement.

Those who travel to Turrialba and San Jose to utilize this service have largely done so at some time within the twelve-month period at a frequency of from one to six visits (37.33%). The proportion of those who have utilized this service both more or less frequently than this, are found to be in approximately equal numbers--14.67 per cent having utilized it more frequently, and 16.00 per cent less frequently.

When the two localities of Atirro and San Juan Sur are compared, it becomes apparent that while the families in each locality satisfy this need in more than one center, in both instances the families are largely dependent upon Turrialba for its satisfaction. Of the two, however, San Juan Sur is the most dependent upon outside centers because of the doctors' failure to visit the settlement. A considerable porportion of those who satisfy the need in Atirro do so within their own locality, especially those who satisfy it more frequently.

In both localities a considerable proportion of the families have never utilized the service, although in San Juan Sur the proportion is somewhat larger than in Atirro.

The frequency of usage section indicates that while the two settlements may be largely dependent upon Turrialba in the satisfaction of this need, their visits to that center for this purpose are not of sufficient frequency to serve as a major force in bringing about a basic integration between these localities and Turrialba.

Private dentist. There are various places to which the families of Atirro go when utilizing the services of a private dentist. Of these Turrialba is most important as indicated in Table 46 with 33.34 per cent of the families having obtained this service there. The usage of this service has been very infrequent, however, with the majority of these people (21.67%) not having utilized it during the twelve-month period. Services such as this may be utilized only occasionally if ever in the lifetime of a person.

San Jose, Cartago and Limon are other service centers that have also occasionally been utilized in the satisfaction of this particular service. The number of families visiting these centers are very few and their visits infrequent.

More than half (56.67%) of the families indicate that they have never utilized this service, but in the event they did, Turrialba would be the place to which the majority (55.00%) would go thus making it their potential service center.

The families of San Juan Sur as indicated in Table 47 utilize to some extent the services of private dentists. Since there are no dentists in San Juan Sur, this need is wholly satisfied in outside centers. Turrialba is where most people go as illustrated by the 56.00 per cent who have satisfied this need there, but their usage has been very infrequent. This is illustrated by the fact that 40.00 per cent of those utilizing the service have not done so within the twelve-month period and the remaining 16.00 per cent have utilized it only occasionally during this time.

San Jose and Cartago are minor centers seldom used and by only three

TABLE 46

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE SERVICES OF
PRIVATE DENTISTS BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							7	11.67	13	21.67	33	55.00	53	88.34
San Jose							2	3.33	2	3.33			4	6.66
Cartago									1	1.67	1	1.67	2	3.34
Limon									1	1.67			1	1.67
Total							9	15.00	17	28.34	34	56.67	60	100.01

TABLE 47

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE SERVICES OF
PRIVATE DENTISTS BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							12	16.00	30	40.00	29	38.67	71	94.67
San Jose									2	2.67	1	1.33	3	4.00
Cartago									1	1.33			1	1.33
Total							12	16.00	33	44.00	30	40.00	75	100.00

families (4.00). A substantial proportion of the families (40.00%) have never utilized this service but 38.67 per cent indicate Turrialba to be their potential service center.

In a comparison of these two settlements, the effect of the Social Security Hospital is again apparent. Although both localities have sizeable numbers of families who have never utilized the service, the percentage is somewhat higher (16.67% more) in Atirro than in San Juan Sur. The reason the families in San Juan Sur utilize the private dentist to a greater extent is at least partially explained by the fact that they are not protected by the Social Security Health Plan.

Both San Juan Sur and Atirro must depend upon outside centers for the satisfaction of this need inasmuch as the service does not exist in their own localities. While Turrialba is the most popular of these outside centers, yet only one-third of those in Atirro and little more than one-half of those in San Juan Sur have ever utilized it and these only infrequently.

Private doctor. As indicated in Table 48, the large majority of the families living in Atirro have never utilized the services of the private doctor (81.67%). For the few families who have or do utilize this service, Turrialba is the principal center of satisfaction (10.00%), San Jose is a secondary center (6.67%), and Cartago is a minor center (1.67%). While 6.66 per cent have utilized the service within the twelve-month period, the greater proportion (10.01%) have used it even less frequently.

An observation of Table 49 reveals that approximately one-half (49.33%) of the families in San Juan Sur have never utilized the services of a private doctor. For those who have satisfied this need the majority have done so principally in Turrialba (41.33%). Other centers of minor importance in its satisfaction are Cartago (5.33%), Paraiso (2.67%), and San Jose (1.33%).

The majority of the families using this service (26.67%) indicate that they have done so only previous to the twelve-month period. The only other significant group (22.66%) indicate usage of the service during the specified twelve-months indicating very infrequent usage.

When the two localities are compared, both are observed to be largely independent of Turrialba. The distinction is one of degree, with Atirro having a significantly larger percentage of families who have never utilized the service at all. In both instances those families who do utilize it must travel outside since it is not available in their own locality. This travel to outside centers is largely infrequent as indicated by the Tables with the majority of families in both cases having satisfied the need prior to the twelve-month period.

TABLE 48

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE SERVICES OF
PRIVATE DOCTORS BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba							2	3.33	4	6.67	48	80.00	54	90.00
San Jose			1	1.67			2	3.33	1	1.67	1	1.67	5	8.34
Cartago									1	1.67			1	1.67
Total			1	1.67			4	6.66	6	10.01	49	81.67	60	100.01

TABLE 49

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION
OF THE SERVICES OF
PRIVATE DOCTORS BY THE FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					1	1.33	16	21.33	14	18.67	36	48.00	67	89.33
Cartago									4	5.33			4	5.33
Paraiso									2	2.67			2	2.67
San Jose							1	1.33			1	1.33	2	2.66
Total					1	1.33	17	22.66	20	26.67	37	49.33	75	99.99

Private obstetrical nurse. The data in Table 50 indicate that the large majority of the families living in Atirro (80.00%) have never made use of the services of a private obstetrical nurse in childbirth. There are various reasons for this: (1) Being insured under the Social Security Health Plan they are enabled to go to the hospital in Turrialba to have their babies born. (2) The inaccessibility of and expense connected with the utilization of an obstetrical nurse restricts this service for many. (3) Many women are accustomed to having babies alone or with the assistance of a trusted partera and do not particularly feel the need of having an obstetrical nurse attend them. (4) In Atirro there are seven bachelor families who naturally would have no need of this service.

Those who do utilize a private obstetrical nurse must seek outside of Atirro as there are none in the village. Several outside centers are utilized in this respect with Turrialba being only slightly favored (6.67%) over the other centers, particularly San Jose (5.00%). When all these centers are considered together only 20.00 per cent of the families have ever utilized private obstetrical nurses and this usage has been very infrequent as is indicated by the 18.35 per cent of the families who have not utilized them during the twelve-month period, and for some of these families several years have elapsed since they were utilized.

In Table 51, the extent to which the families in San Juan Sur utilize the private obstetrical nurse is indicated. In this locality only 10.67 per cent of the families have ever utilized the service and in the majority of these cases it has been some time since its utilization. Only two families have made use of it within the twelve-month period. Turrialba

TABLE 50

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A PRIVATE OBSTETRICAL NURSE BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Tota	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	P
Turrialba							1	1.67	3	5.00	43	71.67	47	78
San Jose									3	5.00	1	1.67	4	6
Pejivalle									1	1.67	2	3.33	3	5
Tres Rios									1	1.67			1	1
Alajuela									1	1.67			1	1
Limon									1	1.67			1	1
Cartago									1	1.67			1	1
No Lo Saben											2	2.33	2	2
Total							1	1.67	11	18.35	48	80.00	60	100

TABLE 51

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A PRIVATE OBSTETRICAL NURSE BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (lyr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct	No.	Pc
Turrialba							2	2.67	6	8.00	66	88.00	74	98.
No Lo Saben											1	1.33	1	1.
Total							2	2.67	6	8.00	67	89.33	75	100.

is the unchallenged service center utilized in this respect. This may be partially explained by the absence of an obstetrical nurse in San Juan Sur and the greater distance of other centers that could compete with Turrialba.

Some basic reasons why more families in San Juan Sur have not utilized this service are: (1) insufficient funds, (2) the inaccessibility of the obstetrical nurse, (3) some are able to enter the Social Security Hospital of Turrialba, and (4) there are experienced parteras living in the locality.

When the two localities, Atirro and San Juan Sur, are compared it is to be noted that neither utilize the private obstetrical nurse to any marked degree. While neither settlement have such persons within their group and must consequently seek them from outside centers, the extent of their dependency upon Turrialba or other centers is minimal because of the infrequency of use. In this respect San Juan Sur is the most independent of the two communities with 89.33 per cent having never utilized the service as compared to 80.00 per cent in Atirro. However, in cases of utilization, San Juan Sur is more dependent upon Turrialba for the satisfaction of the service than Atirro.

Partera. That the partera is widely utilized by the families living in Atirro is clearly shown in Table 52. In the United States it is customary for the mother to stay with the daughter and help with the work, but in Atirro the mother, some other female relative or close friend comes to serve as a partera. This partially accounts for the wide variety of places from which parteras are secured. Aside from this fact some families have a great deal of faith in a partera and will have her travel some distance to serve in this capacity.

Of the families living in Atirro, the majority 62.62 per cent have utilized the partera. Of the many places from which these have been procured, Atirro itself is the most prominent both from the standpoint of numbers (27.11%), and frequency. Although the partera is utilized infrequently because of the birth process, nevertheless, the size of many families would indicate a regularity of utilization.

Many of the 37.26 per cent who have never utilized a partera have had only the assistance of their husbands during the birth of their children, while still others have had no assistance. This is aptly illustrated by the comment of one Atirro woman who states that she had given birth to fourteen children without assistance from anyone, and that "not even my husband has paid any notice to the events."

All but 17.34 per cent of the families living in San Juan Sur have utilized the partera at one time or another, as is illustrated in Table 53. Of those 82.66 per cent who have utilized this service, the large majority have done so in San Juan Sur (64.00%). Aside from San Juan Sur, some minor utilization is made of San Juan Norte (6.67%), Florencia (2.66%) and other centers (1.33% each) in this respect.

TABLE 52

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A "PARTERA" BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro							5	8.47	11	18.64	7	11.86	23	38.97
Tuis							1	1.69	1	1.69			2	3.38
La Linea Vieja							1	1.69	1	1.69			2	3.38
Oriente									2	3.39			2	3.39
Florencia									2	3.39			2	3.39
Pejivalle							1	1.69			1	1.69	2	3.38
Pueblo Nuevo									1	1.69	1	1.69	2	3.38
Tres Rios									1	1.69			1	1.69
Juan Vinas									1	1.69			1	1.69
Limon									1	1.69			1	1.69
San Jose									1	1.69			1	1.69
Tobosi de Castago									1	1.69			1	1.69
Navarro de Castago									1	1.69			1	1.69
Pavas de San Jose									1	1.69			1	1.69
La Doris									1	1.69			1	1.69
Cartago									1	1.69			1	1.69
San Rafael de Heredia									1	1.69			1	1.69
Eslabon									1	1.69			1	1.69
Turrialba											5	8.47	5	8.47
La Suiza											2	3.39	2	3.39
Tuccurrique											1	1.69	1	1.69
No Lo Saben											5	8.47	5	8.47
Total							8	13.54	29	49.08	22	37.26	59	99.88

TABLE 53

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A "PARTERA" BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
San Juan Sur							11	14.67	37	49.33	11	14.67	59	78.67
San Juan Norte							2	2.67	3	4.00			5	6.67
Florencia							1	1.33	1	1.33			2	2.66
Tucurrique							1	1.33					1	1.33
Repasto									1	1.33			1	1.33
Pacayas									1	1.33			1	1.33
El Zapato									1	1.33			1	1.33
La Hacienda Vieja									1	1.33			1	1.33
Aragon									1	1.33			1	1.33
Sabanilla De Montes De Oca									1	1.33			1	1.33
No Lo Saben											2	2,67	2	2.67
Total							15	20.00	47	62.64	13	17.34	75	99.98

While mothers and close friends may come from other centers to render service in this capacity, in San Juan Sur there are parteras who have served the population for a long time. One, in particular, is widely known and respected. She has functioned in this capacity for many years.

The 17.34 per cent who have not utilized a partera may have had their babies in the social security hospital, at home with the help of their husbands, or alone without assistance. One woman stated that she has had her children with only the help of the Virgin and her husband. Others have had only the help of the Virgin.

When these two communities are compared it is readily observed that while both utilize the partera extensively, she is most widely used in San Juan Sur. Those who do utilize the partera in Atirro depend much more on a variety of outside centers for the satisfaction of this need than do the families of San Juan Sur. One reason for this is that the population of Atirro has a more mobile background than that of San Juan Sur, and the average family has not lived there as long.

Another reason is that San Juan Sur has had one very good partera in particular who the people have utilized for a long time and in whom they have considerable confidence.

As to their relationship with Turrialba in this respect, San Juan Sur is wholly independent of that center and is chiefly independent of all other outside centers. Atirro is not completely independent of Turrialba, and in general enjoys a lesser degree of independence from other outside centers generally. The majority of the people, however, utilize this service in their own community.

Curandero. The curandero is seldom called upon to aid in times of sickness by the families of Atirro as is brought out by Table 54. Only 6.88 per cent of the families have ever consulted one and then, very infrequently. The service centers actually utilized for this service are La Suiza, Turrialba, Heredia, and Barba, each center having been utilized by one family (1.72%), with La Suiza and Turrialba having been utilized somewhat more recently than the other two centers.

Of the 93.08 per cent who have never consulted a curandero, a greater number state that they would visit La Suiza (29.31%) should the need arise than any other service center. It is significant to note that 31.03 per cent of this latter group have no idea where they would go (no lo saben) thus indicating their complete detachment from it.

As Table 55 indicates, somewhat less than one-half (41.32%) of the families in San Juan Sur have ever consulted a curandero. Those who utilize this service roughly fall into two groups--those who largely depend upon the curandero in times of sickness and those who sometime in the past called upon him to prescribe a herb medicine or treatment but to whom they have never returned. The first group is aptly illustrated by the individual who strongly recommended a good curandero and was planning to travel by train the following day to the distant town of Paraiso to obtain a medicine for his wife. The latter group is illustrated by the informant who stated that his mother-in-law had gone to a curandero in Heredia some twenty years ago, but that they have never been back since that time.

The two centers primarily utilized with reference to a curandero are Turrialba (17.33%) and Paraiso (16.00%). One of the peasant farmers

TABLE 54

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A CURANDERO BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Suiza							1	1.72			17	29.31	18	31.03
Turrialba							1	1.72			11	18.97	12	20.69
Heredia									1	1.72	1	1.72	2	3.44
Barba									1	1.72			1	1.72
Atirro											3	5.17	3	5.17
Repasto											1	1.72	1	1.72
Escazu											1	1.72	1	1.72
Santa Rosa											1	1.72	1	1.72
Tuis											1	1.72	1	1.72
No Lo Saben											18	31.03	18	31.03
Total							2	3.44	2	3.44	54	93.08	58	99.96

TABLE 55

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A CURANDERO BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction													
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					1	1.33	8	10.67	4	5.33	28	37.33	41	54.66
Paraiso							5	6.67	7	9.33	2	2.67	14	18.67
San Juan Sur							3	4.00			2	2.67	5	6.67
Cartago							1	1.33					1	1.33
Heredia									1	1.33			1	1.33
Santiago											1	1.33	1	1.33
No Lo Saben									1	1.33	11	14.67	12	16.00
Total					1	1.33	17	22.67	13	17.32	44	58.67	75	99.99

in San Juan Sur makes medicines from herbs and is visited by a few of the families (4.00%) seeking cures for their ailments. Other centers visited for the satisfaction of this service are Cartago and Heredia (1.33% each).

Turrialba is the primary potential service center (37.33%) for those 58.67 per cent of the families who have never consulted a curandero; while Paraiso and San Juan Sur are next (2.67% each). There were some 14.67 per cent of the families so completely detached from the use of this service that they stated they did not know where they would go to find a curandero in the event they decided there was a need for one.

When the two localities are compared it is observed, that of the two, the curandero is much more widely utilized in San Juan Sur than in Atirro. In fact in Atirro the usage is so minor as to be considered negligible. While over half of the residents of San Juan Sur have never consulted a curandero, there are nevertheless a number of families who do utilize this service.

Atirro is almost completely independent of La Suiza, Turrialba or any other outside center in the utilization of this service; but those of San Juan Sur who utilize it do so mainly in two outside centers, Turrialba and Paraiso.

In both communities there are various families who are completely detached from any use of this service, never having used it and not knowing where they would go to do so; but the number of families in this situation is greater in Atirro than in San Juan Sur.

Pharmacist. Table 56 reveals that 79.31 per cent of the families of Atirro utilize the services of the pharmacist.[21] In rural Costa Rica the pharmacist is in many instances "the poor man's doctor." People from all around the countryside come to him with their diseases and infirmities and will oftentimes travel large distances to seek counsel and preparations which will produce a cure.

The practical knowledge of the pharmacist has proven to be beneficial to many. An example of this is the large number of families who travel from Atirro to La Suiza for this purpose. As indicated in the Table, the majority of those families living in Atirro who utilize the pharmacist's services do so in La Suiza (56.89%).

Ten families (17.24%) prefer Turrialba, two families (3.44%) prefer San Jose, and one family (1.72%) selected Alajuela. The majority of those utilizing it have done so at sometime within the twelve-month period (49.99%). A significant percentage (18.97%) have utilized it even less frequently (not within the twelve-month period), while 8.62 per cent utilize it monthly and 1.72 per cent satisfy it weekly.

In San Juan Sur 86.67 per cent of the families have at some time in their lives utilized the services of the pharmacist. The large majority of these have primarily satisfied this need in Turrialba (85.33%) as is indicated in Table 57. The only other center utilized primarily by any family is Cartago (1.33%).

The majority of those families who have visited the pharmacist have

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[21] The pharmacist is considered as separate from the drugstore because of his function as a counselor and advisor to the sick.

TABLE 56

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A PHARMACIST BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Suiza			1	1.72	4	6.90	20	34.48	8	13.79	2	3.45	35	60.34
Turrialba							8	13.79	2	3.45	10	17.24	20	34.48
San Jose					1	1.72			1	1.72			2	3.44
Alajuela							1	1.72					1	1.72
Total			1	1.72	5	8.62	29	49.99	11	18.96	12	20.69	58	99.98

TABLE 57

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF UTILIZATION OF THE SERVICES OF A PHARMACIST BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba					1	1.33	48	64.00	15	20.00	10	13.33	74	98.66
Cartago							1	1.33					1	1.33
Total					1	1.33	49	65.33	15	20.00	10	13.33	75	99.99

done so between one to six times during the twelve-month period (65.33%). Some 20.00 per cent have utilized the service at sometime during their lifetime, but not during the specified twelve months. Only one family utilizes the service on a monthly basis while 13.33 per cent have never utilized it.

When the two localities are compared it becomes apparent that the majority of the families in both have utilized this service. The place of satisfaction differs however, with Atirro being largely dependent upon La Suiza while San Juan Sur is almost exclusively dependent upon Turrialba. Both have a number of families who have never utilized this service--the percentage is somewhat higher in Atirro, possibly because of the free Social Security Hospital and medical services.

The frequency of usage in both localities ranges largely from between one to six times during the specified twelve months, and a significant proportion have utilized it in both areas with even lesser frequency than this.

RELIGIOUS NEEDS

Accion Catolica. According to Table 58, the activity Accion Catolica is little enjoyed by the families of Atirro as is indicated by the 93.34 per cent who stated that they had never participated in it. The few families who have participated or are participating in this activity have done so in various centers. Of those utilized for this purpose, La Suiza is most often frequented and by a slightly greater percentage of families (5.00%) than Turrialba which has been used very infrequently by only one family (1.67%).

As illustrated in Table 59, the families of San Juan Sur name Turrialba as the only potential center for the Accion Catolica, but no one has ever participated in it.

When these two localities are compared, it is evident that the activity Accion Catolica has almost no influence on the lives of the people. Neither of the localities has this activity organized within their boundaries. San Juan Sur stands completely independent and Atirro is not dependent upon outside centers to any significant degree.

TABLE 58

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITY "ACCION CATOLICA" BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIARO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Suiza			1	1.67	2	3.33					10	16.67	13	21.67
Turrialba									1	1.67	44	73.33	45	75.00
San Jose											1	1.67	1	1.67
Santa Rosa											1	1.67	1	1.67
Total			1	1.67	2	3.33			1	1.67	56	93.34	60	100.01

TABLE 59

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN THE ACTIVITY "ACCION CATOLICA" BY THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba											75	100.00	75	100.00
Total											75	100.00	75	100.00

Church. As indicated in Table 60, the families of Atirro depend largely upon outside centers in their attendance at church. While there exists within the settlement itself a small chapel, in conjunction with the school building, it is unused except when the Catholic Father makes his yearly visit to the settlement. This accounts for the small percentage (6.67%) of families who primarily satisfy this need there.

The finca and settlement of Atirro form a part of the parroquia of La Suiza. In a discussion with the parochial head, it was brought out that the residents of Atirro had been drifting away from the church, and needed a good deal of stimulation. The Catholic Father blamed this upon the former owners of the finca who would do nothing to help the priest in his endeavors to carry on religious services there. However, the church leader was optimistic about the future, pointing out that since the new owners had taken possession he had been enabled to start his yearly visits again and that as soon as the new chapel which had been promised was completed he hoped to make frequent visits to the settlement.

In bringing these people back to the church, this Catholic Father offered to perform marriages free of charge for those unable to pay the fee. He expressed the hope that this would bring some of the couples living as convivientes out of sin by sanctifying their unions.

The majority of those who attend church primarily in outside centers do so in La Suiza (65.00%). Turrialba is of significant but nevertheless secondary importance with 26.67 per cent of the families utilizing it as the center for this service. San Jose is the only other center utilized and serves the primary needs of one family (1.67%).

TABLE 60

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE
AT CHURCH BY THE FAMILIES OF
ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
La Suiza			6	10.00	24	40.00	7	11.67	2	3.33			39	65.00
Turrialba			2	3.33	4	6.67	9	15.00	1	1.67			16	26.67
Atirro							4	6.67					4	6.67
San Jose							1	1.67					1	1.67
Total			8	13.33	28	46.67	21	35.01	3	5.00			60	100.01

TABLE 61

PLACE AND FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE
AT CHURCH BY THE FAMILIES OF
SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Place of Satisfaction	Frequency of Satisfaction											
	Daily (4wk-dly)		Weekly (3mo-3wk)		Monthly (7yr-2mo)		Satisfied within past year (1yr-6yr)		Satisfied but not within past year		Never Satisfied		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Turrialba			43	57.33	26	34.67	5	6.67					74	98.67
San Jose							1	1.33					1	1.33
Total			43	57.33	26	34.67	6	8.00					75	100.00

Of all the families that have utilized this service, the major portion of them do so on a monthly basis (46.67%), with the next largest percentage (35.01%) utilizing it sometime within the twelve-month period. Those utilizing it on a weekly basis account for 13.33 per cent of the families and those who have utilized it in years previous but not during the specified twelve months account for 5.00 per cent.

An analysis of Table 61 reveals that the families living in San Juan Sur depend almost completely upon Turrialba for attendance at church (98.67%). The only exception is that of one family (1.33%) who attended primarily in San Jose.

As illustrated in the frequency section every family in the locality has attended church at least once during the twelve-month period, and the majority of these do so on a weekly (57.33%), or a monthly (34.67%) basis. The frequency is derived from the practice of many families of arising early Sunday morning and walking to Turrialba for morning mass before returning home again about noon. One informant reported that she and her husband arose at 2:00 a. m. in order to arrive in time for the first morning mass. There are a small number of protestant believers who walk to Turrialba on Sunday mornings for Sunday School services. These persons though few in number are regular in their weekly church attendance.

From the Table the impression is given that the settlement of San Juan Sur is completely dependent upon outside centers, particularly Turrialba, for the satisfaction of its religious needs. This, however, is not the case.

The families in San Juan Sur have long had their own devotion which

is the Sacred Heart of Jesus. One informant who came to the community as a young man some sixty years ago stated that he found the devotion in the settlement when he arrived. The devotion consists of a saint representing the Sacred Heart of Jesus mounted and enclosed in a frame and glass casement.

The various Catholic families of the settlement belong to this devotion and refer to themselves as being "asociados del apostolado del corozon de Jesus." The male head of one of the families is appointed by the Catholic Parochial Priest in Turrialba as being in charge of the care and distribution of the saint and is called the "selvador." Under his direction the saint is passed from family to family month after month. All the families are listed and each knows from whom he is to receive the saint and to whom he is to give it. A member of the family having it the day previous brings it to the family whose turn it is next. In the late afternoon and evening all those living in the house gather and recite the rosary to the saint. The families read and recite little messages and prayers that are published by the church and sent along each month with the saint by the selvador.

Although not considered in the Table, this religious practice is important to the people and should be considered in analyzing where the people gratify their religious needs. In San Juan Sur it has created a significant bond which serves to further integrate and unify the families living within the settlement.

When the two localities are compared, it is observed that both are largely dependent upon outside centers when it comes to attendance at

church. Atirro is chiefly dependent upon La Suiza and San Juan Sur upon Turrialba.

When it comes to a consideration of religious worship, however, the situation changes. Though it is indicated by the frequency section of Table 60 that the majority of the families of Atirro do not attend church from Sunday to Sunday, and in fact many of them attend only occasionally during the twelve months, they nevertheless do worship in their homes.

In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, the people attend church in Turrialba with considerably greater frequency than the people of Atirro. They also have a highly developed, if semi-informal, religious institution built up in the form of a devotion which provides them with a major source of religious satisfaction within their own community.

Finally it is significant to note that all families in both communities do attend or have attended church somewhere at some time during their lives.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

In determining the extent to which Atirro and San Juan Sur are distinct communities, the definition of community was formulated in general agreement with the concept held by Sanderson. Delineation methods were adapted to the Costa Rican scene and the resulting data, consistent with the definition, would seem to substantiate the supposition that Atirro and San Juan Sur are determinate communities bound by bonds of interpersonal relationships.

A review of the analysis with reference to Atirro reveals that:

1. The actual needs of the peon families who comprise the majority of those living in the settlement are limited.

2. The majority of the families living in Atirro primarily satisfy the major portion of their chief concerns of life within the settlement. This is indicated by their greater dependency upon Atirro in the satisfaction of their social, educational, and economic needs. In the satisfaction of their religious needs they are oriented primarily toward La Suiza. With reference to the major portion of the health services, the largest percentage of families either have never utilized or have satisfied these needs primarily within the community. The two outside centers utilized most in the satisfaction of these needs are: La Suiza, and Turrialba.

3. Those services and activities which the majority of the families living in Atirro have utilized or participated in at one time or another, and in the present satisfaction of which they are primarily dependent upon outside centers are largely infrequently used (at some time within the

twelve-month period).

4. One-half of all those services and activities for which the people depend primarily upon outside service centers have never been utilized by the majority of the families living in Atirro.

5. The major portion of all services and activities are satisfied by the families of Atirro primarily within the settlement itself and are utilized by the majority of the families at a frequency of either daily or weekly.

6. The outside service center of most significance to the people of Atirro from the standpoint of satisfaction of services and activities is Turrialba.

From this it may be readily observed that while Atirro has only a limited service center with which to satisfy the needs of the people, the majority of them nevertheless do satisfy the major portion of these needs within the settlement. This is effectively illustrated by comparing the total monthly income of all the peons of the settlement for the month of September 1948 with the gross income of the commissary for that month. The peons were paid 11,965.65 colones in wages and comprised the bulk of those who spent 7,896.55 colones at the commissary. The commissary owner stated that the income for this month was below normal, the average monthly income being 8,000 colones. He calculated that more than 90 per cent of the groceries purchased by the people are obtained at the commissary. As the figures illustrate, the major part of every colon recieved by the peons goes back into the finca commissary, leaving little remaining for all the other necessities of life.

The degree to which the social needs of the people are satisfied within the settlement is even more pronounced. For 96.66 per cent of the families, Atirro is the center primarily utilized in the satisfaction of social needs. One might suspect that the majority of the families who only recently moved to Atirro (within the specified twelve months) would still be outward oriented, but they have established friendships with other families in the community and are well in the direction of becoming integrated into the pattern of informal community social life. As a result of the integration process, families new and old feel a sense of belonging to the community and consciously identify themselves with it.

The peon families of the settlement especially are bound together by several factors which have tended to produce this integration in spite of the relatively short length of time a number of them have lived there. Some of these factors are: (1) the close physical proximity of all the dwelling units, (2) the spatial isolation of the community with reference to other settlements, (3) the common socio-economic status shared by most families which serves as a basis for common interests and responsibilities, and (4) the community pilas which serve as gathering places for the women and children; and the commissary and football field which provide a meeting place for the men and older boys.

A summation of the analysis with reference to where the families of San Juan Sur satisfy their needs reveals the following:

1. The actual needs of the peasant farmer and peon families living in San Juan Sur are very limited.

2. When evaluating where the families of San Juan Sur satisfy their

chief concerns of life, it becomes apparent that they are dependent upon their own settlement in the primary satisfaction of their social, educational, and approximately one-half of their basic economic needs.

They are largely dependent upon Turrialba in the satisfaction of approximately one-half their basic economic, and in their other economic and religious needs. With reference to health, the data indicates that in one-half of these services the largest proportion of families have either never utilized them or have satisfied them primarily in San Juan Sur, while the other 50.00 per cent are chiefly satisfied in Turrialba.

3. Of those services and activities which have been utilized at one time or another by the majority of the families, and in the utilization and participation of which they depend primarily upon outside service centers, 66.67 per cent are infrequently used (at some time within the twelve-month period or less) by the majority of the families.

4. All the services and activities satisfied by the families living in San Juan Sur are utilized by the majority of them, with the major part of these services and activities being used chiefly on a daily or weekly basis.

As is evidenced in the analysis the majority of the families living in San Juan Sur leave the community in the primary satisfaction of one-half their needs. The service center consists essentially of a local school, a cantina, and a general store. A center of such limited proportions cannot meet all the needs of the people though these needs be few in number. It is important to note, however, the large extent to which this elemental service center does satisfy a number of the basic

needs of the people.

In the instance of staple foods, for example, although 48.65 per cent satisfy the need primarily in Turrialba weekly or monthly, 45.94 per cent utilize the services in San Juan Sur daily or weekly.

While the community appears to be at least partially oriented outward with reference to the satisfaction of a number of the services, the primary social needs of every family (100.00%) are satisfied within the community.

The distance between the houses have little deterring effect upon these social relationships--they have formed a basic part of the lives of those living in the community for a long time.

San Juan Sur is largely a community of peasant farmers--small land owners--who have lived in the settlement for many years farming their lands and associating with others in the locality.

The majority of the family informants have lived there twenty years or more and only one family has lived there less than one year. As a result of this long period of association, the people of the community have achieved a great degree of integration and unity. Their common interests, responsibilities, and problems over the years have served as an additional integrating force lending to the development of a tightly knit, cohesive social organization.

Some of the factors which have tended to produce this depth of integration and cohesion and which at the same time have served to strengthen the bonds of interpersonal relationship are:

(1) The cooperative effort of the people upon the death of one in

the community. After the death of a member, the news spreads rapidly throughout the community.[22] Neighbors, friends and relatives living in the locality set to work helping the family of the deceased. Some of the men go to the cemetary to dig the grave, while others assemble lumber and construct the burial box. The women gather to help in the housework and to prepare the body for burial. News of the death brings groups of mourners in the evening for the "vela" a number of whom stay until daybreak visiting, comforting and sympathizing with the deceased's loved ones.[23]

The next day at a prearranged hour, the people gather and follow the pallbearers as they slowly thread their way through the community to the cemetary. At the cemetary a few prayers are offered and the body is interred. This is all accomplished within a twenty-four hour period as a result of group effort.

(2) The voluntary cooperation in maintaining the cart road to the outside world. There is only one road--a poorly constructed ox-cart trail--over which the people must travel and haul produce such as coffee to the coffee receiving station and sugar cane to the Aragon sugar mill. During the rainy season, the road becomes very dangerous and travel over it is exceedingly difficult. The vital importance of this transportation artery

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[22] The rapidity with which this and other types of information travel through a community stretching out over several miles of rough mountainous terrain connected only by a cart trail and paths, reveals the existence of a well organized system of communication based on word-of-mouth transmission. Death notices have traveled the entire length of the community in a matter of a few hours.

[23] This is known as "vela de defunto" and is characterized by grief and sorrow in direct contrast to the "vela de angel" described in Chapter V.

is such that the men voluntarily form into work groups and together keep the road in partial repair.

(3) The community saint. While the families travel to Turrialba to attend Sunday church services, religious observances within the community such as those centering around the "saint" form a basic part of the people's religious experience.

The degree to which the people identify themselves as members of the community and the in-group feeling which exists is evidenced in the concern of the families over others living within the settlement. Upon hearing that one of their members had been jailed in Turrialba for committing larceny, a large number of the other members in the community organized themselves into a group and prevailed upon the authorities in that city to free him. A second illustration might be drawn from the reaction of the people during the tense days of the revolution.

There were those in San Juan Sur who held strong beliefs on both sides of the revolutionary issue, but in spite of this difference of opinion, they placed their personal regard for the individual first. In this instance, there is the case of one man in the community who was a strong supporter of one of the two conflicting groups struggling for the presidency of the country. He was taken from the community as a political prisoner, and although many of the settlement were in direct opposition to the faction with which this man had aligned himself, they came together as a group and secured his release.

The average family of San Juan Sur has lived in the community for many years and looks forward to spending the rest of his life there. Most

of the families are anticipating the day when they can buy a piece of land or enlarge the holdings they now have. Life is busy, simple, and regular, with the monotony of work being broken by informal visiting, the festivals accompanying marriage, the Christmas celebrations, and the velas of "angels," to mention a few.

When the two communities are compared it becomes apparent that the needs of the families in both are very limited with a large number of services which we would consider as essential being irrelevant to them.

In both localities the service centers are elemental but nevertheless adequate in enabling the people to satisfy a large number of their chief concerns of life. Not only are the social and educational needs provided for by the settlements, but many of the economic needs as well.

Atirro is chiefly independent of outside centers with reference to the primary satisfaction of most services and activities, and in the event an outside center is used, either Turrialba or La Suiza are the places the families must often go.

San Juan Sur presents somewhat of a different situation than that of Atirro. It is closely analogous to the open-country community of the United States which Sanderson has described. In San Juan Sur as in the U. S. there is a small service center which forms the nucleus of the community. Turrialba, a railroad station town is next in importance to the people of San Juan Sur as a service center in the satisfaction of needs.

The families of San Juan Sur enjoys stronger integration, have developed a greater degree of "community consciousness," and possess a more pronounced unity arising from cooperative effort than those living in

Atirro. This may be explained in part by their greater homogeneity of origin and relatively greater lack of mobility.

Both San Juan Sur and Atirro appear to be fairly discrete social units in which the residents satisfy a large number of their chief concerns of life and to which they consciously identify themselves as members, being bound together by common interests and responsibilities.

CHAPTER V

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS

FAMILY GROUP

Community analysis is accomplished by a study of the families through whom structure and function is manifested.

Size of the family and fertility ratio. A knowledge of the size of the families and fertility ratios of Atirro and San Juan Sur will give a possible index of the solidarity exhibited by the two communities as well as lay a base for further comparisons. In Atirro as an analysis of Table 62 will show, there is a wide distribution in the size of the families. For example, 15.00 per cent consist of only one-member, 11.67 per cent are composed of five members, and 13.33 per cent have ten members or more. The modal family in Atirro would appear to have just two members with 16.67 per cent of the total number of families being of this size. This figure has relatively little significance, however, because of the even and wide distribution of sizes. When the arithmetic mean is calculated, it is found that the mean number of members per family in Atirro is 4.27.

A review of the figures in Table 62 concerning the size of families in San Juan Sur reveals a wide and fairly consistent distribution. The smallest percentage of families is 5.33 per cent consisting of one-member families, while two-member families comprise only 6.67 per cent of the total. The most popular size of family consists of four members and comprises 17.33 per cent of the total.

TABLE 62

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO SIZE

Number of Members in Family	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1	9	15.00	4	5.33
2	10	16.67	5	6.67
3	6	10.00	8	10.67
4	5	8.33	13	17.33
5	7	11.67	5	6.67
6	7	11.67	8	10.67
7	3	5.00	7	9.33
8	1	1.67	9	12.00
9	4	6.67	7	9.33
10 or more	8	13.33	9	12.00
Total	60	100.01	75	100.00

A calculation of the arithmetic mean reveals the mean number of members per family in San Juan Sur to be 5.95.

When the two communities are compared, the average family of San Juan Sur is found to be larger in size by 1.68 members.

A further consideration of the Table discloses that while 31.67 per cent of the total number of families in Atirro are one and two-member families, only 12.00 per cent of the families of San Juan Sur are of these sizes. This comparison elicits the greatest difference in family size between the two communities.

Four, five, and six-member families in San Juan Sur total 34.67 per cent and 31.67 per cent of the families of Atirro fall within this range.

A somewhat larger difference may be observed when families comprised of seven members or more in the two communities are compared--Atirro has only 26.67 per cent of the families in this category while San Juan Sur has a total of 42.66 per cent.

It is, therefore, through the one and two-member families of Atirro and through the proportionately greater number of families in the multiple-member groups that San Juan Sur achieves the distinction of having the largest families generally.

As has been indicated in this analysis, those of San Juan Sur are characterized by a relatively higher birth rate.

The rate at which the populations of the two localities are reproducing is probably best indicated through the use of the fertility ratio. This ratio measures the rate of reproduction, expressing the relationship

between the number of children under five years of age in the locality and the number of women in their productive period (15-44).[1]

The fertility ratio of 741 for Atirro is very high. A ratio of this magnitude serves to indicate both a high birth rate and a probable rapid population increase. When the fertility ratio of 1150 for San Juan Sur is compared with that of Atirro, however, the significantly greater rate of reproduction is sharply illustrated. The birth rate of San Juan Sur as indicated by this ratio is extremely high. Just how high is best brought out by a comparison not only with Atirro, but with the country of Costa Rica as a whole and with several of the other Central American Nations.

An analysis of the 1927 Costa Rican census data for the whole country revealed the fertility ratio to be 687. Census data for the neighboring country of Nicaragua taken in 1940 gives a fertility ratio of 719, while the ratio of Guatemala for the same year was 722. Honduras, another neighboring country has a ratio of 712 as revealed by the 1945 census data, and the 1947 census estimates of Mexico indicates a fertility rate of 630.[2]

From a comparison of these rates, it is evident that the variation is from 630 to 722. Although the rates for entire countries might be expected to be somewhat lower than for two rural agricultural communities because of the consideration involving both urban areas and the upper socio-economic groups which generally have a lower birth rate, they nevertheless

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[1] Charles P. Loomis, and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 91-2.

[2] United Nations Demographic Yearbook (Lake Success, New York, 1948).

provide a basis for some comparison.

When Atirro is related to the various other areas, its fertility ratio of 741 is found to be somewhat higher, but not significantly so, particularly with reference to Nicaragua, Guatamala, Honduras, and even the country of Costa Rica as a whole.

San Juan Sur, however, with its ratio of 1150 clearly illustrates a considerably higher rate than those of any other group herein considered.

Number of dead in the family. Whenever analyzing the family, particularly with reference to size, a point of significance lies in the number of dead. From data gathered with reference to dead family members on the number, sex, age, date, and place of death, a wide distribution among the families of both communities was found.

In Atirro nineteen families had no dead members and four families had ten or more dead members. A calculation of the mean reveals that the average number of dead per family in Atirro is 2.60. In San Juan Sur, the average number of dead members per family is 2.12.

The data on Table 63, supported by the calculation of the mean, indicate that the families of Atirro do have a somewhat higher percentage of dead members though the difference between the two communities is not a large one. The difference actually is larger than the data indicate when the number of one-member families in each of the two communities is compared. In Atirro, for example, 15.00 per cent of the families are of this type while in San Juan Sur the percentage is only 5.33 per cent. Of these one-member families, a number are single, adult individuals who have no dead members. With the one-member families eliminated in the calculation

TABLE 63

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF DEAD MEMBERS

Number of Dead Members	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	19	31.67	27	36.00
1	10	16.67	16	21.33
2	7	11.67	10	13.33
3	7	11.67	6	8.00
4	5	8.33	6	8.00
5	4	6.67	3	4.00
6	2	3.33		
7			3	4.00
8	2	3.33	3	4.00
9				
10 or more	4	6.67	1	1.33
Total	60	100.01	75	99.99

of the mean, the average number of dead members per family in Atirro becomes 1.89 and the number in San Juan Sur changes to 2.15.

Atirro is a community of sixty families with 296 living members and 156 dead members. San Juan Sur is a settlement of seventy-five families with 446 living members and 159 dead members. These figures contribute to a more distinct comparison of families with Atirro having one-third less population than San Juan Sur and yet only three less dead members.

It would appear from the above statistics that the number of dead members in the family may partially account for the difference in family size. No definite data was gathered relative to the causes of death in either community.

A further comparison of the rate of mortality in the two localities is facilitated by a measure known as the crude death rate which is the ratio between the number of individuals who die in a given interval of time and the number of individuals alive during the same interval.[3] In utilizing this measure, the average number of deaths (averaged from the deaths occurring during the previous ten-year period) occurring in a year were divided by the total population.

Although this method of calculation may tend to give a conservative indication of the death rate, it nevertheless should affect both communities equally and thereby provide a fairly reliable (if conservative) indication as a means of comparison.

A calculation of the crude death rate of Atirro reveals a rate of

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[3] Kimball Young, Sociology, Second Edition, (New York: American Book Company, 1949), p. 194.

16.6 which means 16.6 deaths per 1000 population during the year. The calculated crude death rate of San Juan Sur is 12.1 (12.1 deaths per 1000 population during the year). When compared to the 1947 death rate of 10.1 for the United States, the rates of both communities are higher, especially Atirro which approaches the death rate of the U. S. (18.0) during the influenza epidemic of 1918.[4]

A comparison of the two communities reveals Atirro to have a significantly higher rate than San Juan Sur which may account, in part, for its lower fertility ratio.

Type of family. Inasmuch as the community is almost wholly influenced by the families comprising it, an analysis of the types there are and in what proportion each is found is pertinent to an understanding of the community, its orientation and problems.

In both Atirro and San Juan Sur, as revealed in Table 64, the families having both parents and children compose the majority of the family units.

In Atirro, 63.33 per cent of the population are of this type, while 13.33 per cent are husband and wife only, and 15.00 per cent are individual-member families.

When San Juan Sur is compared with Atirro, it is found to possess a higher percentage (81.33%) of families having both parents and children, while at the same time having a considerably smaller percentage of husband

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[4] Ibid. p. 196.

TABLE 64

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO TYPE

Type of family	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. Both parents and children	38	63.33	61	81.33
2. One parent and children	3	5.00	6	8.00
3. Husband and wife only	8	13.33	2	2.67
4. Individual	9	15.00	4	5.33
5. Other	2	3.33	2	2.67
Total	60	99.99	75	100.00

and wife only (2.67%), and individual-member families (5.33%). One-fourth or 28.33 per cent of the total number of families in Atirro are of these two latter types while in San Juan Sur their combined percentage amounts to only 8.00 per cent. This may be a factor to consider in accounting for the difference in fertility ratio. The percentage of one parent and children families, as is indicated in the Table, is comparatively small in both communities with very little difference between them.

Civil status of family jefe. Another important consideration in the analysis of families is the civil status of the family head which gives an indication of the social organization and stability found within a community.

Of the seven classifications listed in Table 65, only five--excluding separated and conviviente--are recognized by the civil law of Costa Rica.

TABLE 65

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO CIVIL STATUS

Civil status of family head	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. Minor				
2. Single	6	10.00	3	4.00
3. Married	39	65.00	62	82.67
4. Widow (er)	5	8.33	5	6.67
5. Divorced				
6. Separated	2	3.33	3	4.00
7. Conviviente	8	13.33	2	2.67
Total	60	99.99	75	100.01

For the purposes of this study, however, and since they are socially recognized states, all are taken into consideration.

The status of conviviencia though vigorously condemned by the Catholic Church is generally semi-accepted if not condoned by the rural campesino and by the lower social classes throughout the country.

Because of the difficulty, expense, and moral stigma involved, there are very few legal and virtually no religious divorces in Costa Rica. When a marriage does not work out well, the married couple enter into a state of permanent separation. They may unite with other individuals as convivientes and raise families, but they rarely ever obtain a legal divorce. In both communities there are cases where individuals, legally married, have separated and united with other persons as convivientes.

An analysis of Table 65 discloses that in both communities, the majority of the heads of families are lawfully married. In Atirro 65.00 per cent of the total number of heads are legally married, 13.33 per cent are convivientes, 10.00 per cent are single, 8.33 are widows or widowers, and 3.33 per cent are separated.

In San Juan Sur 82.67 per cent of the heads are legally married, 6.67 per cent are widows or widowers, 4.00 per cent are single, 4.00 per cent are separated, and 2.67 per cent are living as convivientes.

When the data of these two communities are compared it may be noted that there is a substantial increase in the number of married heads in San Juan Sur and a sharp decline in the number of conviviencias. This may be an indication of a greater breakdown in the religious mores in Atirro than in San Juan Sur.

A further indication of this breakdown is revealed in the following experience which occurred in Atirro. A young man from a family of great prestige among the peons had married a girl from another community in the church. His marriage did not turn out well, so he and his wife separated.

Some time later he was attracted to a young girl of Atirro and lived in conviviencia with her. Soon after, his new wife, who was one of the most attractive girls of the community, became interested in another man and went to live with him as a conviviente in another section of the community. Finding that she did not like this new husband she separated from him and returned to her first conviviente husband. Both seemed very happy and the people stated that they felt it was a good match. No word of criticism nor unfavorable comment was ever made by the other peons of the finca.

The degree of social disorganization suggested by this incident becomes a distinguishing characteristic when the community of Atirro is compared with San Juan Sur.

While the conviviencia state is recognized in San Juan Sur, it would appear to be less socially acceptable to the people there than in Atirro. More social pressure is brought to bear upon the individual members by the community in this respect.

According to one informant, for example, "When people unite without being married by the church they are criticized by the rest of the people and it is said of them that they are 'de mal vivir.'[5] In time some of these couples get married legally while others do not."

San Juan Sur has a comparatively smaller percentage of single heads of families and a somewhat lower percentage of widows and widowers when compared with Atirro. This factor combined with a lower death rate would be influential in bringing about a higher fertility ratio in San Juan Sur.

While both communities have a small percentage of separated heads of families, the difference between them is inconsequential.

Neither locality has a divorced person nor a minor as the head of a family.

Length of time the family has lived in the community. Not only is the stability and social organization of a community reflected in the types of civil statuses of families, but also in the length of time individuals

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[5] De mal vivir refers to living sinful lives.

have lived in the community.

The informant from whom this data was recorded was always either the jefe or his wife (usually the jefe) and it was found in interviewing, that in the large majority of cases, the length of time this informant had lived in the community was synonymous with the length of time the family had lived there.

An analysis of Table 66 reveals that in Atirro the majority of the people have been residents for a comparatively short length of time. In fact, 20.00 per cent or one-fifth of all the informants have lived there less than six months, 43.33 per cent have spent less than five years in the locality, and 63.33 per cent have lived in the community less than ten years. Of the 10.00 per cent who have lived there thirty years or more, none of these have spent as much as fifty years in the locality.

San Juan Sur presents a very different picture. Only 1.33 per cent of its informants have spent less than six months in the community, 9.33 per cent less than five years, and 17.33 per cent less than ten years. As is indicated in the Table, the modal category for San Juan Sur is twenty to twenty-nine years, with almost half (44.00%) of the people falling into this group. Of the total number of informants, 69.33 per cent have lived in the community for more than twenty years, with 8.00 per cent of this number having been residents for fifty years or more.

Although the majority of the informants have lived in Atirro for less than ten years, the major proportion in San Juan Sur have been residents of that locality for more than twenty years. In fact, in Atirro there is a greater percentage of the informants who have lived there less

TABLE 66

THE FAMILY INFORMANTS OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF TIME THEY HAVE LIVED IN THE LOCALITY

Length of Time Lived in Locality	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Less than 6 mos.	12	20.00	1	1.33
6-11 mos.	2	3.33	1	1.33
1-4 years	12	20.00	5	6.67
5-9 years	12	20.00	6	8.00
10-14 years	4	6.67	8	10.67
15-19 years	4	6.67	2	2.67
20-29 years	8	13.33	33	44.00
30-39 years	4	6.67	7	9.33
40-49 years	2	3.33	6	8.00
50 years and over			6	8.00
Total	60	100.00	75	100.00

than six months (20.00%) than there is of those in San Juan Sur who have lived there for less than ten years (17.33%).

Land tenure of the family. An important factor influencing the length of time persons will remain in a locality is land tenure. This factor is distinguished by the preponderant importance of agriculture in the economic life and welfare of the people.

Every family in both communities is either directly or indirectly dependent upon the land and its produce for their livelihood.

In medieval European society, from which the present land tenure system evolved, "one's relation to the land determined whether or not one could marry, and under what conditions, what services and payments one had to render, and under what conditions one could leave the estate. In fact, most of the rights, duties, and activities were determined by tenure status."[6]

While the tenure system today is somewhat modified when compared to medieval European times, it is, nevertheless, still a powerful factor in determining one's place in his society.

Costa Rica has been generally recognized as a country of peasant proprietors--small landowning farmers. Having one's own little finquita is the main ambition of many campesinos not only from the standpoint of economic return but also of social prestige. The men will work hard as jornaleros to obtain their land little by little while their wives and children help to farm the land already procured.

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[6] Charles P. Loomis, and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 146.

The Biesanz report reveals that in 1938, 71.7 per cent of the heads of families were listed as proprietors, and that of 318,549 registered farms, 37 per cent were not taxed because they were worth less than $535.[7] This would appear to substantiate the country's claim to being the home of the peasant landowner.

In recent years, however, there have been changes in the land ownership, with many peasant farmers losing their equity and becoming peons of the larger haciendas that have taken over their lands. The following quotation from an Heredia housewife in the Beisanz report indicates the feeling of the people concerning the change in their land tenure status.

"I remember twenty years ago when I used to walk the two miles north to Barba, there was one little house after another with its couple acres of ground. Then the farmers had plenty of eggs, their own cow or two, their own pig for lard and meat. Now all that land belongs to three or four coffee planters and the others are reduced to peonage."[8]

This absence of peasant proprietors in substantial proportions results in a culture being characterized by a "peon-patron" relationship. In rural society generally where the family farm is not the prevailing unit, evidences reveal the following effects:

(1) The differences in socio-economic status becomes more pronounced, accompanied by a decrease in community solidarity.

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[7] Charles P. Loomis and Reed M. Powell, "Sociometric Analysis of Class Status in Rural Costa Rica--A Peasant Community Compared with an Hacienda Community," Sociometry, Vol. XII, February-August, 1949, p. 146.

[8] John and Mavis Biesanz, Costa Rican Life, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 40.

(2) The recognized advantages offered by the farm family in the development of personality and of individual initiative and responsibility is lost.

(3) The high respect for workers and the dignity of labor characteristic in communities of farm families decreases as the farmers are forced into peonage.

(4) The greater efficiency of the family farming unit in the production of food and fiber is sacrificed.

(5) The birth rate tends to drop. Family farming areas have higher birth rates than comparable areas of large-scale operations.

(6) The people are characterized by greater mobility which is conducive to a breakdown of social control.[9]

In Costa Rica as this change in tenure status from peasant farmers down to peonage has continued to take place, the campesinos have become increasingly concerned. In the Turrialba region, which today has possibly a higher percentage of its land owned by haciendas than any other region in Costa Rica, large numbers of workers have enlisted in a growing labor movement.

The two labor unions in Turrialba--the Rerum Novarum, sponsored by the Catholic Church; and the Vanguardia Popular, reportedly communistic and banned after the successful entry of the revolutionary forces into Turrialba on April 21, 1948--grew strong as a result of a marked insecurity felt among the increasing numbers of peons.

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[9] Loomis and Powell, op. cit., pp. 145-57.

As examples of this increasing peon-patron and decreasing peasant farmer type of relationship in land tenure, the communities of Atirro and San Juan Sur evidence relative purity of type through the following data as revealed in Table 67.

The large majority (73.33%) of the families of Atirro fall into the propertyless peon class who have no land holdings of any kind. These families work upon the finca as jornaleros and derive their sustenance solely by this means. An additional 21.67 per cent of the families are also of the peon group, but differ in that they have been the recipients of small tracts of land, loaned to them by the finca for their cultivation and exploitation during the period of time they live and work on the finca. The individuals in these families work as peons of the finca during the day and then occasionally in the evenings and on weekends work on their cedida finquitas.

Only 2 (3.33%) of the families in Atirro own fincas--one of whom is the owner of Atirro. The other belongs to the father of the commissary owner and his family and is situated in another section of the Canton of Turrialba. One family (1.67%) owns a finquita which is also situated at some distance from the boundaries of the finca Atirro.

Of the seventy-five families in San Juan Sur, the majority (64.00%) are owners of either fincas or finquitas. A consideration of the remaining families shows that 16.00 per cent have finquitas cedidas, one or 1.33 per cent rents a finquita which is cultivated and exploited for both home consumption and commercial purposes, and 18.67 per cent have no land holdings equaling one-fourth of a manzana or more.

TABLE 67

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO FORMS OF LAND TENURE

Forms of Land Tenure	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. Owns a "finca"	2	3.33	21	28.00
2. Rents a "finca"				
3. Owns a "finquita"	1	1.67	27	36.00
4. Rents a "finquita"			1	1.33
5. Has a "finquita cedida"	13	21.67	12	16.00
6. Does not own, rent, or have "cedida", a "finca" or "finquita".	44	73.33	14	18.67
Total	60	100.00	75	100.00

Note: "Colonos" and "Parasitos" (see definitions) are two other legitimate forms of land tenure in Costa Rica. They are not present, however, in either of the above communities.

Those families in this latter group depend largely upon work outside of the community where they labor as jornaleros on the large haciendas or at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

When the families of the two communities are compared, the large difference between them with reference to land tenure status is readily apparent.

In Atirro 5.00 per cent own fincas or finquitas, as compared to 64.00 per cent of the families in San Juan Sur. While in both communities there are a number of families who have finquitas cedidas, there is an important difference between the two groups. In Atirro, all the thirteen finquitas cedidas are loaned to the peons by the finca owner. He allows them to cultivate and exploit the land for the period of their employment providing they do not misuse it and contingent upon the finca's need of the land.

In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, eleven of the twelve finquitas cedidas are tracts of land given by parents to their children. Although the parents retain the title to the land, it is expected that eventually the land will become the property of the children who currently cultivate and exploit it. The other finquita cedida is a tract of land loaned by a farmer to his good friend and relative.

Of the seventy-five families in San Juan Sur, sixty-one or 81.33 per cent may be considered as peasant farmers who cultivate and are at least partially sustained by the produce of their lands.

House tenure. The contrast in land tenure between Atirro and San Juan Sur is reflected again in the house tenure of the families.

A review of Table 68 concerning house tenure status reveals the difference between Atirro and San Juan Sur to be even more pronounced than

TABLE 68

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO FORMS OF HOUSE TENURE

Forms of house tenure	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. Propia	1	1.67	62	82.67
2. Rented			1	1.33
3. Cedida	59	98.33	11	14.67
4. Other			1	1.33
Total	60	100.00	75	100.00

in the instance of land tenure status. In Atirro, fifty-nine or 98.33 per cent of the families neither own nor rent their homes; rather, they live in houses cedida to them by the hacienda. The only family in the entire community owning their own home is that of the hacienda owner.

The strong desire of the campesino to own his own home expresses itself in San Juan Sur, however, with 82.67 per cent of the families living in their own homes. A comparison of this percentage with that of land tenure reveals an even higher proportion of the people owning their own homes than own fincas or finquitas.

There are 14.67 per cent of the families living in houses cedidas, but as in the instance of land tenure, a large proportion of these houses are loaned between relatives, although the percentage is not as high. One house, the pulperia, is rented and one individual-member family who appears in the Table under "other" boards and rooms with another family.

While the majority of the resident families of Atirro work the lands

of the finca as jornaleros, and live in borrowed houses situated on another's land, the major portion of the residents of San Juan Sur are peasant farmers living in their own homes on their own plots of land. In a number of instances, even those who have no small farms and are forced to work as jornaleros, own their own homes and so achieve a measure of independence unknown to the peon family of Atirro.

BIO-SOCIAL GROUPS

Racial characteristics. Relative to the study of the families within the communities of Atirro and San Juan Sur is an analysis of the population composition.

Racial homogeneity is a major factor distinguishing Costa Rica from neighboring Latin American nations. The majority of the Latin American countries have populations composed of large segments of diverse racial stocks, but Costa Rica is made up largely of one racial group, which is referred to by the people as "Costarricense."

The racial stock of this Costarricense group is a combination of Spanish and Indian, with the Spanish element generally predominating as evidenced by physical characteristics.

In both Atirro and San Juan Sur this racial homogeneity is evidenced with the large majority of the people in both communities considering themselves to be of Costarricense descent. Out of the 108 jefes and wives in Atirro, 104 (96.29%) considered themselves as belonging to the Costarricense group. Of the remaining four individuals, one claimed to be of Spanish descent, another stated his ancestry to be Costarricense and Nicaraguenza,

a third was from Italian and Costarricense ancestors, while the fourth descended from Costarricense and North American progenitors.

Information relative to race descendancy was obtained from 39 jefes and wives in San Juan Sur. Of this total, 134 or 96.40 per cent stated their ancestry as being Costarricense. Two of the remaining five individuals claimed Costarricence and English ancestry, one claimed Costarricense and German progenitors, and one was of pure English ancestry.

When these two communities are compared, it is readily evident that they are both highly homogeneous with reference to racial stock. There was only one individual in each community who did not claim at least partial Costarricense descent, while in both localities 96 per cent considered themselves as being entirely of this descent.

No cleavages were found in either locality based on racial characteristics.

Age and sex groupings. In order to provide further insight as to the composition of the populations of Atirro and San Juan Sur, an analysis was made in terms of age and sex groupings. As indicated in Figure 5, the age-sex pyramids of the two communities are fairly normal, but there are some differences which should be noted.

As illustrated in the pyramid of Atirro, there is a slight excess of males (52.39%) in the population. This is especially true in the upper age brackets (45-79) in which 7.44 per cent are males and 2.37 per cent are females.

Two factors which may be related to this are: (1) Atirro is an

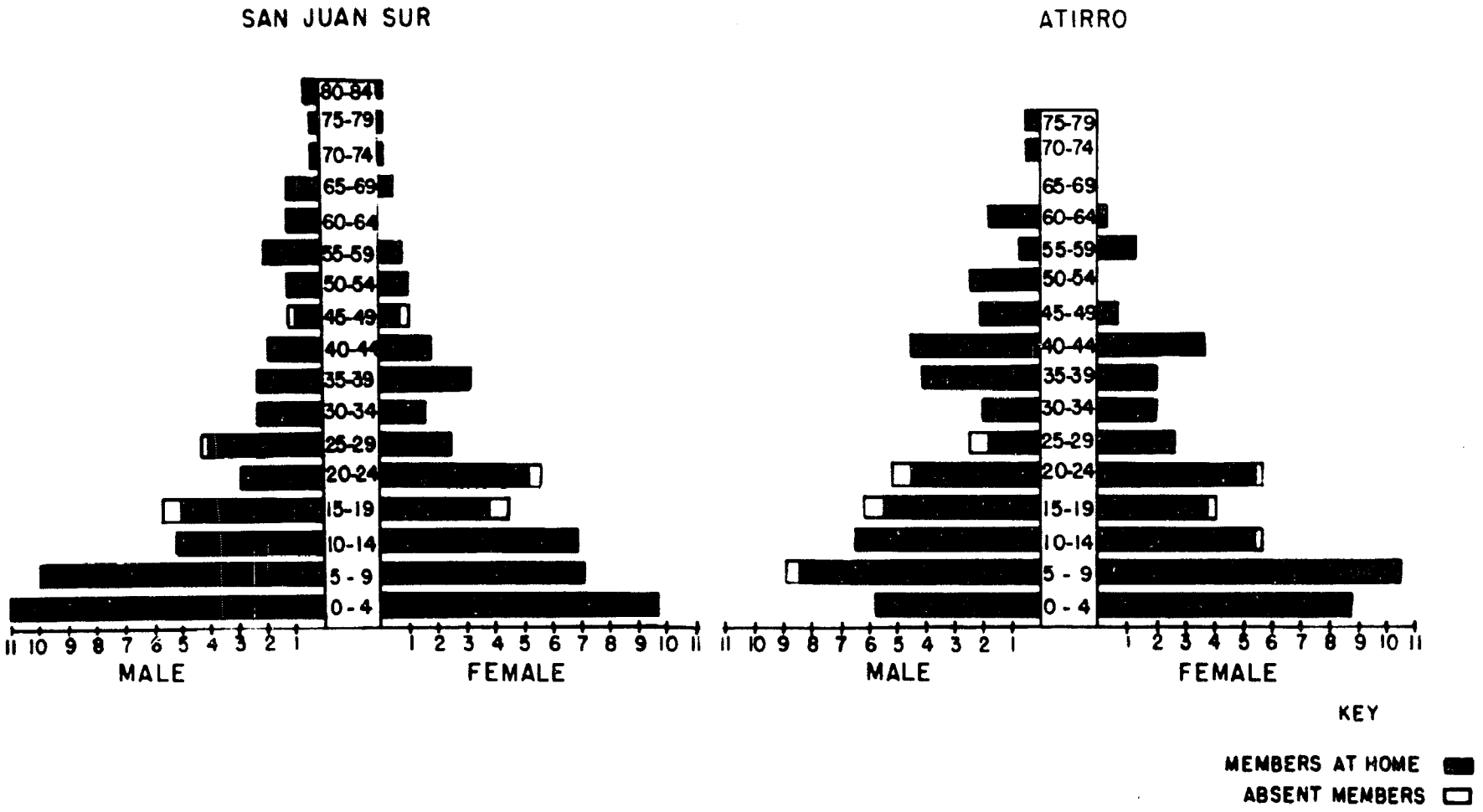

FIGURE 5

AGE AND SEX PYRAMIDS OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

TABLE 69

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
OF ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Age	Male				Female			
	Members at home		Absent Members		Members at home		Absent Members	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
0-4	17	5.74			26	8.78		
5-9	25	8.45	1	.34	31	10.47		
10-14	19	6.42			16	5.41	1	.34
15-19	16	5.41	2	.68	11	3.72	1	.34
20-24	13	4.39	2	.68	16	5.41	1	.34
25-29	5	1.69	2	.68	8	2.70		
30-34	6	2.03			6	2.03		
35-39	12	4.05			6	2.03		
40-44	13	4.39			11	3.72		
45-49	6	2.03			2	.68		
50-54	7	2.36						
55-59	2	.68			4	1.35		
60-64	5	1.69			1	.34		
65-69								
70-74	1	.34						
75-85	1	.34						
Total	148	50.01	7	2.38	138	46.64	3	1.02

TABLE 70

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
OF SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Age	Male				Female			
	Members at home		Absent Members		Members at home		Absent Members	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
0-4	49	10.99			43	9.64		
5-9	44	9.87			32	7.17		
10-14	23	5.16			31	6.95		
15-19	22	4.93	3	.67	17	3.81	3	.67
20-24	13	2.91			23	5.16	2	.45
25-29	18	4.04	1	.22	11	2.47		
30-34	10	2.24			7	1.57		
35-39	10	2.24			14	3.14		
40-44	8	1.79			8	1.79		
45-49	4	.90	1	.22	5	1.12	1	.22
50-54	5	1.12			6	1.35		
55-59	9	2.02			4	.90		
60-64	5	1.12						
65-69	5	1.12			2	.45		
70-74	1	.22			1	.22		
75-79	1	.22			1	.22		
80-84	2	.45			1	.22		
Total	229	51.34	5	1.11	206	46.18	6	1.34

hacienda type community which offers a greater amount of work opportunity, as well as free lodging to jornaleros. This particularly attracts migratory unattached males, of which there are seven living in Atirro. (2) The practice of many men to marry women several years younger than they may serve as a partial explanation of the lack of women in the upper age categories.

Slightly less than one half (45.95%) of the population is under fifteen years of age. It is interesting to note that the excess of males does not extend to this grouping. Instead, there is an excess of females (25.00%) over males (20.95%). This excess is particularly noticeable in the category including those less than one year to four years of age with 5.74 per cent males and 8.78 per cent females.

There are 53.42 per cent of the people in the productive age period (15-64). These are comprised of the family heads and older children. Upon this group the younger group depends largely for its support. There is no responsibility for the aged in Atirro as this latter group is limited to two males (.68%), one of which is supported by the finca, and the other occupies the position as "mandador" of the finca, earning a very adequate income.

It is in this productive age grouping that the most significant difference with reference to proportion of males and females is noted. The percentage of males is 30.76 per cent while that of the females is 22.66 per cent of the total population. As previously indicated, unattached male jornaleros partially account for this difference.

As expressed in the Figure, the number of absent members in Atirro

is very limited (3.40%). Of this group, 2.38 per cent are males and 1.02 per cent are females. Most of the absent members are found in the early productive period (15-29) for whom work opportunities in outside service centers and other haciendas are most plentiful.

The age-sex pyramid of San Juan Sur indicates a slight excess of males (52.45%) over females (47.52%) in the population with this excess being distributed fairly uniformly throughout the age distribution.

Approximately one half (49.78%) of the population is under fifteen years of age. Of this group, 26.02 per cent are males and 23.76 per cent are females. In the productive age period (15.64) the only other large population grouping is found (47.07%). Here again the slight excess of males (24.42%) over females (22.65%) is evidenced.

The aged group comprises 3.12 per cent of the total population, with 2.01 per cent males and 1.11 per cent females.

In comparing the three groupings, the large number of children and young people in their early adolescent years becomes apparent. This is the largest group in the community, comprising one half (49.78%) of the total population. Of the remaining proportion of the population, the overwhelming majority of people are in the productive age period (47.07%) with the number of aged being relatively small (3.12%). Because of the limited size of this latter group, they present no real dependency problem. Though the size of the children's and young adolescents' group is such as to constitute a real problem in this respect, their dependency is minimized through their productive efforts which begin at an early age. Children barely five and six years old are starting to pick coffee, and help with

the housework.

The number of absent members in San Juan Sur is very small (2.45%), with all of them being from the productive-period age group. The percentage of absent female members is slightly larger (1.34%), than for the absent male members (1.11%).

When the two localities are compared, both are found to possess a slight excess of males. In Atirro this excess is noted among the aged, and particularly among those in the productive period age groups, while among the children and young adolescents, the opposite is to be noted--a slight excess of females, especially in the 0-4 age category. In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, the larger proportion of males is fairly evenly distributed throughout the three different age groupings.

While there are a large number of children and young adolescents in both communities, the proportion of them in San Juan Sur is greater in relation to the rest of the population than in Atirro. When considering those in the productive age period, the trend is reversed, with San Juan Sur having the lesser proportion in this group.

As is indicated by the comparative heights of the pyramids of the two communities, San Juan Sur has a larger proportion of its population in the aged group than does Atirro, and those in the aged group are older.

In both localities the number of absent members is very small with the proportion being slightly higher in Atirro than in San Juan Sur. In San Juan Sur all the absent members are in the productive age period, and in Atirro the majority also falls into this group. In Atirro the major part of absent members are males, while in San Juan Sur the major part are

females. A factor which is partially responsible for the greater percentage of female absent members in San Juan Sur is the utilization of the girls as servants by the economically well-to-do in the larger outside centers.

INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Major economic activity of the family head. The response to the question as to what type of economic activity the head of the family was primarily engaged in revealed, as might be anticipated in an analysis of rural communities, that the large proportion of the heads are engaged principally in agriculture. This, however, was not the only economic activity primarily engaged in, as is indicated by an analysis of Table 71.

As revealed in the Table, 83.33 per cent of the heads of families living in Atirro are chiefly engaged in agriculture, including livestock. Of the remaining economic activities listed for this community, 6.67 per cent of the family heads are in construction, 6.67 per cent are engaged in commerce and trade, and 3.33 per cent are working in transportation.

The large majority (86.67%) of the heads of families living in San Juan Sur are engaged in agriculture, including livestock. The economic activity next in importance is domestic service, as indicated by the 6.67 per cent for whom it is the primary activity. The reason for this lies in the number of widowed or single women who are family heads. In these cases the incomes of the women are usually supplemented by the earnings of the other family members. The economic activity in which they are engaged aside from their major one of domestic service is agriculture.

TABLE 71

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO TYPE OF MAJOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Type of Major Economic Activity	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1. Agriculture, Including Livestock	50	83.33	65	86.67
2. Construction	4	6.67	1	1.33
3. Manufacturing				
4. Transportation	2	3.33		
5. Commerce and Trade	4	6.67	1	1.33
6. Public Service and Administration			1	1.33
7. Professional				
8. Domestic Service			5	6.67
9. Other				
10. Unoccupied			2	2.67
Total	60	100.00	75	100.00

One family head (1.33%) is engaged primarily in construction, one in commerce and trade, one in public service and administration,[10] and two (2.67%) were unoccupied.

When the two localities are compared, the family heads in both are observed to be very largely engaged in agriculture as their primary economic activity. While construction, commerce and trade rank second in importance in Atirro, there is only one family head engaged in each of these activities in San Juan Sur. On the other hand the second ranking activity of domestic service is not engaged in primarily by any family head in Atirr

The other activities engaged in are of very minor importance, each being utilized primarily by only one or two family heads. It is interesting to note that neither community has any family heads engaged mainly in professional or manufacturing activities, and that while all are engaged in some economic activity in Atirro, two family heads in San Juan Sur are unoccupied--one being 82 years old and too feeble to work, and the other bedfast with cancer.

Occupational classification of the family head. An analysis of the specific occupations of those engaged in the various types of major economic activity, as indicated in Table 72, reveals that the large majority (75.00%) of the family heads in Atirro are jornaleros. The other five family heads (8.35%) engaged in agricultural type occupations are evenly distributed with one head (1.67%) engaged primarily in each of the various occupations listed.

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[10] The family head engaging primarily in this activity does so as an employee of the United Fruit Company in Quepos.

TABLE 72

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO MAJOR OCCUPATION

Major Occupation	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Agriculture, including Livestock				
1. Agricultor	1	1.67	29	38.67
2. Mandador	1	1.67		
3. Encargado del Beneficio de Cafe	1	1.67		
4. Encargado del Ganado	1	1.67		
5. Vaquero	1	1.67		
6. Capataz			1	1.33
7. Lechero			1	1.33
8. Jornalero	45	75.00	34	45.33
Commerce and Trade				
1. Merchant	1	1.67	1	1.33
2. Accountant	1	1.67		
3. Sales Clerk	2	3.33		
Construction				
1. Ebanista	1	1.67		
2. Carpenter	2	3.33	1	1.33
3. Carpenter's Helper	1	1.67		
Transportation				
1. Chauffer	2	3.33		
Public Service and Administration				
1. Inspector de Higiene			1	1.33
Domestic Service				
1. Housework			5	6.67
Unoccupied				
1. Unemployed			2	2.67
Total	60	100.02	75	99.99

There are three family heads (5.00%) working in the finca commissary--the owner (merchant), and two sales clerks. These together with the finca accountant comprise the various occupations engaged in under the commerce and trade type of economic activity.

On an hacienda such as Atirro there is always construction and repair work to be done. This is largely handled by the two finca carpenters (3.33%) and a carpenter's helper (1.67%). The other family head engaged in construction work is an ebanista (furniture maker). While he works occasionally as a carpenter of the finca, his major work is in building furniture. The families from Atirro and other communities place their orders with him and while tending the babies at home, he constructs the various pieces of furniture desired. He lives on the finca because of his wife's position as a school teacher.

In the operation of a large finca there necessarily occurs a division of labor in which various of the peons are instructed in the performance of certain tasks and the manipulation of mechanical equipment. Two of the peons (3.33%) have been taught, therefore, how to drive the trucks and work as chauffeurs daily transporting men, equipment and produce to meet the needs of the finca.

The family heads of San Juan Sur are very largely engaged in agricultural type occupations, with 45.33 per cent primarily engaged as jornaleros, 38.67 per cent majorly working their own lands as "agricultores," and with one family head (1.33%) occupied as a dairyman, and one (1.33%) as a "capataz" (overseer).

A comparison of Table 67 concerning forms of land tenure, and the

number of heads of families in Table 72 who are primarily engaged as agricultores reveals what might at first be regarded as an inconsistency. When, as revealed in Table 67, 61.33 per cent of the families in San Juan Sur either own, rent or have fincas or finquitas cedidas, one might expect to find the large majority of the family heads occupied primarily as agricultores instead of the 38.67 per cent indicated.

The reason for this difference is accounted for partially by the small size of a number of the landholdings, and partly through the efforts of the wives and children. In San Juan Sur many of the family heads go to work on large haciendas in surrounding localities, or work for those within the community possessing the larger holdings. While they are at work their wives and children toil at home working their own land holdings. When the family head returns home in late afternoon he works his land many days until dark.

This system works very well for the major part of the year. Only during the coffee picking season or harvest time for the sugar cane does the family head find it necessary to take a few days or weeks off, as the size of the harvest may demand, and work full time on his own land.

There are thirty-one (41.33%) of these family heads, who primarily pursue occupations other than that of "agricultor" but who, neverthless, receive some income or produce from their own lands. This group together with that of the agricultores constitute 80.00 per cent of the family heads.

One family head (1.33%) is occupied primarily as the merchant of the local general store, while another family head (1.33%) pursues the occupation of carpenter. The carpenter is the owner of the cantina, but he is

here considered as a carpenter inasmuch as his wife and family run the business, and he primarily practices his trade.

Five family heads (6.67%) are occupied chiefly in housework activities, one (1.33%) works as a health inspector in Quepos, Costa Rica, and two (2.67%) are unemployed.

When the two communities are compared, the much larger percentage of jornaleros in Atirro, and the greater proportion of agricultores in San Juan Sur at once becomes apparent. The only agricultor in the finca Atirro is the finca owner. It may be noted that whereas there are a number of family heads in San Juan Sur occupied primarily with housework, there are none in Atirro, and while all are gainfully employed in Atirro, there are two unemployed heads in San Juan Sur.

The somewhat greater division of labor in Atirro is evidenced in the greater variety of occupations pursued when compared with San Juan Sur.

In both localities the lack of professional and manufacturing type occupations is significant. The majority of the occupations listed in both communities call for a minimum of skill.

Income distribution. Basic to any comparison of two different type communities such as Atirro and San Juan Sur is an analysis of income. The importance of income is illustrated by its relationship to the level of living--generally, in a money economy, the higher the income of a people, the higher their level of living.

Income directly influences the family's satisfaction of its basic economic needs--the extent to which the family members are adequately clothed, housed, fed, and their health needs cared for. Socially it is a factor

in determining the family's status position in the social structure of the community.

Recognizing the difficulty of obtaining complete and accurate information concerning the incomes of people generally, emphasis was placed upon, and considerable time spent in ascertaining the incomes of the families living in the two localites.

In Atirro where nearly all are day workers, the daily rate of pay combined with the number of days worked a week was first ascertained to calculate the weekly wage.

When the worker indicated he had been employed consistently during the preceding twelve-month period, and at the daily rate of pay currently being received, the weekly income was multiplied by 52 in order to ascertain his yearly income.

If he had worked for only a portion of the stated twelve-month period, his income was calculated according to the number of weeks actually worked.

Although calculation such as this tends to give an optimistic estimate of the income, when the hacienda payroll sheets were checked for different weeks during the specified twelve-month period, the workers' rates of pay were found to be the same as the informants had indicated, and their weekly pay checks were very little less than indicated by the calculations based upon the information obtained from the families.

All other possible sources of family income such as the net gain which accrued from the sale of produce raised by some of the families on their little "finquitas cedidas" were investigated, and added to the income

received from the hacienda.[11]

With those families in San Juan Sur who pursue the occupation of jornalero the same method of determining income was used as that described for Atirro. For the considerable proportion of agricultores and those of other occupations, however, different approaches had to be utilized.

While the technique utilized in Atirro tended to give slightly optimistic estimates, the farmers of San Juan Sur were somewhat conservative in estimating their incomes--not through hesitancy to state their incomes but in remembering the various sources of income.

To counteract this, a method was devised which consisted of making up a list of all the various farm products raised in the region and the types of domesticated animals found there. With every family that had any animals or agricultural cultivations, the list was used in asking for each item: (1) If the family had produced any during the preceding twelve-month period, (2) if they had sold any portion of that produced, (3) the income received from the portion sold, and (4) the expenses involved in its production and marketing.

From this information, the net income was ascertained for each item and a summation of these resulted in the total income from the farm products marketed..

The incomes of those engaged in occupations other than jornalero and agricultor, in both communities, were determined by the use of techniques most readily applicable to the particular situations.

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[11] This method of determining income in Atirro was adopted after considerable experimentation as to which was the most effective and accurate method.

An analysis of Table 73 with reference to the distribution of incomes of families living in the two different localities reveals a considerable degree of similarity between the incomes of those living in the two communities.

Both communities represent a fairly wide distribution with families falling into nearly every level of income from 0 to 499 to 10,000 and above. In actuality, the disparity of income between the top and bottom groups is much greater in Atirro than San Juan Sur. There is no one in San Juan Sur who anywhere near approaches the wealth of the finca owner and commissary owner. The most well-to-do people in San Juan Sur dress in a similar manner and live in the same type of dwelling as other peasant farmers in the community.

In both localities, the category in which the greatest number of families are found is that from 1,000 to 1,499. A calculation of the median income for each community reveals the same similarity with the median income of the families living in San Juan Sur being 1,993.48 colones.

While the income distribution itself shows a remarkable equality of income of the families living in the two localities, there are other factors that should be noted in evaluating the economic status of the families such as:

(1) The fact that 81.33 per cent of the families in San Juan Sur either own, rent, or have cedida fincas or finquitas compared to 26.67 per cent in Atirro. These land holdings provide food, as well as income for the people. In San Juan Sur, the major part of the families supply a large proportion of their food needs at home through the foodstuffs they produce

TABLE 73

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Level of Income	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
0-499	1	1.67	1	1.33
500-999	2	3.33	4	5.33
1,000-1,499	16	26.67	23	30.67
1,500-1,999	11	18.33	10	13.33
2,000-2,499	6	10.00	11	14.67
2,500-2,999	7	11.67	8	10.67
3,000-3,999	8	13.33	9	12.00
4,000-4,999	3	5.00	4	5.33
5,000-5,999	2	3.33		
6,000-9,999	2	3.33	3	4.00
10,000-and above	2	3.33	2	2.67
Total	60	99.99	75	100.00

and the animals they raise. In Atirro the situation is very different for the large majority of families, as this group must purchase everthing they consume.

Therefore, while the distribution of actual cash incomes for families living in the two communities appear to be roughly equivalent, those in San Juan Sur enjoy the economic advantage of having a larger proportion of their food supplied at home than do those living in Atirro. This becomes an especially important consideration in the realization that the majority of the peon family's income is spent for food.

(2) The income estimates for those families living in Atirro were somewhat more optimistic than for those living in San Juan Sur.

From a further observation of the Table one becomes aware of the large proportion of families having low incomes. Fifty per cent of the families in both localities have annual incomes of less than 1999 colones ($333.33). An income of this size necessarily imposes severe limits upon the families' satisfaction of even their most basic needs. This is aptly illustrated by a conversation with the head of a peon family living in Atirro. According to the informant, "a peon with a wife and five children need the following in order to have two average sized meals of rice, beans dulce, and tortillas a day:

Rice -- 2 pounds	1.30 colones
Beans - 2 pounds	1.30 colones
Dulce - 1 atado	.90 colones
Corn -- ½ cuartillo ..	.90 colones
	4.40 colones

This amounts to 4.40 colones a day and 30.80 colones a week. The average peon makes only 4.00 colones a day or 24.00 colones a week, after the fifteen centavos is taken out daily for his social security benefits.

This still leaves the peon with such essential items as milk, lard, salt, candles, soap, garlic, meat, clothing, and medicines to purchase."

Of the remaining 50 per cent of the families living in both localities, 43 per cent in each instance have moderate incomes, 2,000 to 5,999 colones, while 7 per cent have incomes that are very adequate 6,000 to 10,000 colones and above, from the standpoint of enabling the families to provide for the economic necessities of life.

EDUCATION

In making a comparison, it is important not only to understand the economic functioning of the communities, but also the educational achievements of the families as well.

When people in other countries think of Costa Rica perhaps one of the first thoughts which flashes through their minds is: "Costa Rica, the country with more school teachers than soldiers."

Of this fact the Costa Rican people are very proud. They have long emphasized education, and through the years have developed an educational system that is reputedly one of the finest in Central America. While the large majority of the people may not have what we would consider to be any considerable amount of formal education, a large number of them have at least started to attend school at some time or another in their lives. As might be expected, it holds true to a much greater extent in urban centers than in rural villages.

In accordance with the constitutional laws of Costa Rica, the affairs of the different school districts are administered by district boards

the school in Atirro includes only grades one to four while that of San Juan Sur includes grades one to three.

In some schools such as that of San Juan Sur which are handicapped by lack of sufficient teachers, the three grades are not taught every year. If in a given year in a small community there are more students that are ready to enter the third grade than the second grade, they will teach the third grade, and put the ones that would have been in the second grade back into the first grade where they receive a second year of training while waiting.

The following year, the second grade will be taught. This practice is followed because the authorities do not want the children to lose any training while waiting for the second grade, and at the same time it is felt that they gain considerably by taking the first grade over again.

In Atirro, the educational situation has been much improved since the new finca owners took over a year previously. They have two teachers who share the classroom responsibilities. These are paid by the finca as well as by the state and are qualified individuals.

Age and grade of school pupils. As is revealed in Table 74, there are forty-one children attending the school of Atirro with the majority of them (60.98%) being enrolled in the first grade. As might be expected, the proportion of children in the different grades decreases with each additional grade. There are in the second grade, 24.40 per cent of the students with 12.20 per cent being enrolled in the third grade, and 2.44 per cent comprising the fourth grade class.

The age of those enrolled in the first grade varies from seven to

TABLE 74

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS ATTENDING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO AGE AND GRADE

Age	Atirro										San Juan Sur									
	1st Grade		2nd Grade		3rd Grade		4th Grade		Total		1st Grade		2nd Grade		3rd Grade		Total			
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.		
6											2	3.77					2	3.77		
7	3	7.32	1	2.44					4	9.76	4	7.55					4	7.55		
8	6	14.63	1	2.44					7	17.07	9	16.98	2	3.77			11	20.75		
9	4	9.76	3	7.32	1	2.44			8	19.52	7	13.21	1	1.89			8	15.10		
10	7	17.07	2	4.88					9	21.95	3	5.66	4	7.55	1	1.89	8	15.10		
11	2	4.88	2	4.88	2	4.88	1	2.44	7	17.08	3	5.66	6	11.32	2	3.77	11	20.75		
12	3	7.32	1	2.44	1	2.44			5	12.20	1	1.89	3	5.66	2	3.77	6	11.32		
13					1	2.44			1	2.44	1	1.89	2	3.77			3	5.66		
Total	25	60.98	10	24.40	5	12.20	1	2.44	41	100.02	30	56.61	18	33.96	5	9.43	53	100.00		

twelve years, with the largest single age grouping being those ten years old. The age range of those in the second grade is the same (7-12) as for the first grade group with the largest single group being nine years old.

When the median age of the two groups is calculated, however, those in the second grade are found to be generally somewhat older as indicated by their mean age of 9.60 years compared to a mean age of 9.32 years for those in the first grade. The age range of those in the third grade varies from nine to thirteen with the group having a mean age of 11.20 years. The one student who is attending the fourth grade is eleven years of age.

In San Juan Sur, there are fifty-three children in attendance at school with the majority (56.61%) being enrolled in the first grade, Of the remaining proportion 33.96 per cent are in the second and 9.43 per cent are in the third grade.

The small number in the third grade could well be taking the second grade over while awaiting the third grade course of study. They differ from the second grade students in that they have already successfully completed the requirements for advancement to the third grade, whereas those in the second grade are barely commencing this course of study.

The age of those enrolled in the first grade varies from six to thirteen with the largest single group (16.98%) being those of eight years. The mean age of this group is 8.77 years. The age range of those in the second grade is eight to thirteen, with their modal age being eleven years, and their mean age being 10.72 years. The age range of the qualified third graders is ten to twelve, with the largest groups being the eleven and twelve-year olds (3.77% each) and the mean age for all in the third grade

category being 11.20 years. When the two localities are compared with reference to age and grade of school children, it becomes apparent that in both, the majority of the students are enrolled in the first grade with the second most significant group in the second grade.

While 90.57 per cent of the students in San Juan Sur fall into these two levels, there is a slightly lesser proportion (85.35%) of the Atirro school children in these grades; though of the two localities, Atirro has the largest proportion of students in the first grade. The difference is due to the significantly larger proportion (9.56% more) attending the second grade in San Juan Sur than in Atirro.

The third grade of Atirro is proportionately somewhat larger than that of San Juan Sur, and there is one student matriculated in the Atirro fourth grade while the school in San Juan Sur does not extend beyond the third grade.

The age of those enrolled in the various grades in both communities varies considerably. While the age range for those in the first grade is somewhat greater in San Juan Sur than in Atirro, this is reversed in grades two and three with Atirro having the wider variance of ages in these grades.

The mean age of those in the first grade in Atirro (9.60 years) is somewhat higher than in San Juan Sur (8.77 years), though in both communities the children appear somewhat old to be in the first grade. It is interesting to note that as one moves from the first to the second grade in Atirro, the mean age actually decreases (9.32 years) rather than increases as might be expected. This is in direct contrast to San Juan Sur, where the mean age rises by two years (10.72 years) above that of those in the

first grade. The mean third grade age of children in both communities is identical, being 11.20 years.

Number of grades of school completed by male and female heads. An analysis of Table 75 reveals that while the majority of both the male and female heads of families in Atirro have completed at least one grade of school, their education for the most part has been limited. Approximately one-third of both the male (35.59%) and female (33.33%) family heads have not completed a single grade of school. This does not necessarily mean that they have never attended school, but that they have never completed a grade.

There is a striking similarity between the male and female heads, not only with reference to the percentage having never completed a grade of school, but also with those having completed one, two, three, and four grades. While the percentage of male heads who have completed five and six grades of school (6.78% for each grade) is greater than for the females (3.33% for each grade), the proportion of female heads who have completed nine grades of schooling or more (6.24%) is greater than for the males (1.69%). Of the male heads, 98.29 per cent have completed six years of schooling or less, while 93.21 per cent of the female heads fall into this same category.

The one male head who has completed more than six years of schooling is the finca owner, and the three female heads who are also classified into this latter group are the two lady school teachers and the wife of the finca owner.

In San Juan Sur, the education of the male and female heads as indicated

TABLE 75

NUMBER OF GRADES OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Number of Grades of School Completed	Atirro				San Juan Sur			
	Male Head		Female Head		Male Head		Female Head	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	21	35.59	16	33.33	26	37.68	21	30.00
1	8	13.56	8	16.67	7	10.14	7	10.00
2	9	15.25	9	18.75	14	20.29	16	22.86
3	9	15.25	8	16.67	12	17.39	21	30.00
4	3	5.08	2	4.17	7	10.14	1	1.43
5	4	6.78	1	2.08	3	4.35	2	2.86
6	4	6.78	1	2.08			1	1.43
7								
8								
9	1	1.69	1	2.08			1	1.43
10								
11			1	2.08				
12			1	2.08				
Total	59	99.98	48	99.99	69	99.99	70	100.01

by the number of grades of school completed is surprisingly similar. Roughly one-third of the male heads (37.68%) and the female heads (30.00%) have not completed a single grade of schooling, though as the percentages indicate, the number of females in this category is somewhat less than for the males. There are approximately equal percentages of male and female heads who have completed one and two grades of school, with a greater percentage of females having completed grade three and a larger proportion of males finishing grades four and five.

Of the heads of families, all of the males (99.99%) have completed five grades of school or less, while 97.15 per cent of the females are in this group. One female head has completed six grades of schooling, and another female head (the local school teacher) has completed nine grades.

When the two communities are compared, it becomes apparent that they are quite similar in many respects, with reference to the number of grades of school completed by male and female heads of families, such as:

(1) In both settlements, the majority (roughly two-thirds) of both the male and female heads of families have completed at least one grade of schooling.

(2) In both communities, while there are a few noteworthy differences between the education of the male and female heads, they are in the large, surprisingly similar.

(3) The two communities are not only similar with respect to the level of education of male and female heads but, when they are compared with each other, the large majority of the heads are found to have very comparable educations.

(4) The vast majority in both areas have limited educations, as indicated by those in Atirro who have completed six years or less, and in San Juan Sur by those who have completed five years or less of schooling.

(5) The more educated individuals, (those who have completed nine grades of school or more) in both communities are the educators, with the exception of the Atirro finca owner and his wife.

Number of persons who can read and write. As revealed in Table 76, slightly less than two-thirds (62.71%) of the male heads of families in Atirro can both read and write.

TABLE 76

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS AND OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY CAN READ AND WRITE

Locality	Male head				Female head				Other members			
	Able to read and write		unable to read and write		Able to read and write		Unable to read and write		Able to read and write		Unable to read and write	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	37	62.71	22	37.29	23	47.92	25	52.08	54	28.57	135	71.43
San Juan Sur	43	62.32	26	37.68	44	62.86	26	37.14	99	32.25	208	67.75

The percentage of female heads who can read and write is 47.92 per cent or roughly one half.[13] It is interesting to note that while the male

[13] In this Table only those individuals who have both reading and writing abilities are considered as "able to read and write." There was only one instance where and individual was found who could read but could not write. This was a female family head in Atirro and in the Table she appears as not possessing these qualities

and female heads were relatively similar in the number of grades of school completed, a significantly lesser proportion of the women can read and write. An explanation for this may be in the greater usage made of their schooling by the male heads. They generally have many more occasions to utilize their reading and writing abilities. A frequent explanation given by the female heads over their failure to read and write was the many years of lack of practice since their school days.

When all other members of the families are considered, 28.57 per cent are able to read and write. This percentage is necessarily low because it includes all the young children between the ages of 0 to 6, as well as those that are now attending school and have not yet mastered the art of reading and writing.

In San Juan Sur the number of male heads (62.32%) who can read and write differs from the number of female heads (62.86%) by one individual. As indicated, the majority of both male and female heads possess these abilities. When the other members of the families are considered, however, those who can read and write are in the minority (32.25%). The same factors are in operation here as described for this group in Atirro to make the percentage necessarily low.

When the reading and writing abilities of the people living in the two communities are compared, a number of differences become apparent, such as:

(1) While there is little difference in the educational levels of family heads of the two communities as measured through the number of grades of school completed, there are significant differences in reading and writing

abilities of the female heads. While in San Juan Sur the proportion of male and female heads (as might be expected from an analysis of Table 75) who can read and write is almost identical. In Atirro, however, the percentage of females possessing these abilities drops.

(2) With reference to the "other members" of the families San Juan Sur possesses a higher percentage who can read and write. This difference becomes still more meaningful when it is realized that there is a greater proportion of children between the ages 0 to 5 (20.63% of the total population in San Juan Sur than in Atirro (14.52% of the total population) thus tending to lower the percentage to a greater extent than it would be lowered in Atirro.

(3) In view of the limited formal education of the majority of the people in both communities, the proportion who can both read and write is surprising.

Number of families without persons of reading and writing abilities. As revealed in Table 77, 80.00 per cent, or four-fifths of the families in Atirro possess a member or members who can read and write.

Of the families living in San Juan Sur, 90.67 per cent possess a member or members with these abilities.

A simple comparison of the two localities reveals that one-fifth of the families of Atirro must depend upon sources outside their family group in the exercise of these important functions, while slightly less than 10 per cent of the families in San Juan Sur must turn to outside sources for this purpose.

TABLE 77

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY INCLUDE PERSONS OF READING AND WRITING ABILITIES

Locality	Families with a/or person(s) of reading and writing ability		Families with a/or person(s) of reading and writing ability		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Atirro	48	80.00	12	20.00	60	100.00
San Juan Sur	68	90.67	7	9.33	75	100.00

Number of books owned by the family. An analysis of the number of books owned by the families living in the two localities serves to give a somewhat further insight into the educational status of the people.[14]

In Atirro, as indicated in Table 78, two-thirds of the families own no books whatsoever, while another 21.67 per cent possess from one to three books. Of the remaining families, two (3.33%) possess four to six books, one (1.67%) possesses seven to ten books, one (1.67%) the finca owner's family possesses twenty-one to forty, and one (1.67%) the finca accountant possesses more than forty-one books.

In San Juan Sur less than one-half (45.33%) of the families own no books although 33.33 per cent have one to three books in their possession. Seven families (9.33%) possess four to six books, while five (6.67%) possess seven to ten, one (1.33%) possesses eleven to fifteen, one (1.33%) possesses sixteen to twenty, and two families (2.67%), possess twenty-one to forty books.

[14] The books counted do not include the children's school books which are loaned to them by the school during the period of their matriculation.

TABLE 78

NUMBER OF BOOKS OWNED BY THE FAMILIES RESIDING IN ATIRRO AND SAN JUAN SUR

Number of books owned by family	Atirro		San Juan Sur	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	41	68.33	34	45.33
1 - 3	13	21.67	25	33.33
4 - 6	2	3.33	7	9.33
7 - 10	1	1.67	5	6.67
11 - 15			1	1.33
16 - 20			1	1.33
21 - 40	1	1.67	2	2.67
41 - above	2	3.33		
Total	60	100.00	75	99.99

A comparison of the two communities reveals that of the two, Atirro has a significantly greater proportion of families who own no books. This may perhaps partially explain for the decline in the female family heads' reading abilities in Atirro as contrasted with the lack of decline in San Juan Sur.

Atirro appears to be divided into two well defined segments with reference to the ownership of books as well as in other phases of education already discussed.

The peon group of the finca, which comprises the vast majority of the populace is largely without any books whatsoever or has only a very limited number. The finca owner and finca accountant families, on the

other hand, have a relatively large number of books.

In San Juan Sur no such distinct division occurs. There is a gradual decline in the number of families listed as the number of books owned increases.

Generally, not only does the percentage of families owning books in San Juan Sur exceed that of Atirro, but also the number of books owned by families in San Juan Sur tends to be greater than in Atirro. While 90.00 per cent of the families in Atirro own no books, or possess from one to three books, 78.66 per cent of those in San Juan Sur fall into this category, and while 5.00 per cent of the families in Atirro possess from four to twenty books, 18.66 per cent of the families of San Juan Sur fall into this category.

While it is recognized that just because a family has books, it is not an indication that they read them, at the same time, when families who have as little money to spend as do those living in Atirro and San Juan Sur, and when they spend it on books, it is an indication of the value placed upon that book.

RELIGION

Although educational achievements and advantages of the families contribute to the functioning of a community; another general function is religion which, because of its importance to the lives of the people, provides a further basis for analysis and comparison.

Catholicism is the state religion of Costa Rica, and is embraced by the vast majority of the people. Through the long period during which it has been the dominant religion of the country, it has become highly

institutionalized and both its dogma and customs have permeated the laws, and traditional mores of the people.

Today, evidences of its influence may be observed in the black clothing worn in times of mourning; in the holidays, which are nearly always of religious significance; in the homes where pictures of saints and other holy objects adorn the walls; at Christmas time when the "portal" is erected depicting the holy scene; in the language expressions of the people; in the schools where compulsory religious education (Catholic) is taught; and in the laws of the country concerning marriage, which recognize only Catholic and civil marriages.

From this it would appear that the influence of the church upon the people would be considerable--especially in rural agricultural villages, such as Atirro and San Juan Sur, where the Costa Rican people themselves consider the church to have the greatest strength. There are, however, evidences that the religious dogma as expressed by the people, is not as effective a source of social control as might be expected. While the people may know what the doctrine is, many of them express little reluctance to violating some of the more rigid regulations.

An example of this was related by an informant living in San Juan Sur, who is one of the oldest Catholics in the community. He stated that those couples who live together without having their unions sanctified by a church marriage are criticized by the people and are considered to be living in sin. He further stated that, "the Father tells us not to visit these couples, and warns us that when one of these persons becomes seriously ill to go and leave them alone, so that when the devil comes to take their

souls, he will not seize ours as well." The informant stated that he has heard this all his life but has never once seen it occur--the bonds of kinship and affection are stronger than the teachings of the church in this respect.

The comments of this informant indicate the informal social forces operating to deter couples from living together without being married in the church. Yet, though they are critized somewhat, first hand observations of the social interaction between those couples living as convivientes and the other members of the community revealed no apparent ostracism. The people place their regard for the individual above the doctrine of the church in this respect as is indicated in the case of one person who was listed as a prestige leader of the community by the other families in spite of his conviviencia state.

While all the families living in Atirro profess the Catholic faith, there are three families in San Juan Sur who have joined the Protestant church. At first there was considerable criticism of this, but it finally died down and regular visiting occurs between them and the other Catholic families of the community. A factor in this, however, may be the blood or marital relationships as a large part of the visiting is done with their kinfolk.

Today, possibly more important than the fear of being condemned to hell as a form of social control, are the customs themselves, which exert considerable pressure upon the people to conform, and a number of the people adhere to the regulations of the church not so much out of conviction, as for fear of what others will think and say.

Of the two localities considered in the present study, the influence of religion appears to be of greater significance in San Juan Sur than in Atirro. As Indicated by Tables 60 and 61 concerning church attendance, the majority of the families living in San Juan Sur attend church more frequently than do those living in Atirro.

Another indication is the greater number of convivientes in Atirro and the almost complete absence of criticism about them, while those in San Juan Sur do react in a critical manner.

Still a third indication is the "devotion" to the "sacred heart of Jesus" which exists in San Juan Sur and of which Atirro possesses no counterpart.

The velas, the celebrations surrounding the day of the patron saint, the holy week ceremonies, and the festivities surrounding the traditional Christmas celebration with its "portal," all provide opportunities for considerable social interaction, and are of social as well as of religious significance to the families living in both communities.

An example of this is the "vela de angel." When a child dies who has been baptized but has not yet reached the age of responsibility (seven years), the people gather in the evening in the home of the deceased for the vela of the angel.

At this vela all have a good time. Some play music, others sing, and the young folk may dance and play games. The songs, music, and games are all cheerful and gay in spirit--but why shouldn't they be, for the child who died has gone straight to heaven and it is said he is now an angel. So it is fitting and proper that the people rejoice.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

While indirect moral control is achieved through religion, the political organization through law enforcement guarantees the civil rights of the people.

Politically, Costa Rica is divided into four major divisions: provinces, cantons, districts, and caserios. The Canton of Turrialba, which is part of the Province of Cartago, is divided into five districts one of which is Atirro.[15]

In Atirro, as in the other districts, the affairs of the people are watched over by an "Agente Principal de Policia" (principal police agent). This agent is paid by the state at the rate of 150 colones a month and his duties consist of:

(1) Seeing that everything is always in order.

(2) Keeping the civil register (recording all births, marriages, deaths, etc.).

(3) Notifying the general director of police monthly of the events which have transpired in the district.

The superior of the Agente in Atirro is the Jefe Politico in Turrialba who holds the position of chief executive officer in the Canton.

San Juan Sur politically is considered as a caserio,[16] situated

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[15] The district of Atirro includes besides the village of Atirro itself, Pueblo Nuevo, La Cruzada, and La Esperanza.

[16] A caserio is considered to be a number of houses of citizens living together in a specific geographical area, watched over by a justice of the peace or a comisario. When the caserio is larger, but still lesser in size than a district, it is watched over by an auxiliary police agent.

in the central district of Turrialba. Because of San Juan Sur's classification as a large casario it has an "Agente Auxiliar de Policia" (auxiliary police agent) who is paid a salary of 118 colones a month, and is charged with the responsibility of maintaining order in the community.

Aside from the principal police agent in Atirro and the auxiliary police agent in Turrialba there is no other political organization in either of these two communities.

Though these officials constitute what might appear to be very limited executive branches of government within the two localities, it appears to be adequate for the maintenance of law and order.

The mores and folksways serve as a basic regulatory force in San Juan Sur. While this force is of somewhat lesser importance in Atirro, the houses are grouped so closely together that the local police agent can easily keep an eye on most of the village.

The tiny jail in Atirro has reputedly been used on rare occasions to lock up a disorderly drunk until he sobers, but beyond that there has been little need for it. San Juan Sur has no jail. In the rare event one is needed, Turrialba is used for that purpose.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

CLIQUES AND CONGENIALITY GROUPS

The informal groupings herein discussed may be variously referred to as clique, congeniality, friendship, or mutual-aid groups. They are small, very intimate groups of individuals who interact and participate together frequently in informal activities.[1] They are fraternal in-groups, in which a consciousness of kind is felt among the individual members to a greater or lesser degree, depending upon their depth of integration into the group.

Importance. The eminent social scientists Cooley, Mead, and Sherif are but a few among the many who have recognized the importance of informal-association groups generally in shaping the personality and conduct of their members. Cooley, for example, considered primary groups (which included the family, the children's play group, and the neighborhood or community group of elders) to be the nursery of human nature. According to him, they are first both in time and importance, and serve to give the child sentiments of loyalty, fair play, ambition, and sympathy, which make him truly human.[2]

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[1] Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh; and Gardner, Mary, Deep South, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 138.

[2] Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp 23-4.

Mead sees the informal association between the individual and his family, in play, and other congeniality groups as being essential to the development of the individual's "awareness of self" and his ability to take the role of the other (specific and generalized).[3]

Sherif points out that in the individual's interaction with the other members of his group, norms will arise, which when once established, will determine or alter the individual's experience and behavior in situations, whether group or individual. The individual's standards, attitudes, and status aspirations stem from and are related to his "reference groups" (groups to which the individual relates himself--for example, his family, clique or gang, economic class, college, club, union, etc.).[4]

Social scientists generally have long recognized, and placed great emphasis upon the importance of the family as the basic social force in molding and controlling human behavior; but only in relatively recent years has there been a recognition of or any sizeable proportion of systematic research in other informal associations--clique and congeniality groupings--relative to the motivating and influencing of individual human behavior.

These research efforts have been rewarding in illustrating the influence of these groups. For example:

(1) Roethlisberger and Dickson's study of the human relations in

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[3] George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 135-222.

[4] Muzafer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 105.

the Hawthorne Works division of the Western Electric Company. This study resulted in invalidating many of the previous basic assumptions held by management--specifically, that the worker was motivated only by the desire for economic gain. The study revealed the importance of the small informal groups existing at all levels of the hierarchy in stimulating or discouraging "worker incentive," and in providing or failing to provide the worker with a satisfactory work experience.[5]

(2) Arnsberg and Kimball's study of the rural Irish community. This study describes the "old fellows" clique as being a tightly knit group of males of similar interests and tastes who served as the clearing house of information and the court of opinion in which the decisions of the community were reached and the traditional knowledge of the peasantry was applied and disseminated.[6]

(3) Loomis' study of the Dyess Colony in Arkansas. This study illustrated the effect of clique affiliations upon the morale of the individual families and upon their decisions of whether or not they should move from the colony.[7]

(4) Sherif's experimental study of inter-group relations. This study of two groups of boys at a summer camp, experimentally selected and

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[5] F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 40-188.

[6] Conrad M. Arensberg, and Solon T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 181-201.

[7] Charles P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), pp. 51-7.

segregated, represents an attempt to include within a single experimental design the study of in-group properties and inter-group relations.

This study illustrates the rise of hierarchical positions and roles in newly formed groups followed by a group structure which tends in time to generate norms peculiar to the group; and that in-groups thus formed when brought into functional relationships exhibit attitudes and actions, in relation to the out-group, relative to the harmony or friction between the goals of the two groups.[8]

Characteristics. The importance of these groups in setting norms of behavior for the individual members is directly related to the individual's feeling of identification with them. They are the only groups to which he has a strong feeling of belonging outside the family, and therefore, are, together with the family, largely responsible for the formation of the individual's personality, and control of his behavior. The individual is bound to his clique by the strongest of ties.[9]

In case of misfortune, members of his clique are the first to offer assistance or consolation, and in the event of achievement or good fortune, they are the first to give sincere congratulations and praise. Death of a member, or a member's grief will cause real sorrow among those of the clique or congeniality group.[10]

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[8] John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, Social Psychology at the Crossroads, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), p. 397.

[9] Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh; and Gardner, Mary, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 169.

[10] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 133-4.

Cliques and congeniality groups are examples of informal association as is indicated by the following:

(1) There are no rules governing the obligations and privileges of members or the methods of entrance and exit.

(2) There is no regular time or place of meeting.

(3) The group has no elected officers or leaders.

(4) There is usually no specific stated purpose of the group.

(5) Rules of custom rather than formal laws govern the relations of the members.[11]

People are not born into cliques as they are into social classes. Their entrance into these informal groupings depends upon their desire to belong, and the willingness of the other members to accept them. The members of cliques and congeniality groups do, however, generally belong to the same societal sub-group and follow the same life pattern, with the activities of the groups varying according to the social class position of their members.[12]

While the activities of cliques and congeniality groups may vary, there is expressed in all of them the solidary, converging interests, and short face to face communications which bind the individual to his group. Their most important characteristic is the unlimited responsibility of one for all and all for one.[13]

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[11] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 351.

[12] Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, op. cit. p. 147, and 169.

[13] Loomis, and Beegle, loc. cit.

PROCEDURE AND ANALYSIS

With the essential characteristics of clique and congeniality groupings in mind, ways and means of analyzing the systems of interpersonal relations in Atirro and San Juan Sur were considered.

Clique leaders. As a means of getting at clique and congeniality groupings, as has been done in other studies,[14] the visiting patterns of the people had to be determined. From the standpoint of consistency and simplicity, it was decided to restrict this analysis to family visiting.[15]

An indication of the predominance of visiting based on family association is evidenced in the patriarchal type of family organization in which the husband may direct his wife in her associations with others as well as in the other phases of her life. When queried, one housewife in Atirro said that she never talked to anyone, even her closest neighbors when her husband was away. In fact, she stated that he had forbidden her to leave the house in his absense and according to her own statements she obeyed him implicitly.

However, it was found that while the male is dominant in the family relationships, and many of the men place restrictions upon their wives, extreme cases such as this are the exception rather than the rule.

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[14] Charles P. Loomis, Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950), pp 85-146.

[15] With reference to the multiple-member families (two or more members), visiting was considered to be family visiting if both parents participated, or if one parent and at least one other family member were involved. In a large proportion of instances, the family visiting, indicated in the sociograms, involved both parents as well as other family members.

To determine the extent and nature of family visiting, sociometric questions were used, some of which were the same as those used by Loomis--family visiting and borrowing--in similar studies,[16] and others were formulated and adapted to the rural situation of Atirro and San Juan Sur.

Different questions were formulated in an attempt to determine the extent to which the clique relations of the families extended through the various types of social situations. It was reasoned that if the families generally have one basic clique to which they belong, the names given in response to the different questions covering the various types of situations involving social interaction, would be essentially the same with the deviations being characteristic of the particular situation.

All questions were carefully tested, and revised several times to insure their usefulness before their inclusion in the final schedule. These questions as they appear in the schedule are:

1. Which of the families do you visit most frequently?

2. In the event that you were to give a fiesta who are the families you would want to invite first?

3. If you were to become ill who are the first families that would come to see you?

4. Who are the families in whom you have complete confidence and with whom you would feel free to discuss your personal problems?

5. Who are the families from whom you would borrow should the need arise?

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[16] Charles P. Loomis, Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village (Sociometry, A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations, Vol. IV, No. 1, February, 1941) pp. 36-51.

These questions served to single out the clique leaders and groupings when charted sociometrically. These clique groupings are centered around their informal clique leaders who in relation to their followers, exercise a disproportionately large influence in motivating group and individual behavior. Factors partially accounting for this greater influence of leaders are their personal qualities, value orientations, ability, and their greater number of contacts with their followers.[17]

Prestige leaders. Although the fore-mentioned questions search out the clique leaders by indicating the number of visits families receive, they do not determine the prestige leaders of the community.

In order to ascertain these, the question utilized by Loomis[18] concerning the people's selection of individuals to represent them on a committee was adapted to the rural culture under study.

The adaptation (sociometric question No. 9 in the schedule) which proved most effective after considerable testing was the construction of a hypothetical situation in which the informants were asked, "Let us suppose that here in San Juan Sur (or Atirro) a problem arose which affected all of your lives, and was of such a nature as to make your situation unbearable." "So you decide to meet with all the other community members and select from among your group three persons to represent you on a commission

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[17] Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 161.

[18] Loc. cit.

charged with the responsibility of doing something about the situation." "Who are the three individuals you would select to form such a commission?" After the names were given by the informant, then he was asked, "Now, which of these three persons is your first, second, and third choice?"

A second question (sociometric question No. 1 in the schedule) for the same purpose--finding the prestige leaders--was composed following the results of an investigation among the rural people in the Turrialba region outside of Atirro and San Juan Sur from which were gathered the qualities these people felt their leaders should possess. This question represents an attempt to employ a different type of approach in singling out the prestige leaders--being based on the local norms and value attitudes.

In this question the informant was asked, "Among the persons with whom you are acquainted, who are the ones you consider to be the most capable, honorable, and active, and who concern themselves most over your difficulties and those of the rest of the people living in this area?

These two questions concerning the prestige leaders as well as those concerned with the informal interaction patterns of the people were strategically placed throughout the schedule and were integrated with questions of other types in such a manner as to eliminate any tendency toward a meaningless repetition of the names first given by the informants.

As the clique leaders exercise informal influence in the daily lives of the various members of their clique groupings, the prestige leaders utilize their positions of status in times of tension and crises to influence the community members as to ways and means of solving their communal problems.

The example of Maximino (No. 66 in the sociograms) of San Juan Sur who is the foremost prestige leader in the community will serve to illustrate this point. When the seventy-five families living in San Juan Sur were asked which three individuals in the community they would select to represent them on a commission designed to resolve a community problem, fifty-nine of them selected Maximino, with fifty-four of this group listing him as their first choice.

While the man had a type of personality to which many objected, and though he stood strongly for one side of the controversy during the revolutionary crisis, and though he was not a major clique leader, nevertheless the various families listed him as their foremost prestige leader.

To Maximino, the people give credit for obtaining their school house which they prize so highly, and for many of the other improvements that have been made from time to time in the community. He has been known to travel to San Jose to see the President of Costa Rica about matters pertaining to the improvement and welfare of the community.

As one informant stated, "Maximino is a very good man. When I had puerperal fever the night my twins were born he went from house to house gathering the people together to take me to Turrialba, then they carried me in my bed all the way down to the hospital."[19]

Another informant who had lived in the community for forty-eight years stated, "I was reared in this pueblo and have found that Maximino and Angel (No. 39) are the only ones that concern themselves for the dif-

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[19] This woman lived seven kilometers from the hospital.

ficulties of the people."

Still a third informant remarked, "Maximino is the guayacan[20] of San Juan Sur--the man in whom the whole world has most confidence."

That Maximino concerned himself over the affairs of the community became readily apparent upon first entrance into the village. The first contact with the people was made in mid-afternoon at one end of the community. By nightfall the news had traveled all the way across the settlement to Maximino (a distance of five kilometers) and the next morning he traveled on foot to Turrialba in order to find out the purpose of our appearance in San Juan Sur.

The influence this prestige leader has exerted in times of community decision was evidenced in the 1944 national election. Maximino felt that Mr. Picado, one of the candidates for president, was a good one and would help the people of San Juan Sur in obtaining the new bridge they needed for their ox cart road. He, therefore, recommended to all that they vote for this man. That year the vote of the people was 158 for Mr. Picado and 1 against him. They subsequently got their bridge.

Four years later in 1948 when the aid of Maximino was again solicited in the campaign of Mr. Picado and his successor Dr. Calderon Guardia, he refused to have anything to do with the campaign or to vote as he felt the political situation was too corrupt. In this latter vote, the Picado-Guardia party failed completely in San Juan Sur.

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[20] Guayacan (Guayaco) a sturdy tree that grows in the region. This phrase is used to indicate that the individual is a stalwart pillar of society.

The other prestige leaders of San Juan Sur indicated in the sociograms received 24, 18, 12, and 9 selections respectively.

While in San Juan Sur one prestige leader supercedes the others to a considerable degree, in Atirro there are two prestige leaders of foremost importance. The one, Marcelino (No. 68 in the sociograms) received 32 selections and was listed by 15 of these as their first choice. The other, Anastasio (No. 88) received 29 selections with 8 of them being first choices. The other prestige leaders indicated in the sociograms received 20, 17, and 14 selections respectively.

It is of significance to note that the families of these two major prestige leaders in Atirro are also the major clique leader families of the village with No. 68 having not only a somewhat greater prestige but also being the slightly more popular clique leader family of the two.

In an effort to gain a better insight into why the various individuals chosen as prestige leaders in the two communities were selected, a number of families in each locality (10 in Atirro and 11 in San Juan Sur) were asked to state their reasons why they had selected the individuals whose names they had given in response to the question concerning the forming of a commission. Their replies are listed as follows:

No. of informants	Responses of informants in Atirro
9	Honorable and respectable
9	Concerned for the welfare of others--the people and the community
6	Active and hard-working
3	Intelligent and capable
2	Carry out in good faith responsibilities encharged

	to them
2	Serious, genuine, proper (formales)
1	Are not hypocrites
1	Sincere
1	Progressive
1	Have greater contact with the rest of the people
1	Are correct in their manner of thinking and acting
1	Serviciales (ready to lend a willing hand)
1	More refined social manners
1	Are not charletanes (idle talkers)
1	The whole world turns to them when in time of major need

No. of informants	Responses of informants in San Juan Sur
11	Honorable and respectable
9	Concerned for the welfare of others--the people and the community
4	Progressive
4	Serviciales (ready to lend a willing hand)
4	Intelligent and capable
2	Have superior preparation (schooling etc.)
3	Serious, genuine, proper
2	Are not hypocrites
2	Active and hard working
1	Charitable towards the people
1	Religious persons of good conscience with everyone

1	Will do no harm to anyone, but desire good for all
1	Young and healthy
1	Loyal
1	Humble
1	Treat all people equally
1	Possess the spirit of companionship--will always accompany one
1	Do not expect monetary recompense for their services to the people
1	More affable with the people
1	Have the facility and time for serving
1	Do not molest anyone in any way
1	Are not charletanes (idle talkers)
1	Have sufficient resources which enable them to give their time to an activity of the community
1	They have already served on commissions for the people and have done well
1	They are the principal persons in San Juan Sur

It may be assumed from these responses of the various informants in both localities that their reasons for selecting certain individuals as prestige leaders are very largely in terms of the qualities which the individuals themselves possess. In both communities the informants placed a high value upon the "honorableness and respectability" of the individuals as is indicated by the fact that nine of the ten families informing in Atirro indicated this to be a factor in their selection, while all eleven families in San Juan Sur listed this as a consideration. Another quality

of almost equal importance in both communities was "the concern for the welfare of others--both the people and the community."

These two characteristics were required of their prestige leaders by nearly all of the families informing, and constitute the major basis of selection for many. Other relatively important qualities in Atirro were active and hard working (6 families selecting); and intelligent and capable (3); while in San Juan Sur the qualities were progressive (4); serviciales or ready to lend a willing hand (4); intelligent and capable (4); and serious, genuine, proper (3).

It is of significance to note that in neither community did intelligence and capability rate anywhere nearly as high as being honorable and being concerned with the welfare of others. The informants emphasized these two qualities elucidating with reference to each of them.

A difference of interest, is the relative importance placed upon "progressive" by informant families in the two communities. In San Juan Sur where the majority own their own homes and small plots of land and where community affairs are in the hands of the respective families, four informant families listed "progressive" as a factor in determining their selection of persons to serve on a commission encharged with the community welfare, while in Atirro where the entire community is owned by the finca owner and where community affairs are largely in his hands, small emphasis is placed upon "progressiveness" as is indicated by the fact that it was listed by only one family.

While those of San Juan Sur place somewhat greater emphasis upon progressiveness than those in Atirro, there is a much larger consideration

given to active, hard-working individuals in Atirro (6) than in San Juan Sur (2) as a consideration in prestige leader selection. In San Juan Sur two families listed superior preparation (schooling, etc.) as being important in the determining of a leader while there were none in Atirro who even considered this as a factor in leadership. This is interesting in view of the fact that there is a slightly higher percentage of children in school (elementary), a higher percentage of persons who can read and write, a greater proportion of the people who have been provided with their education, and a higher per cent of the people who own books in San Juan Sur than in Atirro.

One other point of considerable interest is the lack of influence of religion in the selection of prestige leaders. Not one family in Atirro listed the "religiousness" of the individuals as a factor in their selection, while only one family in San Juan Sur was concerned with this factor. This is further illustrated when considering the fact that one of the prestige leaders in Atirro was, according to Catholic Church standards, born in sin (born of parents who were unwed), and one of the prestige leaders in San Juan Sur is living in sin (living with a woman to whom he is not legally wed). While neither of these two individuals were the foremost prestige leaders of the communities they were nevertheless men of considerable respect and stature.

The positions that the various prestige leaders occupy in the community social structure seem to be determined to a large extent by the degree to which they manifest, in their individual behavior, the norms of their social group. The qualities listed above upon which the various

informants based their selection of the men to represent them on a commission represent their own values and standards, and insofar as these are the same as those of the rest of the families in the localities, they represent the group standards, values, or norms. These prestige leaders are those who most perfectly uphold and manifest the norms of their social group.

Personality factors do not enter into the selection of prestige leaders nearly to the extent that they do with reference to the clique leaders. This is partially due to the different nature of the needs these two types of leaders fill. While the clique leaders fill the more specific needs--needs of his particular clique, the prestige leaders fill general needs--those of the whole community--and do not have the personal contact in their leadership functions that the clique leaders do.

That the value norms of the families living in Atirro and San Juan Sur, as represented by the above informant families, are also the norms of those living in the other rural settlements of the Turrialba region is indicated by the effectiveness of the prestige question No. 1--"Among the persons with whom you are acquainted, who are the ones that you consider to be the most capable, honorable, and active, and who concern themselves most over your difficulties and over those of the rest of the people living in this area?"--in finding the same prestige leaders of the two communities as question No. 9.

The extent of the agreement between this question (No. 1) and the other sociometric question concerning the selection of a commission (No. 9) is indicated by a comparison of the two with reference to the prestige

leaders appearing in the sociograms.

TABLE 79

A COMPARISON OF SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONS NO. 1 AND 9

IN ATIRRO

Prestige leader family number	Sociometric question number 1 Number of selections	Sociometric question number 9 Number of selections
68	27	32
88	28	29
86	23	20
1	19	17
76	17	14

TABLE 80

A COMPARISON OF SOCIOMETRIC QUESTIONS NO. 1 AND 9

IN SAN JUAN SUR

Prestige leader family number	Sociometric question number 1 Number of selections	Sociometric question number 9 Number of selections
66	60	59
61	23	24
39	16	18
23	10	12
47	11	9

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURES

Visiting. Visiting provides the families of both communities with

their chief social activity, and their major form of diversion in life. It goes on almost continually throughout the various situations in which the family members find themselves during the course of a day.

A large part of this visiting is carried on by the family groups visiting in one another's homes.

Analysis of Figure 6 reveals that in Atirro the large proportion of visiting is carried on between friends. There is comparatively little social interaction of this type between relatives (blood or by marriage) and compadres. This is partially explained by the considerable mobility in and out of the settlement with fourteen or 23.33 per cent of the families having been residents of the community less than one year at the time of schedule administration. There is, consequently, a relatively small number of related families, either church or kinship.

Of the 174 visits graphically depicted in the sociogram, only eight or 4.60 per cent are outwardly oriented indicating a remarkable degree of integration considering the length of time a number of families have lived in the settlement. In the case of Atirro, however, the factor of geographical isolation must be taken into consideration when considering the extent of integration. The village itself is situated deep in the heart of the finca at a distance of 14.0 kilometers from Turrialba and 8.4 kilometers from La Suiza which presents a barrier of distance to any large degree of visiting in these outside centers.

There are other outside settlements--Pejivalle, Oriente, and Pueblo Nuevo, which though situated somewhat closer to Atirro than Turrialba and La Suiza, hold little attraction for the majority of the families. Only

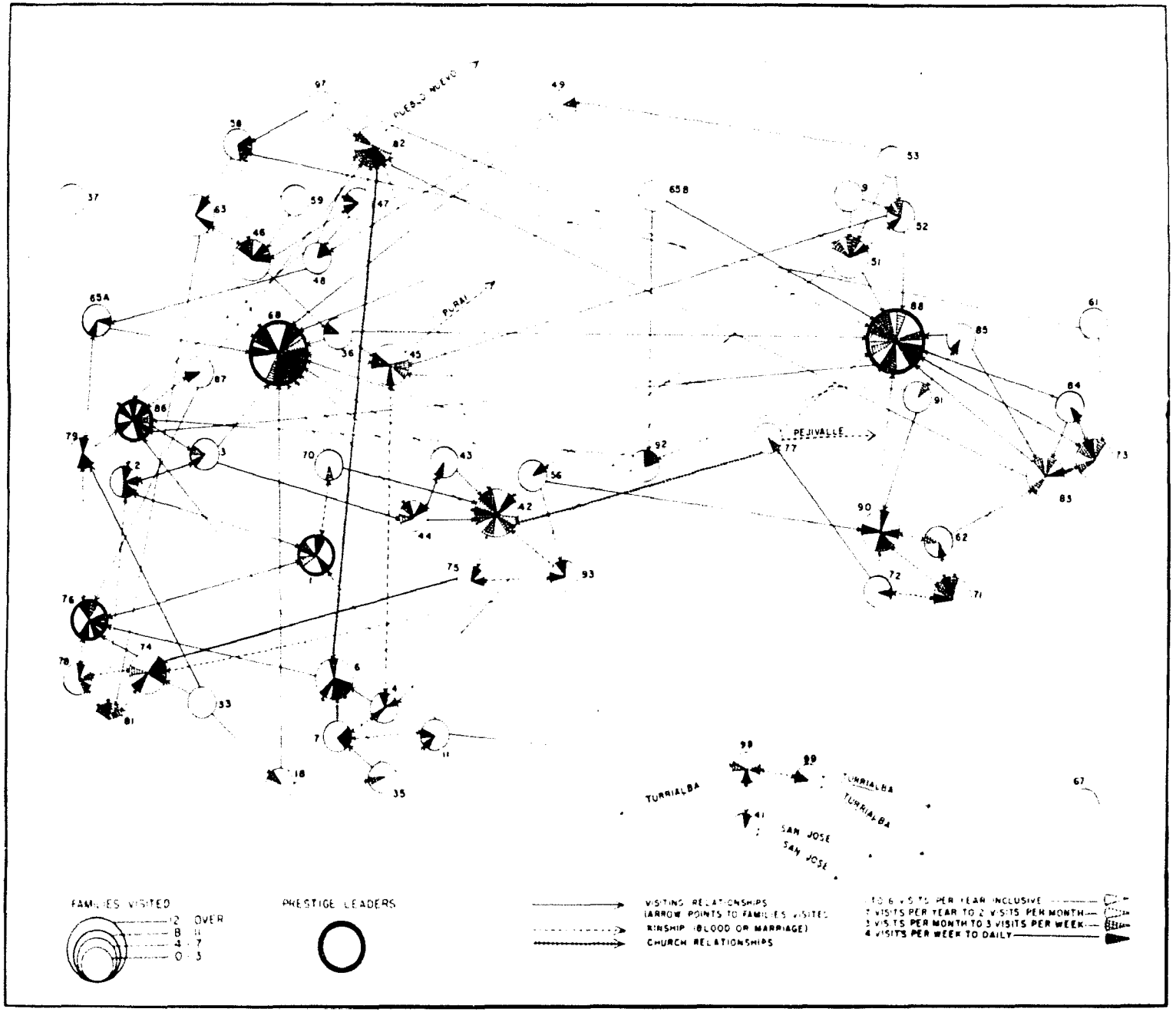

FIGURE 6

VISITING PATTERNS OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

those who may have previously lived in these smaller villages and developed strong bonds of friendship or who have relatives there, are interested in visiting in these settlements.

As indicated by the Figure, the various families comprising the community are aggregated into eight cliques oriented around and composing the two major polar bodies whose centers are families No. 68 and 88. There is also one small clique composed of three families, that of the finca owner (No. 99), the commissary owner (No. 98), and the commissary owner's father (No. 41). As indicated by the visiting relationships, the third ranking clique leader family of the community is No. 42 who shows mutual visiting with 68 and though, with his followers, comprises a portion of this larger clique is nevertheless a clique leader of some importance.

The associations of these latter families are largely directed outside of the community. Their social interrelationships within the community are with each other, and the only informal social contact of this type that they have with the rest of the community is provided by family No. 11 who visits the commissary owner family. This visiting relationship is not reciprocal, however, as is indicated in the Figure.

There is only one family in the entire community who is completely isolated from visiting contact with others (No. 67). It was the head of this family who explained that he remained apart from the rest of the people, and who was later confined for some time in the hospital for the mentally ill in San Jose.

Another family (No. 37) who is almost a complete isolate as indicated by the fact that they receive visits from no one and visit only one family--

the informant's brother-in-law (No. 68) who is one of the major prestige and clique leaders in the community. The wife of this family further indicated their lack of acceptance and integration into the community social life when she stated, "We are afraid to visit because the people here are very eccentric."

In the system of social interrelations, as indicated by this sociogram, family No. 92 while being neither a prestige or clique leader family, occupies a strategic position. In any program of directed social change this would be a key family as is indicated by their patterns of visiting. The three families they visit (68, 88 and 86) are the three top prestige-leader families of the community, while two of these (68 and 88) are also top and the third is one of the more important clique leaders of the village (86). One of the families visited, (88) are the parents of the family head and this visiting is reciprocal.

Family No. 88 is one of the two central cores of the community, forming the nucleus of three different cliques and being visited by members of other cliques for whom family No. 68 is the nucleus. The head of this family is Anastasio, a quiet, unassuming, hard-working peon 55 years old who has worked in Atirro for 30 years. While he has had no formal education and cannot read or write, he has by his own efforts learned the trade of carpentry and is employed by the finca in that capacity. He has acquired a couple of manzanas of land in El Sitio and in addition to his work as a carpenter of the finca he farms this "finquita" with the help of his sons, as well as another manzana of land which the finca owner has loaned to him for his use.

The people look to him as a friend and a man of respect and honor. No adverse comment was ever heard about Anastasio while there was some criticism of some of the other leaders. Although Anastasio was the leader, the influence of his wife should not be underestimated. Together they form a family unit that is congenial and popular among the other families. The wife being a shy, retiring woman did not appear to have too wide a circle of friends in the community, but is very well liked by the neighborhood women.

Family No. 68 is the main clique and prestige family of Atirro. The male head of the family is the leader both from the standpoint of prestige and clique but in this latter respect, again as in the instance of family No. 88, the wife also contributes to their popularity.

While Marcelino like Anastasio manifests the norms of the group in his behavior he is in his personal characteristics a very different type of person. He is a confident, well appearing progressive man of 43 years. He is more affable in his manner than Anastasio and newcomers to the settlement tend to become acquainted with him somewhat more readily. He lives at a crossroads in the central section of the community while Anastasio lives at one extreme end of the settlement. He has completed three grades of schooling and can read and write. He places great emphasis upon education as is indicated by the sacrifices he and his wife are making to put their daughter through the secondary school in Cartago. She is the only child in Atirro currently attending the secondary school.

Marcelino like Anastasio is a carpenter of the finca and like Anastasio he has a piece of land loaned to him by the finca (two manzanas)

upon which he cultivates essential foodstuffs. In addition, he is the newly appointed policeman of the settlement, the electrician of the finca, the local agent for the three national newspapers of Costa Rica, and more recently became the local agent for Readers Digest Magazine of which he sold ten copies his first month and figured to sell twenty-five copies a month from then on.

The first introduction to Marcelino's family came quite by accident shortly after entrance into the settlement. The people of the community as a whole were cool and suspicious; but by chance, however, one of the first houses visited was Marcelinos where friendliness and welcome were extended.

Inside a man was eating breakfast and Aurora explained that he was a peon that had come to the finca looking for work that morning. Although neither she nor her husband officially had responsibilities with reference to these people, she took the man in, gave him breakfast and when he left, she gave him a colon to help him along his way. It was later found that this incident was not singular for while she and Marcelino were struggling peons themselves they were known throughout the community as friends of the sick and those in distress. Aurora expressed the same vitality exhibited by Marcelino, caring for her children, feeding three boarders, and taking care of their cow and calf. Her special ability was talking. It was soon found that if it was desireable to spread news rapidly about the community a word to Aurora would be sufficient. At the pila in the morning while washing with the ladies and during her daily visiting the news would spread.

A review of the sociogram with reference to frequency of family

visiting reveals that for most families in the settlement it is a daily, or at least a weekly occurrence. Those circles without shading receive no visits. As the shading goes from light to dark the frequency of visiting received increases, as is indicated in the Figure by the clique leader families 86, 76, and 68 who were visited daily by a majority of their clique followers. With reference to 86 and 76 particularly, all but one of their follower families in each instance visited them daily.

An analysis of Figure 7 reveals that in San Juan Sur the large majority of the visiting is between relatives--conjugal or consanguinal. While visiting between friends outnumbers that of "compadres," the compadre relationships are nevertheless of significance. Of the 225 visits graphically depicted in the sociogram, only 19 or 8.4 per cent are oriented outward, indicating a well integrated social system. Of the seventy-five families comprising the community, only one family (1.33%) has lived there less than one year. The majority of the families are long-time residents of the community as indicated by the fact that over half the family informants had resided in the community for twenty years or more at the time of schedule administration.

There is ample opportunity for visiting over the mountain crest in San Juan Norte, or down the valley in Turrialba since the distance to San Juan Norte is but two kilometers, and the people frequently go to Turrialba on business or to attend church; yet there is very little visiting carried on in either of these outside localities.

As is indicated in the sociogram, the social structure of the community is composed of twelve cliques ranging in size from three to ten

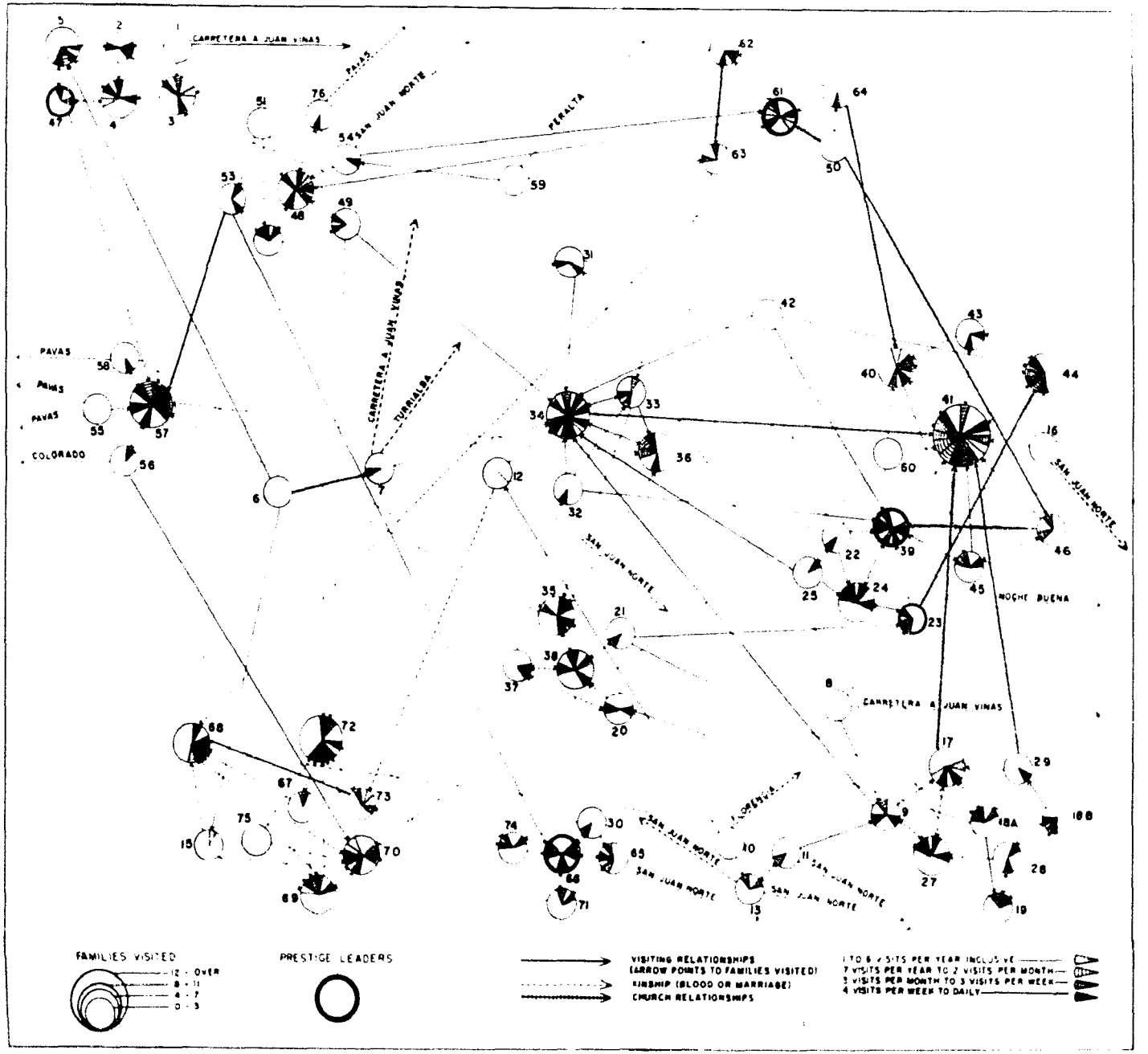

FIGURE 7

VISITING PATTERNS OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

families each. The largest and most important of these clique groupings is that led by clique leader family No. 41. As is indicated by the sociogram, not only is this clique large and in a strategic position in the system of interrelationships, but with one of its followers being a leader of still another clique, and through other interrelationships between the member families of the two groupings, there is actually a clique within a clique. If the clique of family No. 41 is considered in this larger sense it comprises fourteen families instead of ten.

The "leader" in clique-leader family No. 41 is the female head, a woman of fifty-five named Ramona who has had no formal education and cannot read or write. In a community where there are wide differences in the personal qualities of some of the strategic families, Ramona is the leavening influence. While some of the families may dislike others Ramona and her husband Juan like and appear to be liked by everyone. One of the hardest tasks at the time of schedule administration was to succeed in separating Ramona from her friends long enough to talk with her. The people would literally appear to stream in and out of her house during certain periods of the day. Mothers would come and bring their children to visit. As one mother reported, "the children love to go to Ramona's house and do so much more often than we do."

Ramona's house is literally a center of the community, and aside from the visiting activities, other communal-type functions are carried on there. One day, for example, upon visiting the house it was found to be swarming with women and children. Upon inquiring as to the reason for such a gathering, Ramona explained that they had all gathered to make

tomales and before the day was over they had made hundreds of them.

Ramona has the only outside bake oven in the community and when she bakes (once every two weeks), she starts early in the morning and with the help of neighbors bakes rolls and pan dulce (sweet bread) by the dozens. On these days particularly, the children collect at her home.

Ramona is described as a lovable, kind, active, helpful elderly woman who is always helping others especially in times of birth, sickness, and death. Juan, her husband, is a sort of amateur curandero (herb doctor) who provides various of the families with remedies from time to time, while Ramona is the main partera (mid-wife) of the community and has brought many of the babies into the world.

That they are loved and respected by many of the other families is manifested in their selection as the god parents of approximately fifty children in the community.

Family No. 39, while forming a part of the clique for which Ramona and Juan are the leader family, is a leader family in its own right. The male head, Angel, is one of the leading prestige leaders of the community as well as forming, together with his wife, a clique leader family. His wife is the community school teacher and together with her husband forms one of the most progressive family units in the community. Aside from the influence they wield among their own clique followers, their general prestige is considerable. When a new type of ant killer was introduced into the community, this was one of the first families to become interested. Their interest rapidly spread to others, and in a short time Angel had been delegated by a number of the families to travel to the Institute to buy

ant killer. So great was the demand that the available supply was soon exhausted.

Family No. 34 while being a clique leader of considerable consequence is also important from the standpoint of its strategic position in the social system. Though there are a comparatively small number of families primarily drawn into this clique, (4 follower families) the influence of this family extends to several of the other major clique groupings as is indicated in the sociogram. The number of different families visiting No. 34 (10 families) is second only to those visiting No. 41 (12 families).

The predominance of visiting among relatives is particularly manifested in an analysis of the two cliques whose leaders are families No. 72 and No. 48. In the first of these two cliques the in-group visiting is particularly intense as is indicated by the large number of lines running between the families. It is of particular interest to note that of the 22 in-group visits 21 of them are between relatives and the other is a compadre relationship. In the latter of the two cliques for which family No. 48 is the clique leader there is again considerable in-group visiting, and in this instance all visits made within the clique are between relatives.

The male head of family No. 66 is the prestige leader Maximino who has already been described. In addition to being a prestige leader, Maximino is also a clique leader--among his own relatives. His clique is confined to that group, however, and a close observation of the sociogram will reveal that the only outside clique with whom the members of his clique visit, is that led by family No. 72. They receive visits from members of

this clique and from one other family, who is a member of the clique led by No. 48. As revealed by the sociogram there exists a basic cleavage between this clique of Maximino's and a number of the other clique groupings of the community, insofar as visiting is concerned.

The two smallest clique groupings in the community, that are lead by family No. 57, and the one centered around family No. 13 account for almost half of the outwardly oriented visiting in the community. Of the 19 visits outwardly oriented seven families in these two cliques account for eight of them. It may be further noted that all eight of these outwardly oriented visits are with relatives.

A review of the sociogram indicates that the large proportion of all family visiting carried on within the community is done on a weekly basis, 117 visits (57.35%). Of the remainder, 70 visits (34.31%) are daily, 14 visits (6.86%) are monthly, and 3 visits (1.47%) are yearly. It is interesting to note that the majority of the daily visiting is in-group visiting while the weekly and monthly visiting is primarily inter-group visiting. It is of further significance to note that, in proportion to their numbers, visiting among relatives is generally carried on at a greater rate of frequency than that visiting which is between friends.

A comparison of the visiting patterns in the two communities, reveals that in both, the preponderant majority (over 90%) of the families carry on their visiting activities within the confines of their own locality, thus indicating the presence of an apparently homogeneous, well integrated social system in both settlements. When considering the lack of outwardly oriented visiting in Atirro, however, the relative geographical

isolation of the community should be considered as a possible factor serving to reduce somewhat the extent of outside visiting by the resident families.

In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, the people have outside centers much more readily accessible to them. In fact, their business and religious activities frequently take them to Turrialba. Yet in spite of this greater accessibility of outside centers, the families visit very largely among those of their own settlement, thus evidencing a high degree of integration in a functioning social system.

In Atirro, the majority of all visiting (120 or 68.97%) is among friends, while in San Juan Sur the major proportion (161 or 71.56%) is among relatives--consanguinal or conjugal. A related factor is the greater mobility and resultant greater heterogeneity of origin of the families living in Atirro, when compared with those of San Juan Sur.

Compadre relationships are not of too great importance in either community, but they are of somewhat lesser importance in Atirro (6 compadre relationships out of 174 visits) than in San Juan Sur (13 compadre relationships out of 225 visits). In comparison to visiting among relatives and between friends, compadre relationships constitute the smallest of the three types.

In Atirro the social structure is comprised of eight interacting cliques of families forming into two major polar bodies, with one group of five cliques being oriented around prestige and clique leader family No. 68 and the other group of three cliques being centered around the prestige and clique leader family No. 88. The male heads of these two families

are the two strongest prestige leaders in the community, while they and their families also constitute the most powerful clique leader families in the settlement. While these two families do not visit each other, the multiple inter-group visiting relationships between various of the families in each of their clique groupings serve to knit them together into an integrated, functioning social system.

In contrast to this, is the social structure of San Juan Sur which is comprised of 12 cliques ranging in size from 3 to 10 families each. The largest clique is of considerable importance not only because of its greater size, but also because of its powerful clique location in the functioning social system. While in Atirro there were two families which provided both the top prestige leaders and clique leaders, in San Juan Sur one family (No. 41) is foremost as a clique leader while another family head, (No. 66) is the most powerful prestige leader.

In San Juan Sur the greater integration of the families into the system of interrelationships, when compared with Atirro, is indicated in that every family had at least one visiting relationship established within the community, while in Atirro there were three families who were completely outwardly oriented in their visiting and still another family was a complete isolate, receiving visits from, and visiting no one.

In Atirro as in San Juan Sur the leadership, both clique and prestige, is apparently a function of needs and norms within a particular given situation.

The various leaders manifest the norms or standards of their groups to a high degree in their individual behavior which pertains to their

relationships with the other members of their groups. With reference to needs satisfaction, the prestige leaders satisfied the more general needs of the people while the clique leaders satisfied their specific needs. Where both types of needs were satisfied by one individual he became both the clique and prestige leader.

The relative proximity of the houses in the two communities appears to be a factor affecting the frequency of family visiting within the community as is indicated by the fact that in Atirro where the houses are all grouped closely together, the majority of the visiting is on a daily basis (53.01%), with the remainder being done weekly (39.76%), and monthly (7.22%).

In contrast to this, the major proportion of those families living in and visiting within the community of San Juan Sur, where the houses are spread out covering a considerable area, do so weekly, (57.35%) although a considerable percentage participate in this activity on a daily basis (34.31%), and a few do so monthly (6.86%), and yearly (1.47%).

Fiesta invitations. The responses of the families in Atirro to the question, "In the event that you were to give a fiesta, who are the families you would invite first?" indicates, as revealed in Figure 8, that the social structure of the community remains basically the same as for visiting, with some changes. The families remain oriented around their two basic prestige and clique leaders, with five clique groupings centering around family No. 68 and three groupings around family No. 88.

When the 166 visiting relationships occurring among the families living within the settlement are compared with those for fiesta invitations, it is revealed that 123 (74.39%) of these are exactly the same. From this

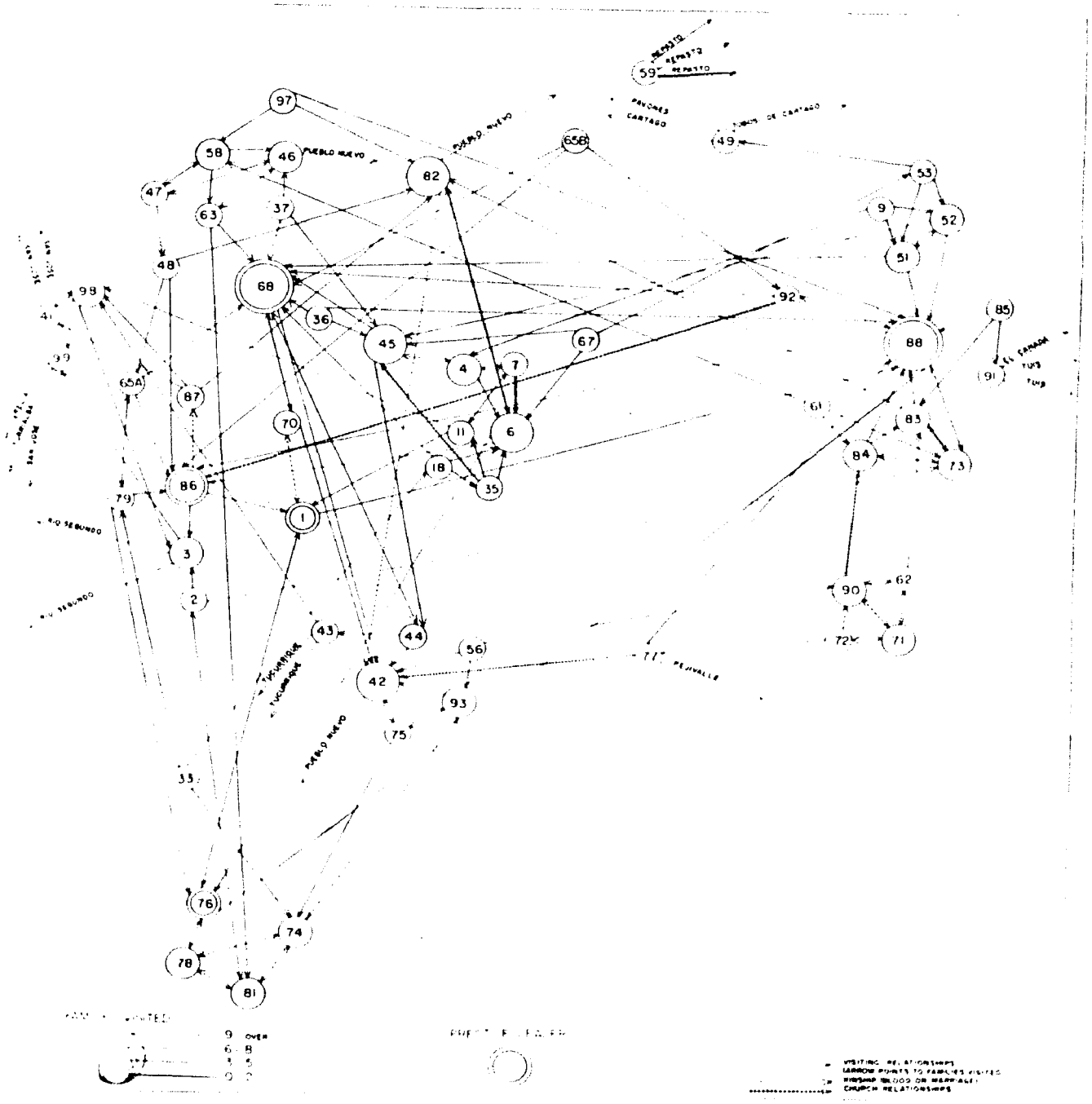

FIGURE 8

FAMILIES RECEIVING FIESTA INVITATIONS FROM
FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

it can be seen that in the majority of instances the clique groupings are essentially the same for the two different types of social situations. In fact, of the sixty families in Atirro, twenty-nine exhibited no change in their relationships with others of the community while another twenty-three families revealed only one change.

There were only eight families in the entire settlement who indicated two or more changes in their patterns of association with the largest number of changes being evidenced by families No. 2 (3 changes), No. 76 (2 changes), and No. 68 (4 changes). In all of these, the change was either completely or largely the result of a reduction in the number of families indicating their selection of these particular families with reference to fiesta invitations, when compared with visiting.

Family No. 2 was visited by four families but selected for a fiesta invitation by only one of these. Similarly, family No. 76 was visitied by six families but selected for a fiesta invitation by only four of these. Family No. 68 was visited by fourteen families but selected for a fiesta invitation by only eleven of these.

The position of the other major prestige and clique leader family, No. 88, was changed very little in this respect, with twelve families indicating it to be among the three they visit most frequently, and eleven families indicating it to be among those they would invite first to a fiesta.

The relative mobility of the families in Atirro, and their comparative lack of integration into the community's social system is further indicated by this sociogram in revealing that four of the families listed

do not include any families within the community among those they would invite first to a fiesta. These four families appear to be completely outwardly oriented in this respect.

Of these four, one of them is the finca owner who, because of a higher social standing, quite naturally would not be integrated into the social life of the community. The two invitations the finca owner received from those within the settlement were from the commissary owner, and the accountant of the finca who are also in a higher social standing.

Of this small clique comprised of the finca owner, the commissary owner, and the commissary owner's father, the commissary owner appears most popular with the people with three potential invitations coming from the peon families. Based upon the logical assumption that the persons the people would invite to their fiestas are those they like, it would seem to bear out the fact that the commissary owner is very humanitarian and, as was brought out in Chapter IV, that he is very fair and even generous at times in his dealings with the peons. But his family in the event of a fiesta would invite only those of his own social group--the finca owner, the accountant, and his own father.

While with reference to visiting relations, there were eight (4.60%) social contacts with families outside the settlement, there are twenty-two (12.15%) selections of outside families with reference to fiesta invitations.

Family No. 67 is now a part of the system of interrelations indicating that in the event it was ever to hold a fiesta it would probably invite families No. 6, No. 45, and No. 53 first. This family again evidences

the isolation revealed in Figure 6, however, in that none of the other families indicated they would include this family among those they would invite to a fiesta.

Family No. 92 maintains a strategic position in the system of interrelationships, by indicating that it would invite prestige and clique leader families No. 68, No. 88, and No. 86 in the event of a fiesta.

It is interesting to note here, however, that only one of these three families (No. 88 who is the parent family of the male head) indicated the intention of including No. 92 among those it would invite.

In this type of social interaction, the amount of association among relatives is more frequent (60 or 33.15%) and of somewhat greater importance than it was with reference to visiting, though the relations between friends still predominates (111 or 61.33%). Compadre relations are comparatively unimportant here (10 or 5.52%) as they were in the instance of visiting (6 or 3.45%), though in actual numbers they are somewhat more numerous.

An analysis of Figure 9 reveals that the social structure of the community is very largely the same as for visiting. The families are arrayed into twelve different cliques with the followers of clique leader family No. 41 comprising the largest group (ten families).

While the spatial arrangement of the sociogram is somewhat different from that of visiting, a study of the lines of interrelationship reveals them to be basically the same for the two sociograms.

When the 206 visiting relationships occurring within the community are compared with those for fiesta invitations, 157 (76.21%) of these

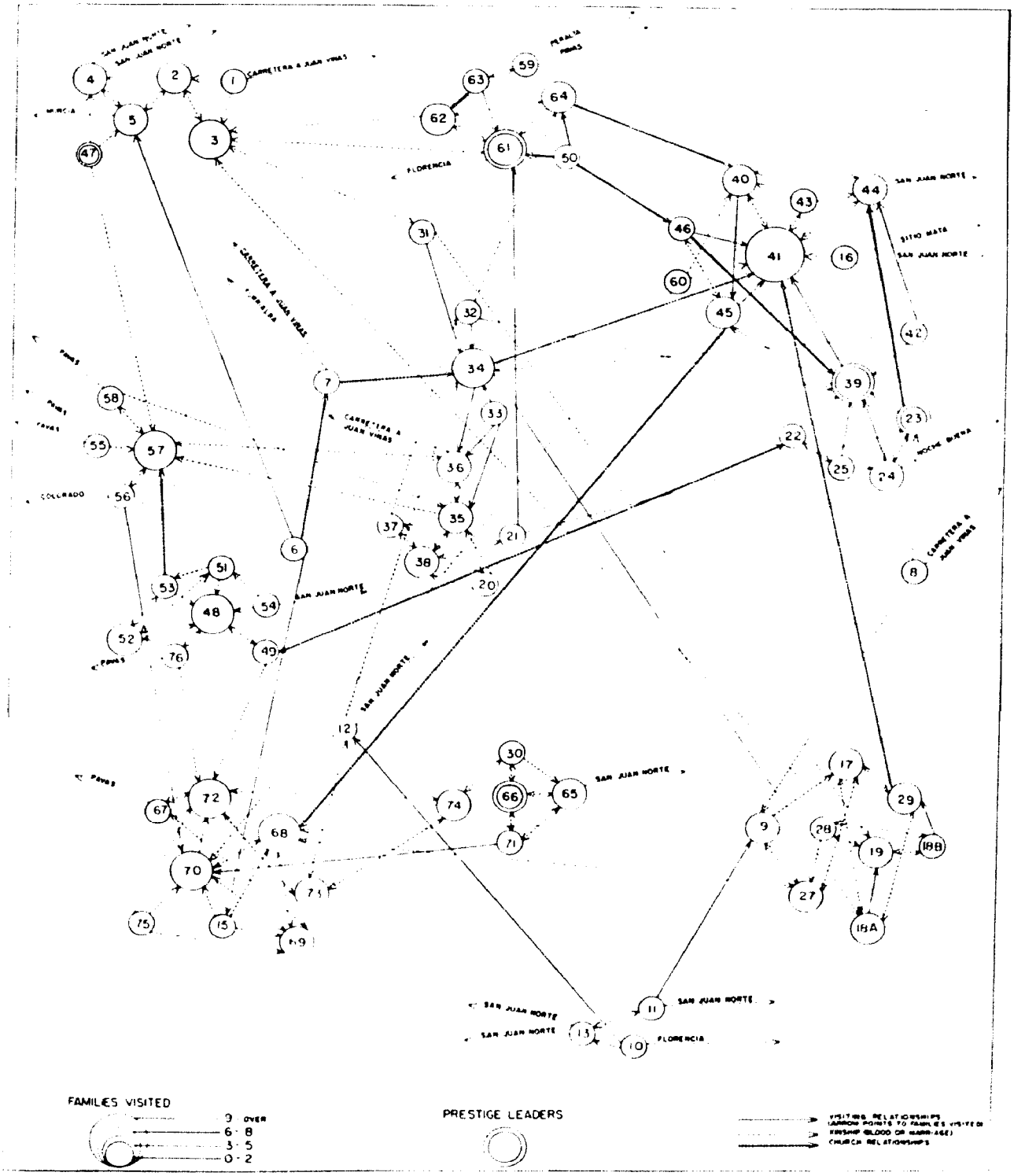

FIGURE 9

FAMILIES RECEIVING FIESTA INVITATIONS FROM FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

relationships are revealed to be exactly the same for both social situations. Forty-one of the seventy-five families comprising the community exhibited no changes in their social relationships, while another twenty-three families indicated only one change. Only two families in the community varied to any large degree from their visiting patterns in their fiesta selections. These were family No. 33 with three changes, and family No. 34 evidencing five changes.

Family No. 33 was listed by three other families as being among those they would visit most frequently, yet none of the families selected it with reference to a fiesta invitation. Family No. 34 was visited by ten families, but was selected by only six with reference to a fiesta invitation.

A factor of significance, which appears to be at least partially responsible for the changes occurring in the social structure when visiting patterns and fiesta invitations are compared, is the even greater importance of relatives in this latter type of situation. Although visiting is largely carried on among relatives, 71.56 per cent of the total relationships, an even greater proportion of fiesta invitations are to this group (76.79%). The number of contact among friends, on the other hand, decreases from 50 (22.22%) visiting associations, to 36 (16.07%) fiesta invitations. There was only small change exhibited in the compadre relations with the fourteen visiting relationships being slightly exceeded by the sixteen fiesta selections.

Another aspect of the change occurring between visiting and fiesta invitations is the greater number of selections that are outwardly oriented, 13.39 per cent in contrast to 8.44 per cent of the total visiting relations.

Of the twenty-eight outside selections, twenty-six of them are with relatives, which again emphasizes the importance of this group with reference to selection as recipients of fiesta invitations.

It should be noted, however, that not one family in the entire community is completely outwardly oriented in its fiesta invitations.

A comparison of the fiesta-invitation sociograms for the two communities, reveals essentially the same social structures as were noted in the visiting patterns. In Atirro, the families remain clustered around the two basic prestige and clique leader families, with No. 68 providing the focal point for five groupings while No. 88 fulfills this function for three groups. In San Juan Sur on the other hand, the various families are again arrayed into twelve different cliques with the followers of family No. 41 comprising the largest group.

There have been some changes in the social structure of both communities, however, which are the same for both communities with Atirro showing the greater degree of change. In Atirro 25.61 per cent of the fiesta invitation relationships varied from those observed with reference to visiting, while in San Juan Sur the percentage of change was only 23.79 per cent.

In both communities the influence of relatives appeared more important in relation to fiesta invitations than with visiting. Although in Atirro the majority (61.33%) still indicated friendship to be the only bond between them and their fiesta selections, the proportion of invitations going to relatives (33.15%) was noticeably higher than for visiting (27.59%).

The same held true for San Juan Sur, where the families had already indicated a large majority (71.56%) of their visiting relationships to be among relatives, by exhibiting an even greater proportion of associations occurring among this group with reference to fiesta invitations (76.79%).

Another aspect of change for both communities lies in the number of outwardly oriented associations. It should be noted, however, that while in both settlements there was a limited increase in outside associations, none of the families in San Juan Sur were completely oriented outward in its fiesta invitations, while in Atirro there were four families.

The percentage of increase in outward movement in Atirro, moreover, was significantly larger than for San Juan Sur. This may be partially explained in terms of greater mobility and lesser degree of integration in Atirro than San Juan Sur.

Newly arrived families in Atirro may strike up acquaintances rather quickly because of the geographic isolation of the community, but when it comes to such an important event as holding a fiesta in celebrating the birth of a baby, or a child's first communion, etc., these people would turn first to their relatives in issuing invitations even though they may live at some distance in outside centers.

In San Juan Sur, where the people, in comparison with those of Atirro, have comparatively ready access to outside centers, this factor operates to a much more limited extent.

Sick calls. As indicated in Figure 10, the responses of families in Atirro to the question, "If you were to become ill, who are the first

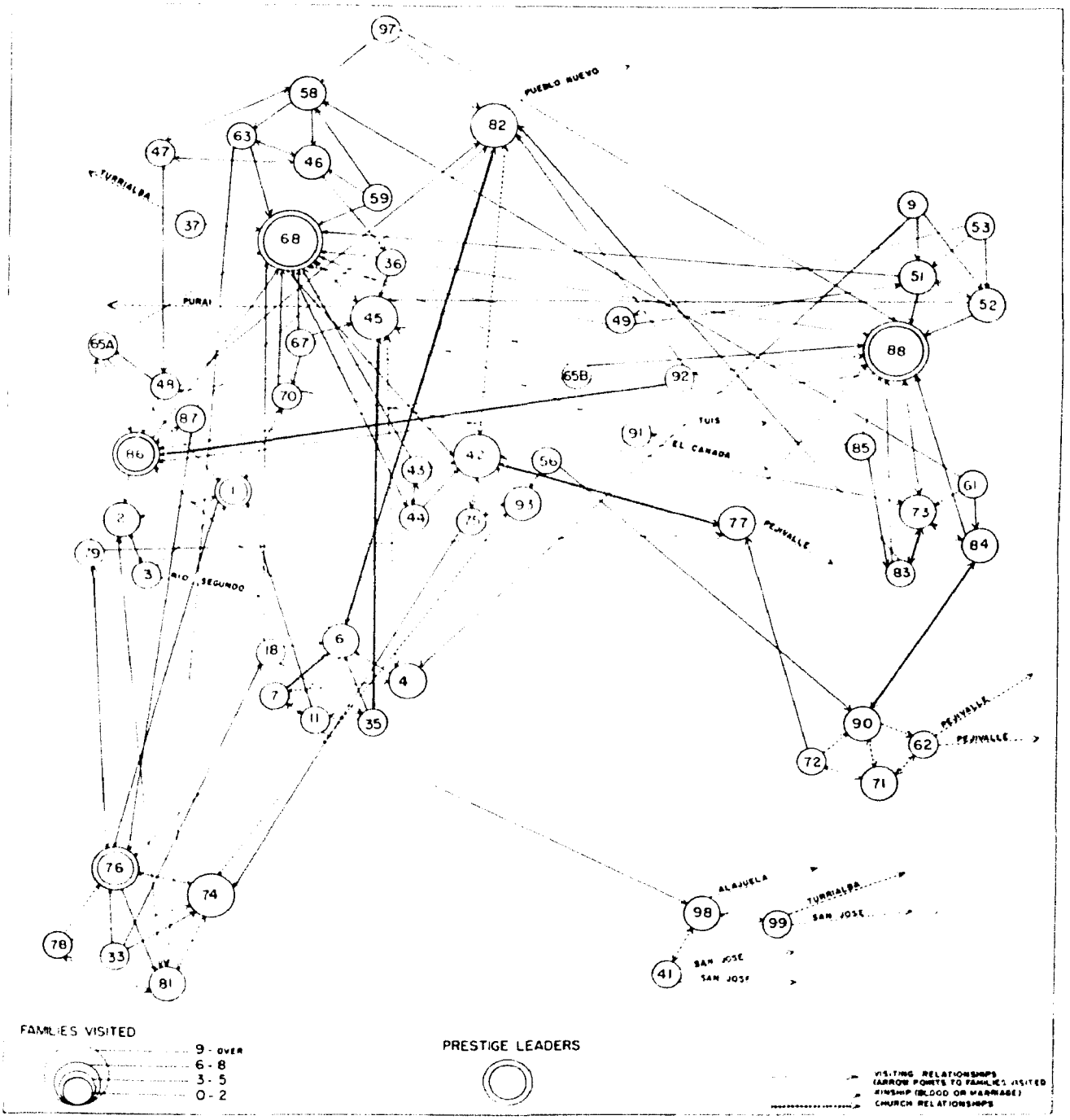

FIGURE 10

FAMILIES MAKING "SICK CALLS" TO FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

families who would come to see you?" reveal the social structure to be essentially the same as that evidenced with reference to visiting, and fiesta invitations. While there are some changes occurring in the lines of relationship, 68 and 88 remain the two core families around which the cliques are clustered. Here again, as in visiting, the relative isolation of the small finca owner and commissary owner clique grouping in the community's system of interrelations is made manifest.

A comparative analysis of these sick-call relationships with those pertaining to visiting reveal that 74.30 per cent of all patterns of association between the various individual families remain the same in the two social situations.

Generally speaking, those whom the people visit most frequently are the ones who come first to see them in times of sickness. Of the sixty families, thirty-one (51.67%) evidenced no change in any of their relationships for the two situations while another eighteen (30.00%) indicated only one change. There was only one family in the entire community (No. 68) who evidenced more than two changes between the two situations. The changes manifested here were largely in the nature of an increase. Twelve families indicated family No. 68 to be among those they visited most frequently while fifteen indicated that it would be among the first to come and see them in times of sickness. This fact tends to substantiate Marcelino and Aurora's reputation as being "friends of the sick and of those in distress."

Family No. 88 and the three cliques for whom it is the central leader exhibit little change in their relationships with each other. Eleven families indicated that this family would be among the first who would come

to see them in times of sickness, while twelve families included it among those they visit most frequently.

It is of interest to note that family No. 92, who in the two previous sociograms concerning visiting and fiesta invitations consistently visited clique leader family No. 68 and occupied a strategic position in the community's system of association, did not indicate that family No. 68 would be among the first to come and see them in times of sickness. This would tend to confirm previous evidences of a somewhat one-sided relationship. The visiting and fiesta invitations were both from 92 to 68 without reciprocation on the part of 68. This combined with the fact that 68 was among the first families to call on fifteen families in the community (one-fourth of the total number) in times of sickness, one of which was not 92, is also indicative of the nature of the relationship between the two families.

Family No. 67, the complete isolate with reference to visiting, indicated that families 68, 45, and 70 would come to call on them in times of illness, but none of the other families indicated that 67 would be among the first to pay them a sick call.

The degree of integration of the various families into the community's social system with reference to sick calls is indicated in that of the 182 lines of relationship, 14 are oriented outward, with the remaining 168 being among those of the community. While this contact with those living in outside centers is somewhat more than for visiting (8), it is less than for fiesta invitations (22). In all three instances, the overwhelming proportion of relationships are among those of the community.

The sick-call relationships, 92.31 per cent of which are satisfied within the community tends to emphasize the integration of the majority of the families into the local system of interrelationships in this particular situation. None of the families in the community are completely oriented outward with reference to sick calls, though one small clique, that of the finca and commissary owner is largely, as a group, outwardly oriented in this respect.

The majority of all sick calls (65.38%) are made among friends. This is somewhat less than the percentage of visiting occurring among this group (68.97%) but larger than the percentage being invited to a fiesta (61.33%).

The number of sick calls being made among relatives (28.57%) is slightly in excess of the percentage of visiting occurring among this group (27.59%), while the number of relatives being invited to a fiesta exceed both these groups in proportion (33.15%). Compadre relationships play a relatively minor role here as in the other types of social situations described with their number constituting 3.45 per cent of the total relationships.

An inspection of Figure 11 with reference to the sick calls made by the families of San Juan Sur, reveals the social structure of the community to be substantially the same as has already been indicated with reference to visiting and fiesta invitations. The importance of family No. 41 and its clique is amply portrayed by the sociogram. That it is the central grouping in the system of interrelationships here, as in the previous sociograms, is illustrated not only by the number of families comprising its group, but also by the interrelations of those belonging to this clique

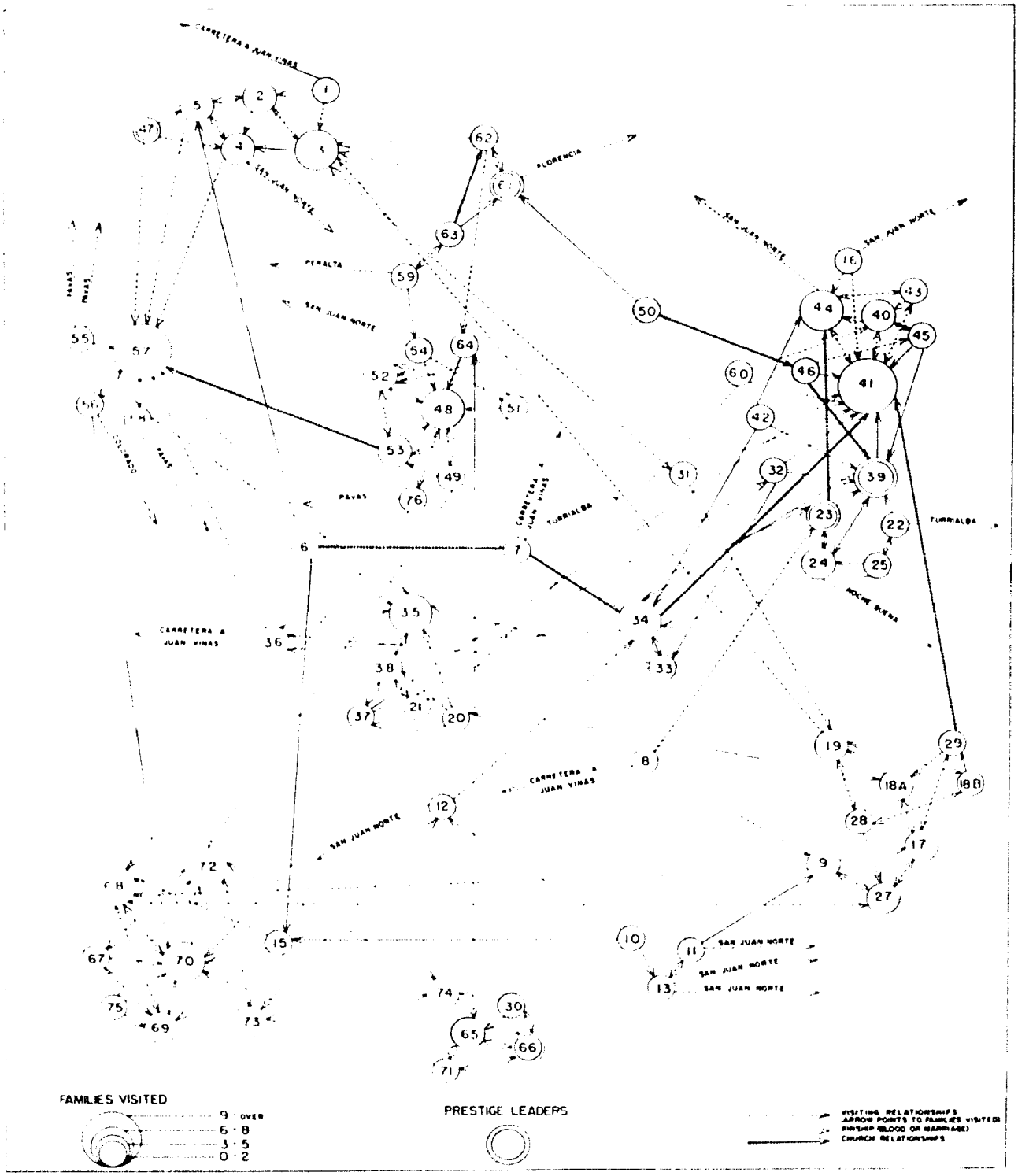

FIGURE 11

FAMILIES MAKING "SICK CALLS" TO FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

with families in the various other cliques that compose the social system.

When this sociogram is compared to that of visiting with reference to changes or similarities as indicated in their structures, it is revealed that of the 206 lines of interrelationships compared, 155 (75.24%) remained the same for the two different types of social situations. There were 41 (54.67%) of the seventy-five families who evidenced no changes in their interrelationships while an additional twenty-two families (29.33%) indicated only one change. Of all the families in the community, only two evidenced more than two changes. The family revealing the greatest change was clique leader family No. 34, who was listed by ten families as one of those they visited most frequently, but who was indicated by only six families to be among those first calling to see them in times of sickness. This change, as illustrated by the sociograms, reveals not only a change in the size of its clique but also a concomitant shift in its position as a key family in the system of relationships. While it is still important in this respect, it does not hold the central position it did with reference to visiting. It is no longer directly connected with the sizeable clique of family 48 or with that of family 17.

The variations (3) expressed by the other family, No. 68, was partially because of a change in size--seven associations in relation to visiting and six with reference to sick calls--and partially because of change in those families with whom it maintained contact in the two different situations.

Intensive in-group association, particularly as it is evidenced in the cliques centering around families 70, 48, 65, 17, and 41 becomes apparent.

As is indicated by the sociograms, the large majority of this in-group interaction is among relatives. These cliques differ only in degree, however, from the interrelationships evidenced throughout the social structure of the community.

Of the 225 associations, 75.11 per cent are among relatives, 20.00 per cent among friends, and 4.89 per cent are with compadre relations. When these percentages are compared with the sociograms for visiting and fiesta invitations the proportion of visiting among relatives is found to be somewhat higher than among the former (71.56% visiting) and slightly less with reference to the latter (76.79% fiesta invitations). The interrelations between compadres varies little, being highest for fiesta invitations (7.14%), followed by visiting (6.22%), and sick calls (4.89%).

The amount of association among friends varies proportionately with the changes evidenced among relatives and compadres being of least consideration in relation to fiesta invitations and of greatest importance with reference to visiting.

The degree to which the various families are integrated into the community's social system with reference to sick calls, is indicated by the very large proportion of relationships (90.22%) of this type, satisfied within the community.

Although twenty-two sick calls are made to the families of San Juan Sur by other families living outside the community, not one of the resident families is completely dependent upon outside families in this respect.

When the three sociograms (visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick

calls) are compared, the greatest degree of outside selection comes with reference to fiesta invitations (30), followed by sick calls (22), and visiting (19). The relatively small number of outwardly oriented selections in all three sociograms, combine in substantiation of the degree of integration achieved by the families of the community.

When Figures 10 and 11 are compared it is revealed that in both Atirro and San Juan Sur the social structure remains essentially the same as in the case of visiting and fiesta invitations, with substantially the same differences occurring in each case. With reference to sick calls, both communities reveal more outward movement than for visiting and less than that occurring for fiesta invitations. Both communities show a lesser percentage of the relationships being among friends in the instance of sick calls than for visiting, and greater than that occurring for fiesta invitations. Although the degree to which these differences occur from one to the other of these social situations may vary somewhat between the two communities, the changes, nevertheless are the same.

With reference to sick calls Atirro is again oriented around the two core prestige and clique leader families with the position of No. 68 being somewhat further enhanced in this instance by the even greater number of selections it received.

In San Juan Sur, the clique of family No. 41 remains centrally located from the standpoint of size and position in the social system. The clique leader family 41 appears to be of even somewhat greater importance with reference to sick calls than in the other two types of social situations previously discussed. A point of significance lies in

the fact that family No. 68 in Atirro and family No. 41 in San Juan Sur, both of whom illustrate a larger number of selections with reference to sick calls, have identical reputations as being friends of the sick and of those in distress. Each family in its own way attempt to help others less fortunate than they to the best of their ability.

In both communities there is only a limited and approximately equal degree of change in the lines of interrelationship when compared with visiting as is indicated by the percentages of all associations that remain the same for the two different situations--74.30 per cent in Atirro and 75.24 per cent in San Juan Sur. Even from the standpoint of families, 51.67 per cent in Atirro as compared with 54.67 per cent in San Juan Sur remain exactly the same through both types of social interaction.

In both communities, the various families appear to be well integrated into the fabric of the locality's social structure with relation to sick calls, as is evidenced by the fact that over 90 per cent of all the interrelationships are in each instance among those families living within the settlement. While in each community there are a few families who are largely outwardly oriented with reference to this type of association, there is not a single one of these families who is completely dependent upon those from outside localities in this instance.

A large difference which has been consistently noted between the communities with reference to visiting and fiesta invitations, is the proportion of associations carried on among friends and relatives. In Atirro the majority of the relationships (65.38%) are among friends, while in San Juan Sur most of the association is between relatives (75.11%). In

both communities, however, the importance of compadre relations is relatively minor with little difference appearing between them in this respect.

Families consulted in confidence. The responses of the families in Atirro to the question "Who are the families in whom you have complete confidence and with whom you would feel free to discuss your personal problems?" indicates, as revealed in Figure 12, a social structure which, in its major aspects, is similar to that of the community ascertained from an analysis of visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick calls, yet which varies markedly from the preceding sociograms in a number of instances.

A comparative analysis of this sociogram with that of visiting reveals that out of 166 relationships 102 (61.45%) remain the same for the two different types of social situation. Nineteen families exhibit no change in their relationships while an additional twenty-five families evidence only one variation. There are three families out of the sixty living in the community who evidence more than two changes in their relationships. These are families 84 with three changes, 88 with four changes, and [illegible] with six changes.

The changes manifested by family No. 84 are in the nature of an increase. Only one family indicated No. 84 to be among those they visit most frequently, but four families indicated that it was this family in whom they had complete confidence. The changes exhibited by family No. 88, which is one of the two most prominent prestige and clique leader families in the community, were largely a decrease in the number of families indicating them when compared with visiting. Twelve families indicated this family to be among those they visit most frequently yet only nine families

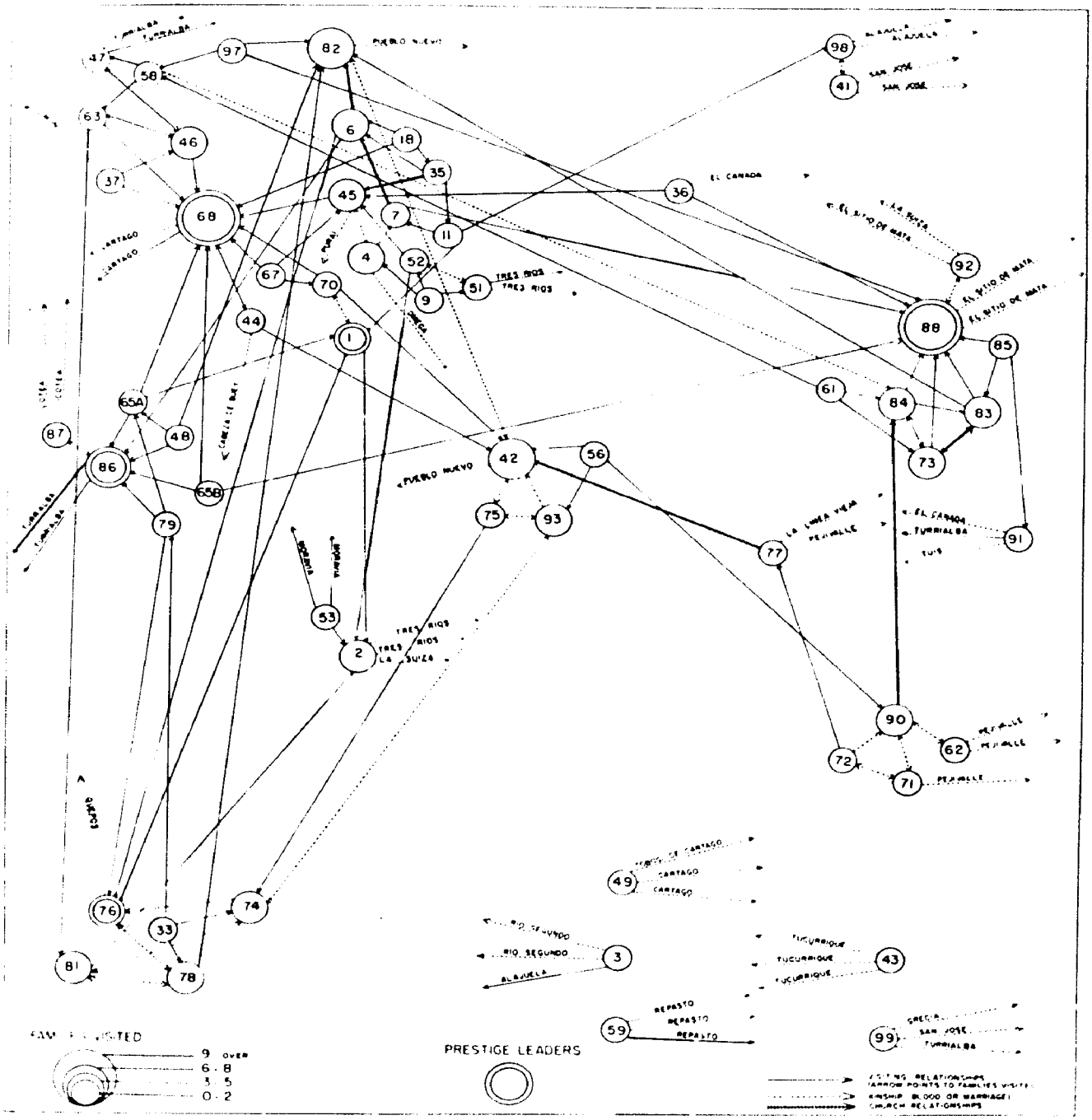

FIGURE 12

FAMILIES CONSULTED IN CONFIDENCE BY FAMILIES
LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

selected it as one in whom they could express complete confidence. This same situation is evidenced with reference to family No. 68, the other major prestige and clique leader of the community, who is visited by fourteen families and in whom only ten have complete confidence. Here, as in the foregoing sociograms, the greater stability of the clique relations of family 88 is made manifest, when compared to family No. 68.

This is especially true with reference to the comparison of visiting and fiesta invitations, and visiting and sick calls where in both instances 68 expressed four changes while 88 expressed only one change in its relationships.

These three families 84,88, and 68 manifest to a somewhat greater degree the change which is found to a minor extent among thirty-eight additional families in the community. Family No. 88, for example, has only one clique that is definitely oriented around it with reference to confidence, while there were three cliques in relation to visiting. Also to be noted is the greater independence of the cliques surrounding family No.68. As revealed in the sociogram there are a series of small nuclear groupings of confidence in the community.

When the proportion of outwardly oriented associations are compared with those noted with reference to visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick calls, it is observed to be larger than in all the preceding. Seven families in the community are completely outwardly oriented with reference to families of complete confidence, while eleven others are largely outwardly oriented in this respect. It is of especial interest to note that the two major prestige and clique leaders are among this latter group.

The importance of the family in Costa Rican society, and of the familial relationships generally, is indicated in the tendency of a number of the families living in Atirro, to indicate relatives living in outside centers, some of which are at considerable distance from the finca, as the families in whom they have most confidence, and with whom they would feel free to discuss their personal problems.

Though a number of these families evidence their "belonging" to local clique groupings, with reference to the other types of social situations discussed, their relative lack of complete integration into these groupings is revealed in their hesitancy to take the other members of their group into their confidence and to discuss personal matters with them.

The importance of relatives to those who are partially or completely oriented outward, as families of confidence, is revealed in that of the 54 associations directed outside the community, 40 of them were to relative families. In spite of this increase in the number of associations among relatives, the relationships among friends remain for the community as a whole the most important type of interrelations (50.81%), though visiting among relatives has assumed its greatest importance here for any of the four relationships discussed (43.78%). Compadre relationships are of approximately the same importance with reference to families consulted in confidence (5.41%) as for the other types of social situations already analyzed.

An analysis of Figure 13 reveals that the social structure of San Juan Sur remains very much the same as that evidenced for the other types of social situations previously analyzed. As indicated in the sociogram,

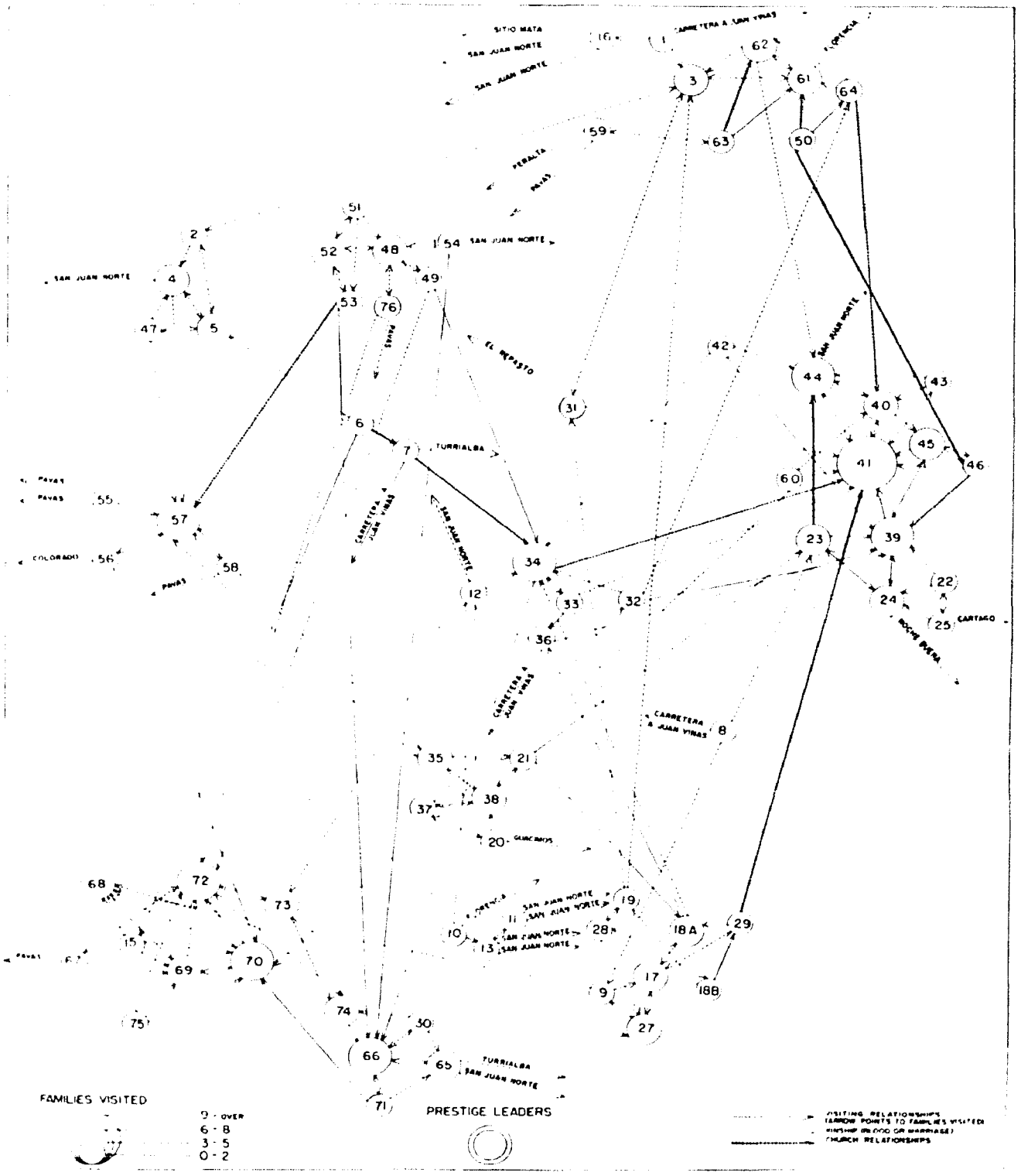

FIGURE 13

FAMILIES CONSULTED IN CONFIDENCE BY FAMILIES
LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

the clique of family 41 is still the largest and most strategic grouping in the community, while the other eleven clique groupings occupy essentially the same positions in the system of interrelationships as in the other type situations.

A comparative analysis of this sociogram with that of visiting, reveals that of the 206 lines of relationship occurring within the community, 160 (77.67%) remain exactly the same for the two different types of social situations. Of the seventy-five families, 43 (57.33%) evidence no change in their relationships while an additional twenty-four families (32.00%) experience only one variation in their relationships. In fact, the degree of change manifested when this sociogram is compared with that of visiting, is the smallest of the three comparisons (fiesta invitations and visiting, sick calls and visiting, families consulted in confidence and visiting).

There are only four families in the entire community who have had more than two changes occur--No. 34 (5 changes), No. 35 (3 changes), No. 36 (3 changes), and No. 68 (3 changes).

It is interesting to note that No. 34 has been the family evidencing the greatest degree of change in all the comparative analysis made thus far. While it is a clique leader family, its clique followers constitute a rather mobile group, with some associating with it in one type of situation, and others in another. This clique leader and his clique stand in contrast to the rest of the community's families who manifest a remarkable degree of stability in their relationships as is evidenced in their relative lack of change when analyzed with reference to the different social situations.

In this particular instance, the changes observed in the relationship of this family are partially because of a decrease in the number indicating it to be a family in whom they have complete confidence (7), when compared to the number of families indicating it to be among those they visit most frequently (10).

As an inspection of the sociogram will reveal the family has regained its strategic position in the system which it held in relation to both visiting, and fiesta invitations, but partially lost with reference to making sick calls. It again serves the function of directly uniting a number of the more important cliques of the community, and of indirectly uniting still others.

Family No. 68, previously mentioned with reference to the comparison of visiting relations and sick calls again manifested three changes in relationships. These are largely in the nature of a decrease in association as is evidenced by the fact that seven families indicate it to be among those they visit most frequently while five list it as a family in whom they have complete confidence. The changes occurring in families 34 and 35 are also, at least partially, as a result of a decrease of those listing them as families in whom they have complete confidence compared to those listing them as being among the families they visit most frequently.

Generally, the comparatively limited degree of change manifested in response to this question, of such crucial importance in determining the degree of integration of the families into the community's social system and into their clique groupings, serves only to substantiate further the evidences previously mentioned of the stability of the clique groupings

and of their importance to the lives of the individual family members. The families of San Juan Sur chiefly evidence, that the families they visit most frequently, would invite to a fiesta first, and who are the first to make sick calls, are the same as those whom they would feel free about consulting in confidence concerning their personal matters if and when the occasion should arise.

The importance of relatives in relation to the families consulted in confidence is illustrated by the fact that of the four situations analyzed thus far, the proportion of association among relatives is highest with reference to this one (77.33%). The influence of relatives is exhibited further by an analysis of the outwardly oriented relationships. While the number of these relationships has increased somewhat in relation to visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick calls, with a percentage of 13.78 per cent, twenty-nine (93.55%) of the thirty-one contacts are with relatives.

The amount of association among compadre relations changes little from that indicated in the previous sociograms and remains, here, as in the other situations of relatively minor importance (5.33%).

A comparison of the two communities with reference to families consulted in confidence reveals the most marked contrast in the degree of differences evidenced thus far in the analysis. In Atirro, the social structure still remains, in its major aspect, basically similar to that manifested in the previous sociograms.

Of the 166 relationships considered, when this sociogram is compared to that of visiting, 61.45 per cent remain the same for the two

situations. The same clique leaders are in evidence here as in the other sociograms, and the same families, 68, and 88, provide the polar bodies for those clustered into the various cliques within the social system. As the sociogram reveals, however, in spite of its basic similarity to the preceding Atirro sociograms, greater changes have occurred here than in any of the others. The number of changes in the lines of relationships, when compared with visiting, are greatest, and whole cliques have shifted their positions.

The number of outwardly oriented associations have increased, and particularly is it interesting to note that even the two basic prestige and clique leader families, No. 68 and No. 88, indicate that two out of the three families with whom they would consult in complete confidence live in outside settlements.

In San Juan Sur, when the social structure, as indicated from an analysis of families consulted in confidence, Figure 13, is related to those characteristic of the other type social situations, it is found to be very similar. The clique leaders appear to be the same as those evidenced in the other situations, and the clique structure of the community remains roughly equivalent. The position of family 41 and its clique both with relation to size and their interrelationships with the other cliques is the same as that evidenced previously. When the lines of relationship for this sociogram are compared to that of visiting their similarity is revealed to be greater than for any of the other sociograms by 77.67 per cent. Of the seventy-five families, 57.33 per cent evidence no change in their relationships. While in Atirro the change is greatest in relation

to the comparisons made thus far (38.55%), in San Juan Sur it is the smallest (22.33%).

The differences revealed here are important. While the sociograms relating to visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick calls, have revealed the existence in both communities of clique groupings and of the tendency for these different clique relations to remain largely the same through the various types of social situation, when the relationships with reference to families consulted in confidence are analyzed, there occurs considerable change in Atirro with a very significant increase in the number of families outwardly oriented largely to relatives, while the amount of change in San Juan Sur is even less than with reference to the other situations. This fact is important because the question here analyzed measures the depth of integration of an individual family into its grouping.

While in San Juan Sur the families further indicated the stability of their clique relations, and their degree of integration into their clique groupings by indicating generally that these were families in whom they held complete confidence and with whom they would feel free to discuss their personal problems, in Atirro a number of the families indicated a general hesitancy to interact upon such intimate terms with the members of their cliques. This is no doubt partly because of the greater heterogeneity and mobility of the people in Atirro, when compared to San Juan Sur, and in turn, serves as a further evidence of the greater homogeneity, and integration evidenced by the families living in San Juan Sur.

In Atirro it is interesting to note that clique leader family No. 88 appears to have a much more stable and integrated relationship with his

clique followers, as evidenced in the relative lack of change, than clique leader family No. 68. In the three comparative situations No. 68 has been notable in that within each situation the changes occurring in its relationships are the largest for the community, while No. 88 appears in only one instance to have more than two changes in its relationships. While the cliques in San Juan Sur generally evidences more stability and integration as indicated by the lack of change, a strikingly parallel situation is observed.

The relationships between clique leader family No. 41 and their large group of clique followers are remarkably stable as is indicated by the fact that in none of the three comparative situations was there observed more than two changes out of all the various lines of relationship.

Clique leader No. 34 on the other hand who has a smaller group of followers, and who in most instances occupies a strategic position in the system of relationships, is singular in that in all three comparisons the changes occurring in its relationships with followers are the greatest for any family in the community. This family appears to occupy a peculiar position having a portion of its clique grouping changing with each of the different types of social situations.

When the extent to which the people are integrated into their community's social system with reference to this particular social situation is considered, it is revealed that in Atirro a significantly larger proportion of the relationships are outward oriented (29.19%) than in San Juan Sur (13.78%). Of the families living in Atirro 11.67 per cent are completely outwardly oriented in this respect and 30.00 per cent are either

completely or majorly dependent upon outside contact. In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, only 1.33 per cent of the families depend completely upon outside associations and only 8.00 per cent are either completely or primarily dependent upon relationships outside the community.

A comparison of the relative importance of the various types of relationships existing within the two communities reveals that in both the proportion of association among relatives is greater than for any other social situation thus far analyzed but they differ in that in spite of the greater importance of association among relatives in this respect, in Atirro the majority of relationships is still among friends. In San Juan Sur where the major part of the associations have consistently been between relatives the percentage is even slightly higher.

It is interesting to note the effect of the trend on the part of the families in both communities to turn to outside relative families in confidential consultations upon creating a greater proportion of visiting among relatives. In San Juan Sur the effect is negligible but in Atirro it is of considerable importance.

The proportion of compadre relations is approximately equivalent for the two communities and remains negligible in both instances.

Borrowing patterns. An analysis of the responses of families living in Atirro to the question "Who are the families from whom you would borrow should the need arise?" reveals the social structure of the community to be basically the same as for the other types of social situations discussed. As may be noted in Figure 14, the clique leaders in this as in the other sociograms are the same generally, with families No. 68

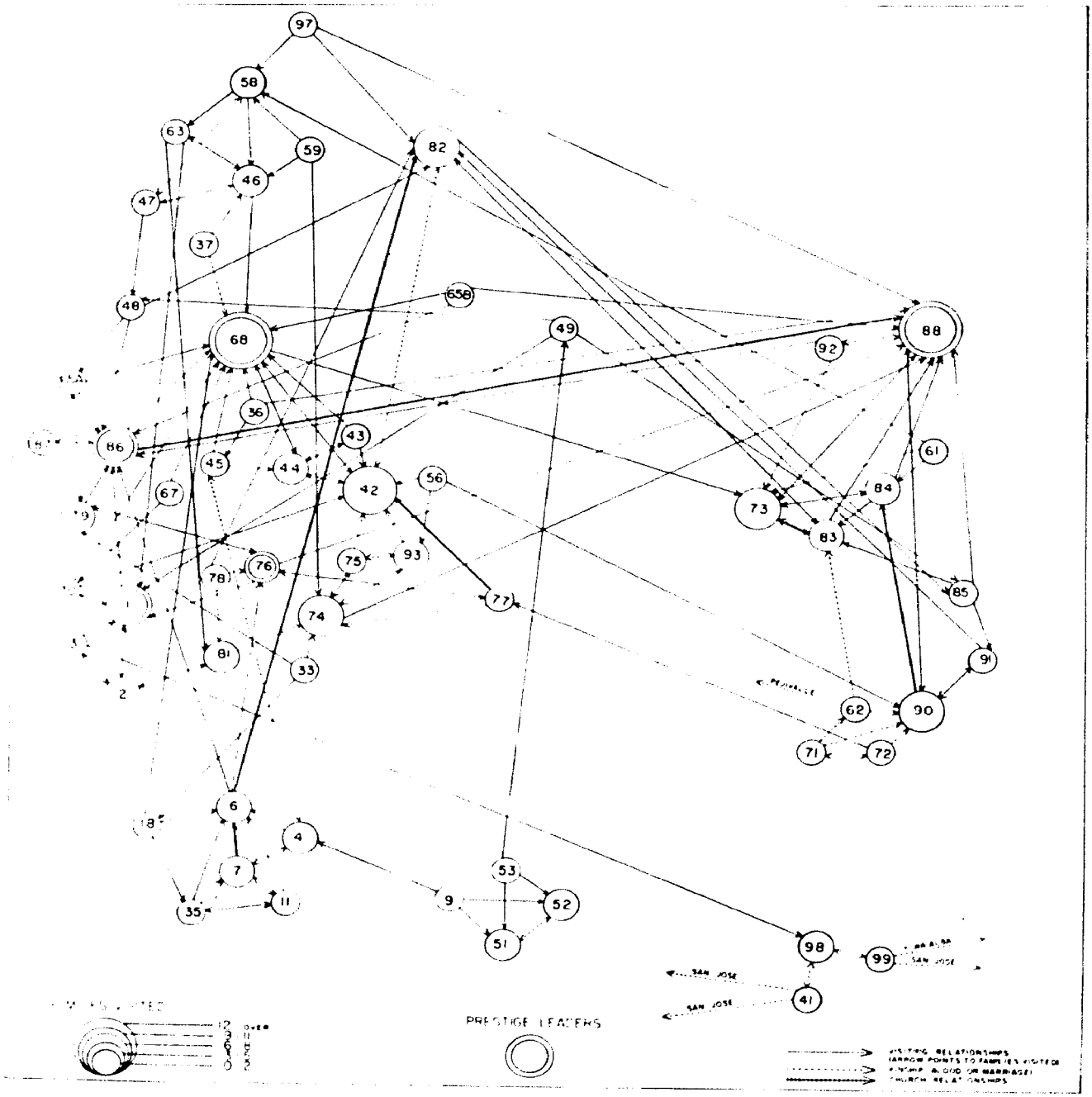

FIGURE 14

FAMILIES FROM WHOM THE FAMILIES BORROW IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

and 88 occupying the central positions in the two major groupings that comprise the community's social system. There has occurred, however, a number of alterations in the clique groupings as a result of changes in the interrelationships between the individuals comprising these cliques.

When this sociogram is compared with that for visiting patterns, it is revealed that out of the 168 relationships occurring within the community, 112 (66.67%) remained the same for the two different types of situations. There were twenty-five families who exhibited no change, and an additional twenty-two families evidencing only one variation. Of the seven families evidencing more than two changes in their relationships, six displayed three alterations each, and one, No. 68, revealed four variations.

It is of interest to note that in the analysis thus far, the clique of family No. 68 has exhibited the greatest degree of change in each situation. A certain amount of this variation is to be expected because of the large size of its clique groupings. When this clique leader family and its grouping is compared with family No. 88 and its clique, however, the latter family is found to have an almost equally large, but nevertheless more stable group of followers.

The changes occurring in the clique relationships of family No. 68 with reference to borrowing when compared to visiting do not lie so much in either an increase or a decrease of relationships, but rather a change within the clique itself with certain clique member families being replaced by others.

It may be observed that in borrowing as in visiting, only one family

disturbs the isolation of the small clique composed of the finca owner, the commissary owner, and the commissary owner's father by visiting the commissary owner. The isolation of this clique with reference to borrowing is interesting in that it is the only grouping in the community that has a large number of items which could be loaned.

The positions of families 68 and 88 with reference to borrowing can be understood not only in terms of their position of leadership among the people, but also because of a slightly superior economic standing in comparison to the majority of the peon families.

A number of the families in Atirro are sensitive about borrowing as is indicated by the following comment of one informant, "I have not borrowed, nor would I borrow from anyone. I would prefer to sell some of my belongings first, and I have done just that on various occasions." This hesitancy to borrow by some is further substantiated by the fact that some of the families indicate they would borrow from only one or two other families in the entire community.

As might be expected very little borrowing is carried on with families living outside the settlement. Of the five outside contacts, four of them are from the small clique of the finca owner, commissary owner, and commissary owner's father, and only one is from the peon family groups. This is understandable in view of the facility afforded these families--the finca owner and the other two members of his clique--to associate in clique groupings, and maintain contact with families in outside centers. Most of the borrowing by this group is theoretical, however, for when these families need something they usually purchase it. The value of their in-

dications lies in further substantiating the general orientation of the group and of its comparative lack of integration into the community's social system.

An analysis of the bonds existing between those families borrowing reveal that the large majority of all such association is among friends (73.81%) with a comparatively smaller percentage of contacts among relatives (22.62%), and compadre relations (3.57%). When the borrowing associations are compared with those in relation to the other types of social situations, it becomes evident that the percentage of relationships among friends is highest and the proportion of association among relatives lowest with reference to this type of social situation, while the compadre relationships vary little from that exhibited in the other situations.

An analysis of Figure 15 with reference to the borrowing patterns of the families in San Juan Sur, reveals that a significant proportion of the relationships have changed from those evidenced consistently throughout the preceding sociograms. When a comparison is made between this sociogram and that of visiting, it is revealed that of the 206 relationships occurring within the community, 116 (53.40%) remain the same for the two situations. There were twenty-one families who displayed no changes in their relationships, while an additional thirty families exhibited only one variation. There were, on the other hand, thirteen families who evidenced more than two changes with the maximum number of variations (4) being exhibited by five of this latter group.

When analyzing the borrowing relationships of the families in San

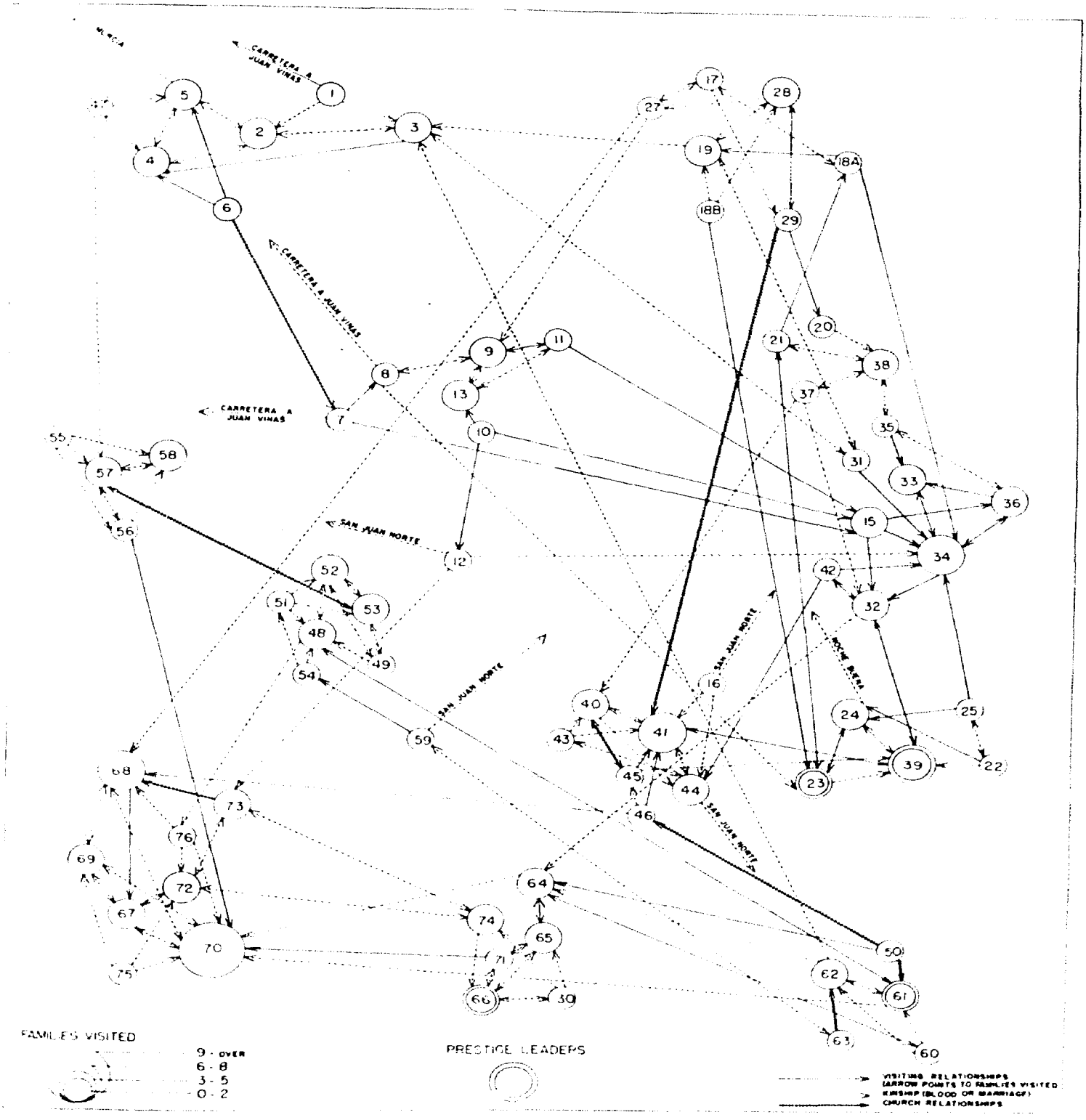

FIGURE 15

FAMILIES FROM WHOM THE FAMILIES BORROW IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Juan Sur, the influence of the geographical setting of the community at once comes into focus. The family houses, as previously described, are spread out along the main ox-cart road traversing the community, and along the auxiliary trails which are connected to it. In borrowing, a large number of families do contact members of their own cliques, as is indicated by the fact that slightly over one-half of all the relationships remained the same as those evidenced for visiting. On the other hand, however, much borrowing is carried on among neighbors who may or may not be clique members. Borrowing, therefore, might tend to provide an indice of clique relationships in San Juan Sur, particularly where the clique members live fairly close together, but it does not necessarily measure clique relationships. The crucial factor is distance.

In a homogeneous, stable community such as this, where the majority of the informants have maintained residence more than twenty years, people know each other well, and though the closest neighbor family may not have membership in one's clique, they are the persons from whom it would be easiest to borrow. While there exists to some extent a sensitivity about borrowing in San Juan Sur, the homogeneity and stability of the community provides a background generally conducive to borrowing from a fairly wide circle of families.

If it is a matter of borrowing from a neighbor 200 yards away or a clique member 4 miles away, the family in San Juan Sur will more than likely borrow from its neighbor.

As a review of the sociogram will reveal, the importance of clique leader family No. 41 has decreased to some extent, with reference to

borrowing, while the influence of families No. 70 and No. 34 has increased.

A number of the cliques have remained very nearly the same in their internal social structure, but their interpersonal relations with members of other cliques have brought about modifications in their positions in the social system.

That the families are well integrated into the social structure of the community with reference to borrowing is indicated by the lack of outside contacts for this purpose. Of the 216 borrowing relationships occurring, 207 (95.83%) are among families living in the community. None of the families are primarily dependent upon others outside the community in this respect. When the amount of association occurring within the community, with reference to borrowing, is compared to that of the previous sociograms, it is revealed that of the five different types of social situations analyzed, the families are least outwardly oriented in their borrowing patterns.

Here as in the previous sociograms of San Juan Sur, the majority of all borrowing takes place among relatives (65.28%), though in comparison with the preceding, the percentage is significantly less. The proportion of friends associating with reference to the borrowing activity, is greater than for any of the other types of social situation, while the compadre relationships vary little from that previously evidenced, and account for a comparatively small proportion of the total relationships (4.63%).

A comparative analysis of the borrowing patterns of the families living in the two communities reveals that in Atirro a significantly larger

proportion of the relationships remain the same as they were for visiting when compared with San Juan Sur. While there were a number of changes in Atirro, the families generally tended to borrow more from those in their own cliques than the families in San Juan Sur as evidenced by the greater similarity of this social structure with that of the foregoing types of social situations.

Two significant factors in this change which occurred within the two communities relative to borrowing are geographical setting and mobility. In Atirro, where all the houses are grouped closely together facilitating borrowing from any family in the community from the standpoint of distance, the families tended largely to borrow from those other families comprising their cliques. The fact that there is considerable mobility in the community operates as another factor in inducing a greater degree of clique borrowing. In Atirro, where the people are generally quite sensitive about borrowing at best, there is greater hesitancy on the part of a family to borrow anything from a new neighbor family even though their houses may be only ten feet apart.

In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, there have been fundamental changes with reference to borrowing when compared with the other sociograms. Although slightly more than half of the lines of relationship remain the same as they were for visiting, the factor of distance becomes predominate. The houses (families) are numbered more or less consecutively going mainly from neighbor to neighbor throughout the community. The sociogram illustrates this consecution as it is aggregated into groups and goes from group to group in the spatial arrangement of the community. This, combined with the greater homogeneity and stability of the population are

forces operating to bring about a greater degree of borrowing from neighbors. Because of these pertinent factors--geographical setting and degree of integration, the borrowing patterns of the families living in Atirro tend to provide a more accurate indice of clique relationships than those of San Juan Sur.

The lack of outwardly oriented association in both communities with reference to borrowing is significant. The proportion of such outside contacts in each community is lowest for the five types of situations analyzed. This integration of the families in this situation is further occasioned particularly in the case of Atirro, by the distance to outside centers.

The proportion of association among relatives in both settlements is smallest when compared to the other types of social situations. Although in San Juan Sur, the majority of all relationships are still among relatives, the percentage is lowest for the five situations; and in Atirro where contacts among relatives have always been in the minority, the percentage, even so, decreases to its lowest point in this situation.

Compadre relationships remain fairly constant in this as in the foregoing social situations and is true of both communities. This type of relationship has been comparatively insignificant throughout the analysis.

SUMMATION OF ANALYSIS

The analysis of the two communities Atirro and San Juan Sur, with reference to interpersonal relations has revealed that:

(1) The social structures of the two communities, as indicated by the relationships of the families in the different types of social situations

analyzed, are significantly different.

In Atirro, the large majority of the families are clustered into a series of eight clique groupings that form around the two chief prestige and clique leader families of the community to comprise the two polar bodies which in their interrelationships constitute essentially the community's social system.

The only other clique grouping in the community is a small clique composed of three families--the finca owner, commissary owner, and commissary owner's father. This group remains largely apart from the remainder of the community in their social relations, and are in the majority of cases oriented outward.

The largest number of all relationships between the families in Atirro are among friends, with fewer being among relatives, and the least amount being among compadres.

In San Juan Sur, in contrast to Atirro, the families are clustered into twelve cliques of varying sizes which are characterized by intense in-group interaction, and a lesser degree of inter-group association. While a number of the cliques are of considerable importance in the community, the central one, both from the standpoint of size, and strategic position in the social system, is the clique of family No. 41.

The large majority of all associations in San Juan Sur are among relatives, fewer are among friends, and the least, similar to Atirro, are compadre relationships. It is to be noted that the proportion of association between relatives and friends in San Juan Sur is opposite to that found in Atirro.

(2) While the social structures of the two communities are significantly different when compared with each other, the interrelationships of the families in the different types of social situations remain fairly constant, particularly in San Juan Sur, and give evidence in both communities of a social structure that exhibits no major variation in the majority of the social situations analyzed.

The families of the two communities generally have one basic clique grouping to which they belong, and toward which they are oriented in response to different types of social interaction. This is true to a greater degree in San Juan Sur where the stability of the community is emphasized by the constancy of the clique relations.

In both settlements, the variations occurring relative to the different types of social situations were characteristic of the particular situation. When the four types of social situations--visiting, fiesta invitations, sick calls, and families consulted in confidence--were analyzed with reference to the constancy of the clique relationships, it was revealed that in Atirro, 30 per cent of the families exhibited no change in their relationships. For 40 per cent of the families, 66.67 per cent or more of the relationships remained the same, and for 68.33 per cent of the families, 50 per cent or more of their associations remained unchanged.

When San Juan Sur is compared with Atirro, an even greater degree of consistency is evidenced as revealed by the fact that 36 per cent of all families exhibited no change when the relationships for the four types of situations were compared, while 60 per cent evidenced that 66.67 per cent of all their relationships remained the same in the different situations,

and 82.67 per cent of all families indicated, through their responses that 50 per cent or more of their relationships remained the same.

A factor which contributes largely to this overall difference in the degree of stability of the clique relationships in the two communities is the wide contrast between the localities with reference to discussing matters of confidence. In Atirro, as evidenced by the three other sociometric analyses and the analysis of borrowing relationships as well to a somewhat lesser degree, the families form into clique groupings that evidence a marked degree of stability. When, however, the families were asked to indicate the families in whom they had complete confidence and with whom they would feel free to discuss their personal problems, the more mobile and heterogeneous background of the families living in Atirro became apparent as indicated by the lack of sufficient integration of families into their clique groupings to enable many of them to associate with other clique families on such an intimate basis. Instead, the tendency was to turn to relatives in outside centers.

In San Juan Sur, not only do the families evidence a marked degree of integration into their clique groupings with reference to visiting, fiesta invitations, and sick calls, but also in relation to families consulted in confidence. The greater degree of integration evidenced by the families in their clique groupings resulting largely from a more homogeneous and stable background, is indicated by the fact that the families, generally, revealed that they would consult in confidence the same families with whom they visit most frequently, etc.

The sociometric question concerning borrowing relationships, does

not disclose the clique groupings accurately in San Juan Sur. This is accounted for by two factors--distance and lack of mobility.

(3) The large amount of social interaction occurring among those living within the two communities, and the minor degree of outward orientation are indicative of the extent to which these families have become integrated into their communal social organization.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CLASS ANALYSIS

As an outgrowth of interpersonal relationships, an analysis of social class structure reasonably follows in the wake of clique and congeniality groupings. The purpose of such an inquiry is to determine the extent to which a class structure exists, the nature of it, and the manner in which it varies for the two communities.

As evidenced in the preceding analysis of interpersonal relations, the large majority of the families cluster into distinct clique groupings within which there is exhibited a considerable amount of social interaction. The number of relationships existing between these groupings is decidedly less, in most instances, than that occurring within, thus indicating the existence of cleavages. The extent to which these cleavages exist varies with the different clique groupings.

Insofar as social classes are considered as groups of individuals between whom there exist barriers to intimate association, but within which there occurs considerable social interaction of this type, the evidences provided from an analysis of the informal social structure of the two communities would appear to reveal the presence of a stratified social organization in each.

The importance of an analysis of the interpersonal relations of the people as an essential criteria in describing the social class structure is indicated by Warner who in his Newbury Port Study[1] found that a

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[1] W. L. Warner, M. Mecker, and K. Ells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949).

man's social class is determined by the company he keeps--that is, by his participation or association groups as reported by his acquaintances.

Loomis found in his studies that kinship and friendship groupings (cliques) are composed of individuals of approximately the same social status.[2] Warner and Lunt in their study of Yankee City discovered that next to the family, the members of a clique are most likely to become members of the same social class. Although the differences in class status among members of a clique are more pronounced when compared with the family, the cliques themselves draw fairly sharp class lines.[3] In Yankee City, while the large majority of the families had but one class represented in their membership,[4] the clique participation tended to be in one or two classes.[5] Their study revealed that clique membership ordinarily held an individual in his own class, or permitted relationships with a class above or below.[6] They found, however, that cliques do allow upward mobile people to form intimate associations with those above them and thereby improve their chances of climbing.[7]

Methods employed. From the foregoing, the importance of analyzing

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[2] Charles P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), p. 386.

[3] W. Lloyd Warner, and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 90.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Ibid. p. 353.

[6] Ibid. p. 355.

[7] Loc. cit.

interpersonal relations as an essential criteria in describing social class status in a community is indicated. Although the statuses of those families occupying varying positions in the hierarchical class structure depend upon a series of factors, it has been observed that persons of similar social status in most cultures, carry on informal visiting or other types of social activities in clique or congeniality groupings composed of persons of approximately the same social status.[8]

In order to describe the class structure of the two communities considered in the present analysis, therefore, sociometric techniques were utilized in order to determine the actual patterns of social interaction. After a year's acquaintanceship, the social class structure could have been described from a knowledge of the people gained through continuing association, but being concerned with more objective and operational methods which might be utilized elsewhere, sociometric techniques were employed to reveal the status groupings existing within the two communities.

While friendly visiting and other informal social activities tend to be participated in largely by those who consider themselves and are considered by others to be equals, thus serving as an operational means of ascertaining whether or not social classes exist, they do not serve to indicate which of the larger groupings (social classes) are ranked by the members of the community in socially superior and inferior positions, which is an essential part of the concept of social class.

In an effort, therefore, to ascertain which of the families and

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[8] Charles P. Loomis, Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950), p. 90.

friendship groupings occupied the different levels in the hierarchical class structure, and from a knowledge of the families living in the two communities as nearly as possible an equal number of competent judges were selected from each of the social classes existing in the two settlements.

A total of ten judges were selected from each community. These persons, separately and privately, were given a set of cards covering every family in their community. Upon each card appeared the name of a family jefe along with that of his esposa (wife). In the event that the jefe had no mate, the one name appeared. Upon occasions the judge's wife or husband was present and at such times the resultant rating was usually the summation of their combined judgements. In such instances the names of both individuals were placed on the rating sheet.

After a preliminary explanation had been made as to what was desired, each judge was asked to go through the cards and sort them into as many different basic social groups as he or she felt existed in the community and to indicate the position of these groups in relation to the rest.

After the judge had completed the procedure, he was asked to check through the cards again in order to insure proper placement of each family.

After each judge had classified the people of his community into what he considered was their proper grouping and had also identified himself in the classification, the ratings were placed on his rating sheet containing the complete lists of names appearing on the cards. The bottom social group in each instance was considered as class 1 with the number of the group increasing as it moves upward through the hierarchical

class structure. It is of considerable interest to note that the ten judges in each community were all in remarkable agreement as to the number of classes that existed in their locality.

It is of further significance to note that in Atirro eight of the ten judges placed themselves into the same social class in which they were placed by the majority of the other judges. With reference to the other two, one judge, a clique leader, rated himself as being in the second class. In this particular instance, however, the family is actually upward mobile as is indicated by the fact that three of the judges besides himself placed him and his family into this group, while the other six indicated him to be a member of the bottom class.

The other case in question is rather singular in that five judges placed this judge and her family in class three, four judges (including herself) placed the family in class four, while the tenth judge placed them half-way between classes three and four with the explanation that the marriage was unequal. The wife, a relative of the finca owner, belonged definitely in the fourth class, but her husband, according to this judge was distinctly of the third class, and because of this he could never consider the family as being quite equal to that of the finca owner.

In San Juan Sur, nine of the ten judges placed themselves in the same class into which they had been placed by the majority of the judges. The tenth judge, family No. 41, who is the foremost clique leader in the community, placed herself in the third class while the other nine judges placed this family into the second class.

The ratings of the various judges are graphically indicated in

Figures 16 and 17. As indicated by the legend, those families who were designated by all ten judges of the community to be of class one (the lowest class) are solid black. The extent to which any family circle is filled in with a specific class marking represents the proportion of the judges placing the family within a particular social class. Thus, for example, Family No. 60 appearing in Figure 17 was placed by six judges in the bottom class and by four judges in class two. Number 38 of the same Figure was placed in class three by eight judges and in class two by the other two judges.

In the Latin American countries, the strongest barrier to intimate association existing between the different social classes is that surrounding marriage. There is tremendous pressure exerted, particularly among those of the upper classes, against marrying beneath one's own class. This barrier to intermarriage between the different classes becomes less stringent as one moves down through the various classes in the hierarchical structure.

Inasmuch as intermarriage tends, therefore, to be a crucial test as to the existence and strength of social classes, an analysis of this phenomena was effectuated in conjunction with the sociometric and rating techniques.

As each of the ten judges in both communities terminated the process of classifying the families into the various classes which they felt existed within their community, they were asked, "Now, let us suppose for a moment that you have a daughter who is about 17 years old and ready for marriage, into which of these groups of families would you like to see her

marry for her happiness?" After the judges had done this, they were asked why they had made this selection. Following this answer, they were next asked to state why they had not selected one of the other classes, which they had previously indicated to be existent in the community. All answers as well as other pertinent comments were recorded verbatim as nearly as possible on the backs of their rating sheets.

ANALYSIS OF VISITING RELATIONS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS AS INDICATED BY THE JUDGES' RATINGS

Informal visiting has been selected as the type of social relationship most significant in revealing the actual interaction patterns in which families of similar social status participate. That visiting behavior on the whole is class typed, particularly among kinfolk, has already been indicated by Warner and Loomis in their studies.[9]

Atirro. An analysis of Figure 16 reveals that the social structure of Atirro is comprised of four classes with the large majority of the families, 47 or 78.33 per cent falling into the bottom group. When this sociogram is compared with that of Atirro visiting patterns in Chapter VI, it is observed that though the spatial positions of the various cliques and clique members have changed, no less than six of the nine clique groupings comprising the community's social structure have remained completely intact within the same social class.

It is of especial significance to note that the two chief prestige

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[9] Warner and Lunt, op. cit. p. 90

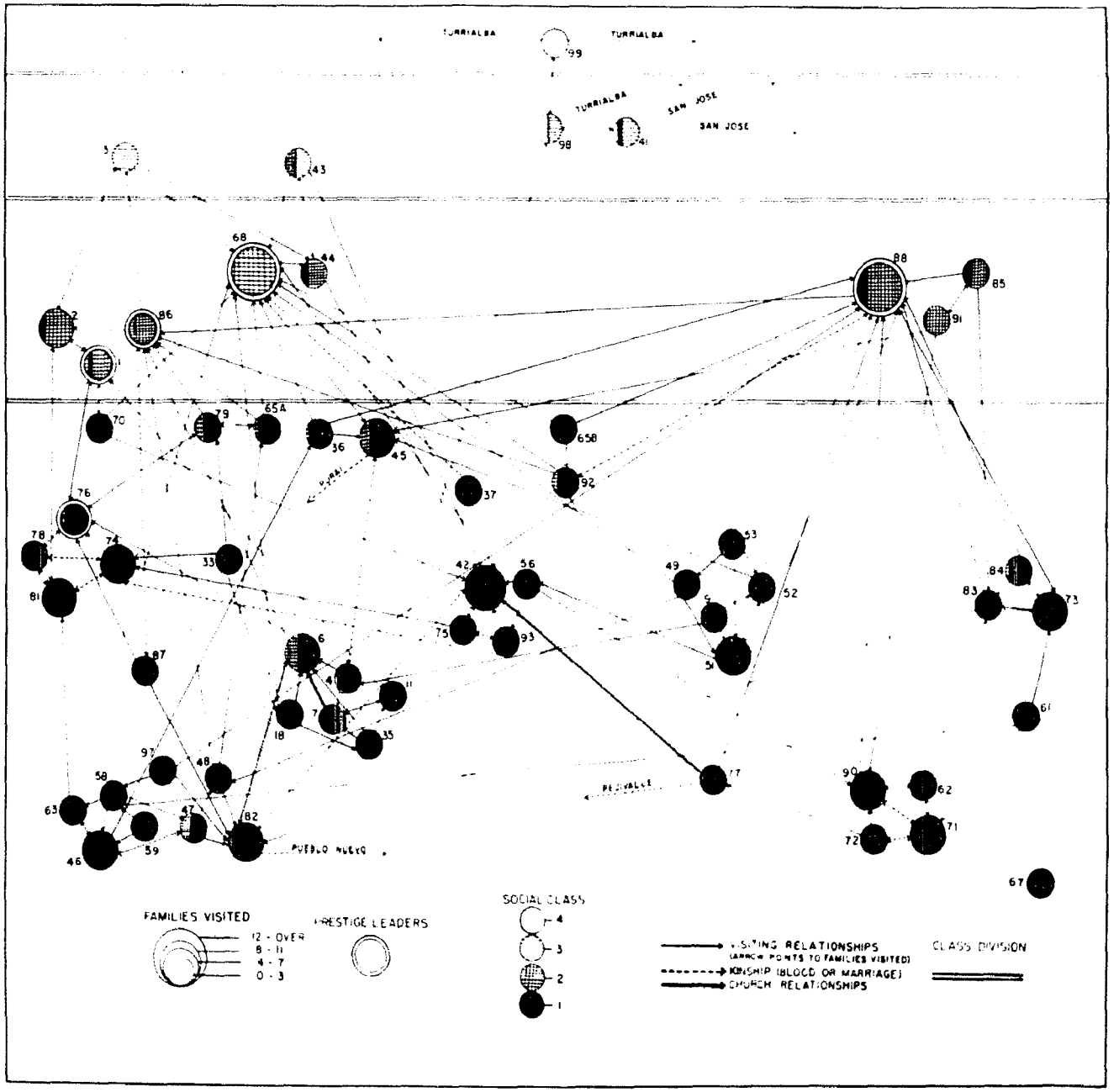

FIGURE 16

VISITING RELATIONSHIPS OF THE FAMILIES IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA
ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

and clique leader families, around which the smaller groupings have heretofore consistently centered, forming the two polar but interrelated bodies of the community, occupy higher status positions in relation to the large majority of their clique followers. This would appear to agree with Sherif's findings, that out of the informal interrelationships occurring among the members of the newly formed clique there arises a group structure with relative positions and leader-follower relations. The various members of the group occupy varying statuses in the structure with each exercising influence in proportion to the particular status he holds. In each clique the leadership tends to come from those holding the relatively higher status positions and the followers from among those of lesser status.[10]

Family No. 68, who is the most influential leader of the two, is the more firmly established in class two as is indicated by the homogeneity of the circle markings indicating that all judges were agreed as to his position in this group. Family No. 88, on the other hand, still retained some markings of the first group, though the majority agreed that it rightfully belonged in the second class. It is of interest to note that two other prestige leaders, one of which is clique leader as well, are members of class two.

The small clique comprised of the finca owner, the commissary owner, and the commissary owner's father, is divided between class three and four with the finca owner family firmly established at the top of the class pyramid. The only other two families in these two top classes are those of the

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[10] John H. Rohrer, and Muzafer Sherif, Social Psychology at the Crossroads. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 388-424.

finca accountant and the family in which the jefe is a furniture maker, and his wife a school teacher.

As is indicated by the social class markings in the family circles, the majority of the families in Atirro evidence little or no social mobility. This condition is largely peculiar to the bottom class in which 33 or 70.21 per cent of the 47 families evidence no upward movement in class status while 9 of the remaining families indicate only a small degree.

While all but one family (No. 68) in social class two evidence some markings of class one, only two of these, family No. 1 and No. 86 evidence upward mobility into class three. It is of interest to note that these two families are those of the finca foreman, and the foreman of the coffee processing mill.

Family No. 43, that of the furniture maker and his school teacher wife, occupies a position of relative prestige among the peons of the finca and has been placed into class three. In spite of this, however, their campesino background is evidenced in the class two markings appearing in the circle. As previously indicated, family No. 98 is not considered to be of equal ranking with family No. 99 by reason of an unequal marriage.

In order to evaluate the extent to which the four classes are ingroups, observed frequencies of visiting within and between the classes have been compared with frequencies which might be expected to result from a purely random selection, assuming that if there were no cleavages, the total number of visiting relationships would be divided among the different

groupings in proportion to the number of families in the groups.[11]

As revealed from an analysis of Table 81, the families of class one made a total of 126 visits, 92 of which were to other families within their groupings. When this is compared to the 97 visits which would be expected if a process of purely random choice were in operation, proportionately speaking, there is no apparent in-group relationship evidenced within the class.

While it would be expected from chance selection that 16 visits would be made into class two by those of class one, 33 such visits were actually indicated. The number of visits from families in class one to those in classes three and four are limited to 1, while 12 would be expected. From this it may be observed that while class one does not in itself especially comprise an in-group with respect to visiting behavior, a degree of cleavage does exist between this class and classes three and four. When classes one and two are considered as a unit, there are evidences of the existence of an in-group.

This is in substantial agreement with Warner's statement, "Clique membership ordinarily held an individual in his own class or permitted relations with a class above or below."[12]

When analyzing the visiting behavior of those in class two, definite in-group relationships are evidenced in contrast to class one. Three visits

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[11] Charles P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), p. 118.

[12] Warner and Lunt, op cit. p. 355.

TABLE 81

OBSERVED AND EXPECTED INTER AND INTRA-CLASS VISITING

OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Direction of visit	Observed number of visiting relations	Expected number of visiting relations
1. Class one to class one	92	97
2. Class one to class two	33	16
3. Class one to class three	1	9
4. Class one to class four	0	3
5. Class two to class one	13	18
6. Class two to class two	7	3
7. Class two to class three	2	2
8. Class two to class four	0	0
9. Class three to class one	1	6
10. Class three to class two	5	1
11. Class three to class three	1	0
12. Class three to class four	1	0
13. Class four to class one	0	1
14. Class four to class two	0	0
15. Class four to class three	1	0
16. Class four to class four	0	0

were theoretically expected within the class, while in actuality there were 7. It is of interest to note that although 18 visits of this group were expected to go to those families in class one, only 13 such visits actually occurred indicating the presence of some cleavage with reference to downward visiting.

The families in class three indicate insignificant in-group relationships with only one observed visit occurring within the group, although none were theoretically expected. The major associations of these families are with those in class two. There are five such relationships observed while only one was expected. The visiting by families in class three to those in class one was, to the contrary, however, much less (1 visit), than that expected (6 visits).

There were no visits expected within class four in the community because of the fact that only one family held this status position. This family was theoretically expected to visit in class one by virtue of the fact that 78.33 per cent of the families in the community are found in that class. Actually, however, it visits only one family in the settlement which is in class three. This is a reciprocal visiting relationship occurring between the finca owner and the commissary owner families. The in-group association of the finca owner family is best indicated by their two visiting relationships in Turrialba. This family is a member of a clique comprised of persons having similar social status and their major informal associations are with those of this group, and not with the families of the finca.

In analyzing the visiting patterns of those families in each of the

four classes, the observed associations proportionately were very largely within two classes with very little visiting being carried on by those families separated by one or more intermediate strata. An analysis of visiting patterns of the four classes evidences generally a large amount of upward association from class one to class two, but with very little upward visiting (4 visits) between these two classes and those above.

This visiting from class one to two is explainable in that the two central clique leader families (68 and 88) are in class two and are visited by their followers who are largely in class one.

San Juan Sur. An analysis of Figure 17 reveals that the social structure of San Juan Sur is comprised of three classes, with the largest group falling into class two. Forty-four or 58.67 per cent of the settlement's total number of families fall within this class. Of the remaining families, 18 or 24.00 per cent are in class one and 13 or 17.33 per cent are in class three. When this sociogram is compared with that for San Juan Sur visiting patterns in Chapter VI, it is observed that of the twelve cliques, three have remained completely intact within the same social class, while the others evidence a greater or lesser degree of division among their members into the different social class groupings.

Of the four top clique leader families in the community, (41, 34, 72, 57) three are found in class two and one is in class three. It is significant to note that when the markings in the circles of these four families are compared with those of their clique followers they are generally revealed to have higher class status ratings than their followers. Four of the five major prestige leader families appearing in the sociogram

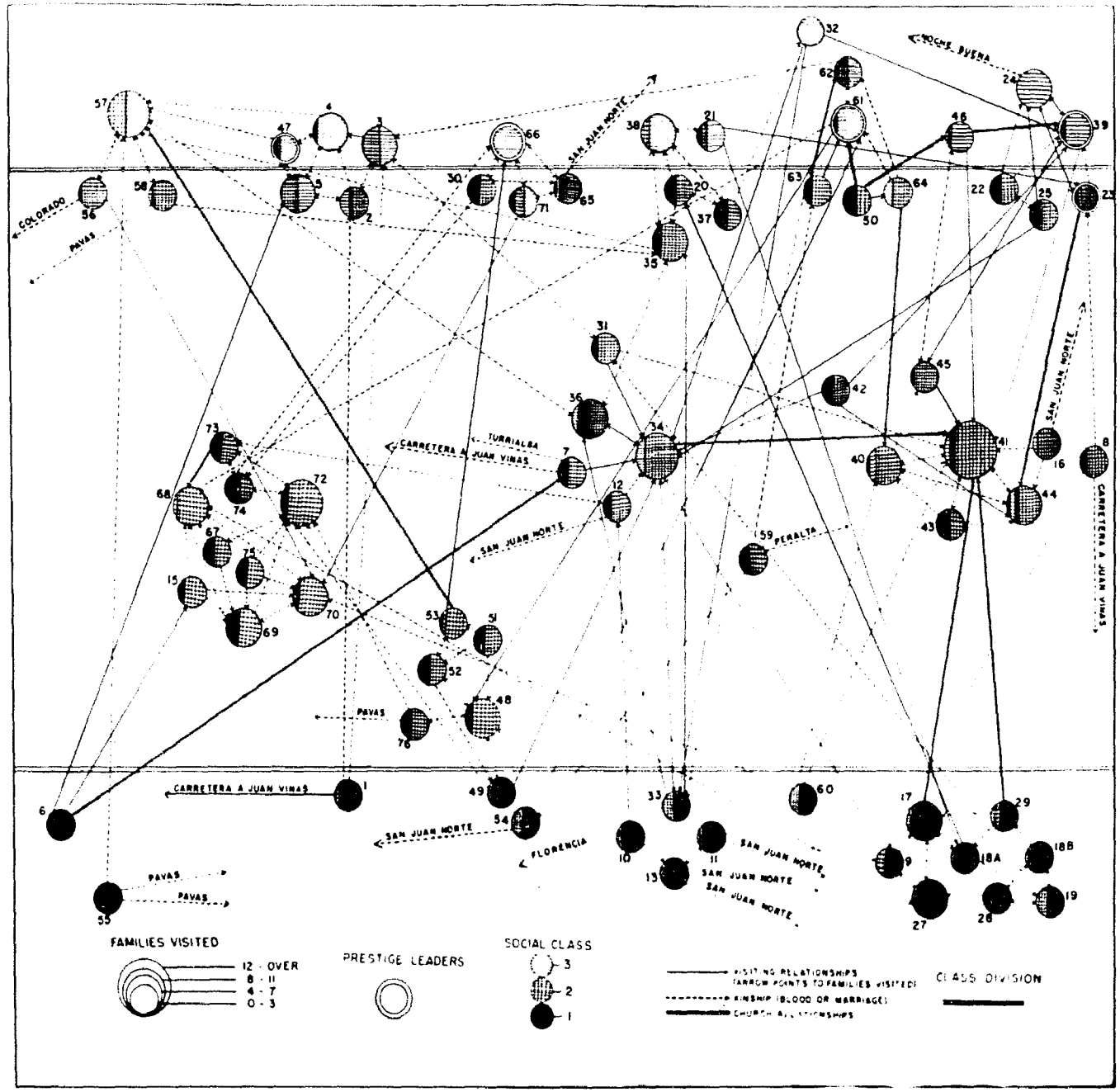

FIGURE 17

VISITING RELATIONSHIPS OF THE FAMILIES IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

are observed to be in class three while the fifth is in class two.

At the very bottom of the class hierarchical structure are two families, No. 6, a very poor peon family and No. 55, an old man who lives by the charity of others, sometimes begging in Turrialba for food. At the top of the social class pyramid are three families, No. 66, Maximino, a prosperous farmer and the top prestige leader of the community, No. 32, Eduardo, the English storekeeper who owns and operates the general store in addition to possessing a small finca, and No. 24, the family who owns the largest finca in the community. All three of these families are not only prosperous but long-time residents of the community and highly respected by their neighbors.

These three families at the top of the class pyramid as well as the two previously mentioned who are at the very bottom of the structure were unanimously ranked into these classes.

A review of the markings in the circles representing the families of the community will reveal an open class system with considerable mobility between the class groupings. The only two families in class one who indicated absolutely no upward mobility, are the two previously discussed--No. 6 and 55. In the middle class (number two), the mobility is even more evident with every one of the 44 families evidencing a greater or lesser degree of movement.

In the top class (number three) only 3 of the 13 families (66, 32, and 24) gave evidence of being completely established within the grouping. In order to evaluate the extent to which the three classes form into ingroups, the observed frequencies of visiting have been compared with those

that might be theoretically expected to occur if selected purely by random choice.

The analysis of Table 82 reveals that of the 46 visits made by families in class one, 22 were observed as occurring within the class itself, while only 11 visits were theoretically expected, thus evidencing significant in-group relationships.

TABLE 82

OBSERVED AND EXPECTED INTER AND INTRA-CLASS VISITING OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Direction of visit	Observed number of visiting relations	Expected number of visiting relations
1. Class one to class one	22	11
2. Class one to class two	21	27
3. Class one to class three	3	8
4. Class two to class one	7	29
5. Class two to class two	80	68
6. Class two to class three	32	20
7. Class three to class one	1	9
8. Class three to class two	23	22
9. Class three to class three	14	6

There were 21 observed visits to those of class two while 27 visits were expected. Instead of the 8 theoretically expected visits to families in class three, there were only 3. As indicated by a comparison of the observed and expected frequencies there is a greater tendency toward in-group cleavage between classes one and three than between classes one and two.

If one hypothesizes that the families of class one direct their

visiting relations without reference as to whether or not the families visited are of class one, two, or three, and that the visiting relations of those in class one are distributed among all three classes in proportion to the number of families in their grouping, one may compute the chi square[13] for the visiting relations of class one families to class one families, and combine this with the chi square of the visiting of class one families to class two and three families. Since the resulting chi square value of 14.457, (1 degree of freedom) in this instance indicates that less than one time out of one hundred the observed results would have been obtained from a sample of this size used if the hypothesis were true, one has a basis for its rejection and can assume that insofar as this basis of comparison is meaningful, a definite cleavage between families of class one and families of classes two and three exists.[14]

When the visits made by those in class two are analyzed it is revealed that here again there is evidence of an in-group relationship with 80 visits observed within the class compared to a theoretical expectancy of 68 visits. It is of significance to note the marked lack of downward visiting by the members of this second class. While 29 such visits were to be expected only 7 occurred. To the contrary, there was considerably more upward visiting than expected by random choice with 32 visits observed in comparison to the 20 expected. When a chi square is computed

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[13] The chi square test was not applied as a measure of in-group cleavage for the data of Atirro because the numbers were too small to be meaningful.

[14] Charles P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," Sociometry, IX (November 1946), 323-321.

as a measure of the cleavage existing between families in class two, and families in classes one and three, a chi square of 4.159 is revealed indicating the presence of a significant in-group cleavage, though it is not as marked as that of class one.

The visiting of families in class three indicates again the presence of an in-group, with a definite cleavage existing between this class and classes two and one. While there were 6 visits expected with reference to visiting within the class, 14 actually occurred. To the contrary, there was only one visit observed by a family in class three to a family in class one, instead of 9 such visits theoretically expected.

The application of chi square here as a test of cleavage between families in class three and those in classes one and two reveals a chi square of 12.248 (1 degree of freedom) which indicates a marked in-group cleavage.

An analysis of the visiting patterns for the three classes reveals that in each instance when observed and expected frequencies are compared, a disproportionately large amount of visiting is to other families within their own class, indicating the presence of an in-group. This is supported by the application of chi square as a measure of cleavage. The chi square of all three classes indicated the presence of in-group cleavages with reference to the other classes.

With class one manifesting the greatest in-group cleavage of the three, followed by class three, the large majority of visiting outside the class is to families in adjacent groupings, either above or below. A further analysis of the visiting patterns of families comprising the

three different classes reveals a general upward trend in the clique associations. The families in class two, who are the only ones having the opportunity of visiting both up and down evidence a marked proclivity towards upward contacts and a definite disinclination to visiting below their class level.

A comparison of the social class structures of Atirro and San Juan Sur. A comparative analysis of the social class structure of the two communities, as indicated by the judges ratings, reveals that in Atirro, the large majority (78.33%) of the families are in the bottom class (class one) while in San Juan Sur approximately one-fourth (24.00%) fall into this grouping. Class two in Atirro is the second largest grouping in the community, yet it contains only 13.33 per cent of the families. In San Juan Sur, to the contrary, this is the largest of the social classes containing the majority of the community's families (58.67%).

A comparison of class three indicates that while 6.67 per cent of the families in Atirro are of this grouping, the percentage in San Juan Sur is 17.33 per cent. The fourth class in Atirro consists of only one family (1.67%)--that of the finca owner. This grouping cannot be compared with San Juan Sur inasmuch as the social class structure of that community is comprised of only three classes. As the analysis has revealed, the families in San Juan Sur generally, occupy a higher class status than do those in Atirro.

When the social class structure of the two communities are related to the Warner "Yankee City" class system, as revealed in Figure 18, it may be noted that in both Atirro and San Juan Sur, class one corresponds

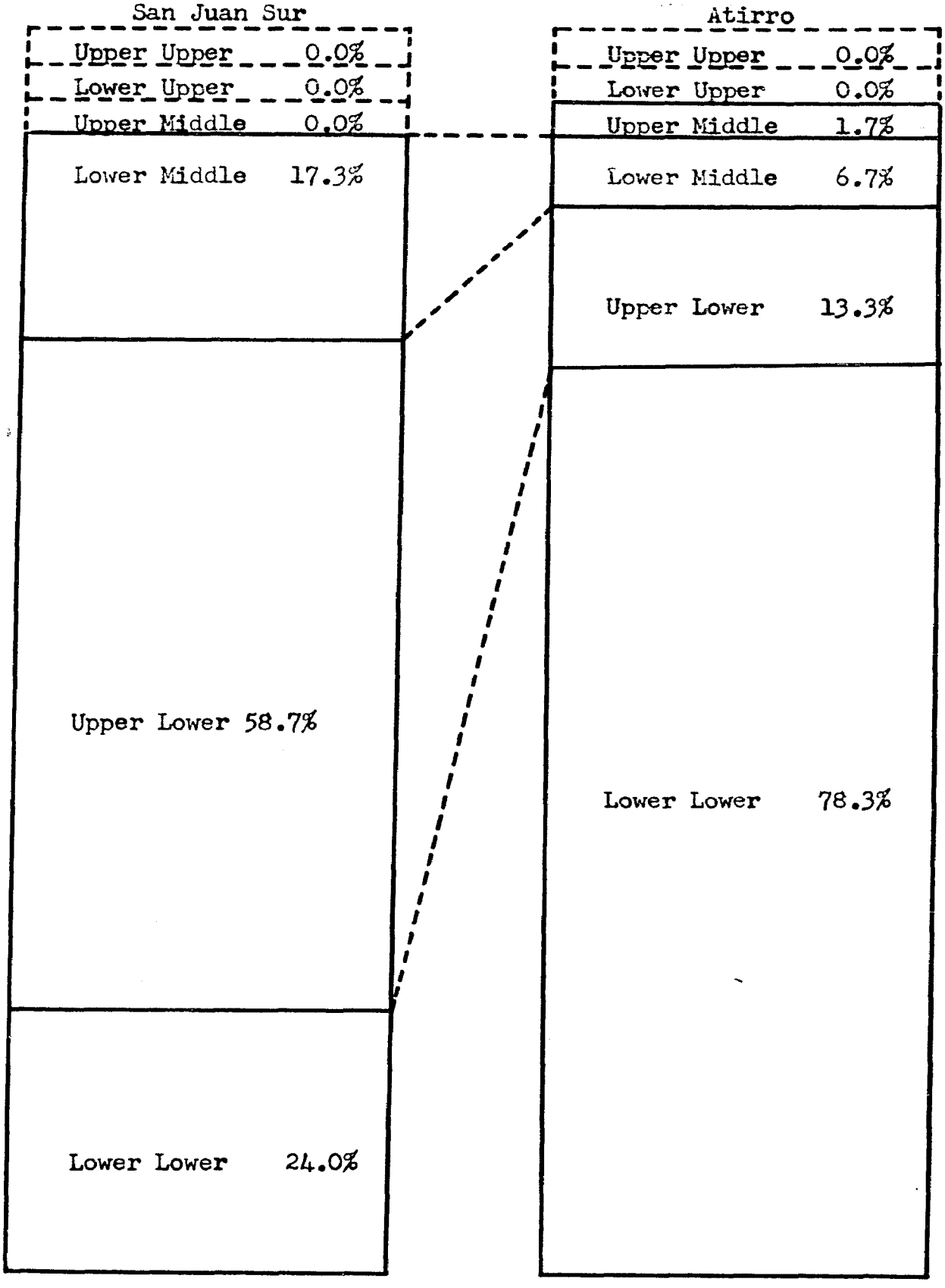

FIGURE 18

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURES OF SAN JUAN SUR, A PEASANT COMMUNITY, AND ATIRRO, AN HACIENDA COMMUNITY, AS RELATED TO THE L. W. WARNER CLASS SYSTEM

to "Yankee City's" lower-lower class, class two corresponds to the upper-lower groupings, class three to the lower middle, and class four to the upper middle class. A review of the Figure graphically depicts the difference in the class structure which occurs. As indicated, there are no upper class families in either of these communities.

In Atirro, the fourth class, or upper middle group and one-half the third class, or lower middle group are accounted for by the finca owner, commissary owner, and commissary owner's father who, as has been consistently indicated throughout the study, are largely detached from the others of the community in their social contacts. In Atirro the people referred to the fourth class as composed of "gente poderosa," or "capitalistas," to those of classes three and two as "los de tercero" and "segundo categoria," and to those of class one as the "pobres," or "peons cualquieres."

In San Juan Sur, those of the top grouping (class three) were referred to as "los primeros" or "los alticos," while those of class two were considered to be "los regulares" or "el grupo mediano" and those of class one as "el grupo de los bajitos" or "los bajitos del pueblo."

In both of the communities, the major prestige and clique leaders generally occupy higher status positions than their followers. As indicated by the markings in the circles, four of the five major prestige leaders in Atirro are found in class two, while in San Juan Sur, four of the five are in class three. Although the clique leader families (when they are not the same as the prestige leaders) do not usually rank as high in the class structure as the prestige leaders, a comparison of their

status markings in relation to those who visit them, indicate that generally, they occupy a somewhat superior status with reference to those in their clique groupings.

As is further indicated by the markings in the circles, resulting from the judges rankings, there is relatively little social mobility between the different classes in Atirro, while there is evidence of considerable mobility in San Juan Sur. In Atirro, the judges were in unanimous agreement as to the class status of 70.21 per cent of those in the bottom class with the same unanimity being manifested with reference to the rating of the family in class four. The majority of the mobility evidenced in the community was among those of the two middle classes--two and three. In San Juan Sur, as illustrated by the sociogram, the large majority of the families in all three classes evidence class mobility to a large degree.

When the visiting patterns of the families in the different class groupings are analyzed it is determined that in Atirro the only group manifesting a significant in-group cleavage with reference to visiting relations is class two. This is in contrast to San Juan Sur, where all three classes evidenced significant in-group cleavages. In both communities, Warner's findings that clique participation tended to be in one or two classes, applies, as is indicated by a review of the visiting patterns of each of the classes.

It may be noted that in Atirro the preponderant majority of all upward association is from those families in class one to their leaders in class two. As revealed by an analysis of the visiting patterns of

the families in class one, there was no in-group cleavage with reference to those of class two. There is little upward visiting between the families of classes one and two and those above. In San Juan Sur, on the other hand, where there is evidenced significant in-group cleavages with reference to the visiting patterns of all three classes there is, nevertheless, considerable association between the classes as illustrated by the sociogram. It may be noted, for example, that while in Atirro only one association passes up through two classes, there are four such relationships occurring in San Juan Sur.

The relative lack of significant in-group cleavages in Atirro may be partially explained by the high degree of mobility and a comparatively rapid rate of social change as well as a dominance of friendship instead of kinship relationships. The homogeneity, stability, traditionalism, and slow rate of social change as well as a majority of kinship relationships are interrelated factors accounting, in part, for the in-group cleaveages existing in San Juan Sur.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

The responses of the ten judges in Atirro as to which of the social classes they would like a daughter to marry into, appears as follows:

1. A judge in social class one would prefer to see his daughter marry into class three because "these people are more cultured." His second choice would be for her to marry into class two for the same reason. He would not want to have his daughter marry into his own group "because we have less culture than the other groups." He would like very much for her to marry in group four, but states that, "this could never happen

because our poverty would not enable us to arrive at a point of equality with these people."

2. A second judge in class one doesn't care into which group his daughter marries. For him, to desire is natural, and the daughter ought to marry the one she loves. But on the other hand he does feel that it would be better for her to marry into his group because, as he states, "although my daughter would suffer from hunger and the lack of accomodations, she would live much happier than if she were married to one of those in the upper groups. If my daughter could find the same happiness in one of these upper groups, it would not matter to me if she married into one them."

3. Another judge in social class one--a combined rating--would like to see their daughter marry into class one. They wouldn't like to see her marry into class two because, "these people are very different. It is better said that they are very distant. They are very much apart and treat those in the first group (class one) with much haughtiness." They would like to see their daughter marry into class four or class three, but state that "this would be very difficult for the daughter of a poor family."

4. A judge in class two would like to see his daughter marry into his own group. In the event that this was not possible, he would like to see her marry into class three. He would prefer that she did not marry into the bottom class, nor does he want her to marry into the top grouping because, "these are the wealthy and powerful people. They are those who have, and I am a poor person who has not."

5. Another judge in class two would prefer that his daughter marry into class three first. Secondly, he would prefer that she marry into his own group. He would not like to see her marry into the bottom class, but would be very happy to have her marry into the top grouping (class four). He states, "it would be wonderful, but it is impossible. It just isn't possible for the daughter of a campesino to marry with a capitalist. Those of the top category don't marry with those of lower categories."

6. A third judge in class two would prefer that his daughter marry into his own social class. He would not like to see her marry into the first group. His feeling about a projected marriage of his daughter with those of either class three or four is illustrated by the following statement, "it does not serve one that his daughter marry with one of those in groups three or four because it isn't correct. It isn't right that the daughter of a campesino family marry one of these because it is absurd. The lack of study and the lack of personableness between the campesinos and those in the upper groups is very great."

7. A judge in class three would like to see his daughter marry into social class two, first, and into social class three, secondly. He would not want to see her marry into either social class one or four.

8. Another judge in class three would prefer that his daughter marry into the same class as that which the family is in. His second choice would be for her to marry into class four. He does not want his daughter to marry in a class lower than the one now occupied by the family.

9. A third judge in class three would like to see her daughter

marry in class four. Class three would be acceptable because "those in this latter group have possibilities of becoming as well prepared as those of class four." She would not want her daughter to marry into classes one or two.

10. A judge from class four would want his daughter to marry in the same group as that which he is in. He would not want her to marry into any of the other three classes.

An analysis of the responses of the ten judges provides greater insight into the nature of the social class structure of Atirro. As is revealed by their responses, the large majority of them (7), indicated that they would prefer to have a daughter marry into what they consider to be their own social class groupings. There was only one discrepancy observed between the rankings given the judges as to class status, and the rankings they gave themselves. This exception occurred with reference to one of the judges, a relative of the finca owner, who is considered generally as being of equal status with the finca owner, but whose husband is not. This judge considered herself to be of the top class, and indicated that she wanted her daughter to marry within this same group. She did not consider her family, though most of the judges disagreed, as belonging to class three.

One of the seven judges who indicated that he would prefer to have his daughter remain in the same class stated at first that he didn't care into what class she married, but later stated that while this was true, perhaps she had better marry into her own group for though she might suffer hunger and lack of many accomodations, she would live much more happily.

Of the remaining three families, two indicated that they would prefer to have a daughter marry above their class, while one in class three indicated a desire to have his daughter marry one group below into class two. One of the two families desiring to have their daughter marry above their class was a class one peon family who desired more culture for the daughter, and the other family was upward mobile.

It is interesting to note the recognition on the part of the judges in classes one and two of the barrier existing between them and the families in classes three and four. While a number indicate in a wishful manner that they would like such an intermarriage, the large majority of the judges in these two groups feel that such a thing is next to impossible, and/or improper. This feeling is best described by the comment of one judge who said, "it would be wonderful, but it is impossible."

That marriage in Atirro tends to be structured in a manner closely analogous to visiting is indicated by the fact that marriage above or below one's class is usually limited to the classes immediately adjacent, and to be generally in one or two classes. Even where judges indicated that they preferred the marriage of their daughters to be within their own class, a number looked upon marriage into the next higher status grouping with a degree of tolerance if not favor.

The feeling of the judges against their daughters marrying beneath their own class is expressed by six out of the seven, who are found in classes other than that at the bottom.

The responses of the ten judges in San Juan Sur as to which of the social class groupings they would like to see their daughter marry into

appears as follows:

1. A judge in class one would prefer that his daughter marry into his own class, "los bajitos," because she would be happier in this group. He would permit her to marry into class two, but he would not be happy about it. The same applies to class three--he would not approve of it.

2. Another judge in class one would like her daughter to marry into the second class "el grupo mediano." Her second choice would be that her daughter marry into class three, "el grupo de los primeros." She would prefer that her daughter not marry in class one.

3. A third judge from class one would like to have her daughter marry into class one because that is the group in which she would be most happy. If the daughter were in agreement, and if she would be happy, it would be all right for her to marry into class two or three.

4. A judge in class two would like to have her daughter marry into class three. Under no condition would she want her daughter to marry into class one, "because these persons have tarnished reputations--they are not people of confidence." It would be all right if her daughter married into class two, but she would prefer the third class.

5. Another judge from class two would like to have their daughter (this is a combined rating from both parents) marry into their own class because she would be more contented and happy. It would be all right if she married into class three, but they would not like her to marry into the bottom group.

6. A third judge from class two would like his daughter to marry into this same class. If, however, the daughter wanted to marry into

class three it would be all right, but he feels that perhaps it would not work out as well, and that it would be better for her to marry in her own group. He prefers that his daughter not marry into class one.

7. A judge in class three would prefer that his daughter marry into class three. He definitely does not want her to marry into class one, but feels that if she wants to marry into the middle group (class two) it would be all right.

8. Another judge from class three would prefer that his daughter marry into class three because he believes she would get along better in this grouping. He would permit her to marry into class two, but by no means would he want to see her marry into class one.

9. A third judge from class three, a combined rating, would prefer that their daughter marry into class two because they believe that the characteristics of this class are such that their daughter would be happiest married into this group. They state, "one looks for her line (class) that comes through her inheritance, and if she attempts to marry into a higher category, she would find that the life, customs, and preparation would be different and not conducive to her having a happy life. Their daughter could marry into class three, but for her background, it would be best to marry into class two. They do not want her to marry into class one. Such a thing would be very disturbing to them.

10. The last judge from class three would not like to have his daughter marry into any of the classes that exist in San Juan Sur. He would like to provide her with a little more education and have her marry a good, honest, hard-working, middle class man of the outside. In the

event that she married within the community of San Juan Sur, he would like to have her marry into class three. He would not want her to marry into either of the two lower groups.

An analysis of the responses of the judges in San Juan Sur reveal that the major proportion (6) indicated they would like to see their daughter marry within what they considered to be their own class. The rankings which the majority of the other judges gave each individual judge, and the ranking that judge gave him or herself corresponded in all but one instance. This exception indicated that she felt her family unit to be a part of class three, while the majority of the other judges placed this family into class two. This judge indicated that she would want her daughter to marry from among the eligible males of class three, and inasmuch as she had already ranked herself as a member of this grouping, her response is included among the seven who indicated their desire to have their daughter marry within their own class.

There were two judges who indicated they would like to have their daughter marry above her class while one judge evidenced a desire to have the daughter marry into a lower grouping. One of those desiring to have their daughter marry above her present class was a family in class one, while the other was of English descent who didn't feel that any of those living in the community were quite good enough for his daughter, and would prefer that she marry some good middle class man from the outside.

The family who preferred that their daughter marry into a lower class was ranked by the majority of all the other judges and ranked themsleves as being of class three. This family philosophically indicated why

their daughter should marry into class two for her own happiness because of a background which was more suited to those in class two than to those in class three.

Marriage relations in San Juan Sur tend to be similar to visiting relations as is indicated in the fact that the both types of phenomena are largely in one or two classes. While the majority of the ten judges indicate that they would prefer their daughters to marry into their own class, a significant number of these indicated that if their daughters should want to marry into the upward class adjacent to theirs, it would be all right. The three families who preferred that their daughters marry into a different class indicated adjacent classes to be their choices.

The feeling of the various judges against their daughters marrying beneath their own class is indicated by a consideration of the responses of the seven judges who are above the bottom class in their status positions. The three judges in class two definitely do not want their daughters to marry into class one. The three judges in class three feel the same as those in class two. Two of the judges in class three do not desire a marriage below their group but would permit it.

A comparative analysis of the judges responses for the two communities reveals that in both, the large majority (70%) would prefer to have their daughters marry into their own social class grouping. Generally, when they desired that she marry into another class, it was to one adjacent to their own.

The evidence would appear to indicate the similarity between visiting relations and marriage relations in each settlement, with both being

class-typed (tending to be in one or two classes). The marriage preferences of the judges and their accompanying comments serve to provide additional evidence of the existence, and strength of barriers to intimate association existing between the classes. In both communities a number of the judges indicated an inner desire to have their daughters marry up into the top class, but recognized the difficulty, or even impossibility of such a union.

The great social distance between certain of the classes was particularly evidenced in Atirro. It is partially explainable through the wider divergence between the top and bottom classes when compared with San Juan Sur.

Another factor involved in the greater emphasis of the judges in Atirro upon the status distinctions occurring is the comparative lack of upward mobility, particularly among those of the bottom group, in relation to San Juan Sur.

As indicated by the judges comments, in both communities, though the majority favor the marriage of their daughters into their own class for the daughters' happiness, they would generally not oppose a marriage into an upper class if the occasion arose. A number of the families indicated their reactions by stating that their first choice would be for a daughter to marry into their own group and their second choice would be for her to marry into the social class above and adjacent to theirs in the hierarchical structure. The large majority of judges in both communities were definitely not in favor of their daughters' marrying beneath their social class.

There appears, however, an interesting difference between the communities in this respect. In Atirro the judges generally oppose the idea of their daughter marrying beneath their own social class, while in San Juan Sur although the judges in the second and third classes generally oppose marriage with those of the bottom group, two of the four judges in the top class (class three) indicated that while they would prefer that their daughters marry into the top group, it would be all right if they married into class two. In fact a judge and his wife in class three indicated that they would actually prefer to see their daughter marry into class two and that class three would be their second choice.

In general, however, the findings in San Juan Sur and Atirro, as indicated by the judges responses, agree with those of Warner and Lunt, that in a class system, "a positive sanction is placed on bettering oneself, making a 'fine marriage,' and a negative sanction on the opposite of 'lowering oneself' or 'marrying beneath oneself.'"[15]

The responses of the various judges, insofar as they may be representative, reveal the desire of the people generally to be upward mobile, and to improve their status positions, but at the same time recognizing the existence of class barriers to this upward movement. By virtue of the fact that they express a recognition of these barriers, they inadvertently indicate cleavages that exist as a result of them.

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[15] Warner and Lunt, op. cit. p. 92.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Concordant with the objectives of this study, the data analyzed distinguishes the following:

1. That Atirro and San Juan Sur are determinate communities, bound by bonds of interpersonal relationships, in which a large number of the chief concerns of life are satisfied. They are communities to which the people consciously identify themselves as members, and through which there is a sharing of common interests and responsibilities.

2. That the institutional structure of both communities pertinent to the present study, consists essentially of the family, education, religion, and political organization.

The family has been studied under three main classifications--as a family group, as a bio-social group and as an income and occupational group. As a family group it was determined that in Atirro the families were smaller in size and had a significantly higher death rate than those in San Juan Sur. Also in Atirro there was a lower percentage of families having both parents and children, a greater proportion of individual member families, a lower percentage of family heads being legally wed, and a significantly higher percentage of convivientes than in San Juan Sur. These facts are suggestive of a more loosely knit, and unstable society in Atirro when compared to San Juan Sur.

In considering the families with reference to the length of time they have lived in the community and the types of land and house tenure,

the evidences of instability and stability as it is found in Atirro and San Juan Sur are further substantiated. Roughly one-fourth of all the informants had lived in Atirro for less than one year at the time of schedule administration, while over 60 per cent had lived there for less than ten years. This is in contrast to San Juan Sur where approximately 3 per cent were new to the community within the twelve-month period and where 69 per cent had been residents for twenty years or more. This significantly greater mobility of those living in Atirro is a key factor in accounting for the degree of instability characteristic of that community.

One of the most effective influences affecting the degree of mobility, other than that of interpersonal relations, and the basal root from which stem the major differences in Atirro and San Juan Sur, is land tenure. The large majority or 95.00 per cent of the families in Atirro are propertyless peons who work upon the finca as jornaleros. Only two families in Atirro own fincas and one family owns a finquita. In San Juan Sur the majority of the families own either fincas or finquitas. Of the seventy-five families in San Juan Sur, sixty-one or 81.33 per cent may be considered as peasant farmers.

Relative to the contrasts of land tenure between the two communities is house tenure. In Atirro the only family owning its own home is that of the finca owner. The houses in which the rest of the families live are loaned to them for the length of time they work on the finca. Whereas in San Juan Sur, 82.67 per cent of the families live in their own homes. As indicated by the data, actually more families in San Juan Sur own homes

than own land which is indicative of the strong desire of the campesino to have his own little "casita."

When the families were categorized into bio-social groups, distinguishing elements were found only in the age and sex analysis. The high degree of racial homogeneity found in both communities is evidenced by the 96 per cent of the families in each settlement who are of Costarricense stock (Indian and Spanish ancestry).

The differences brought out by the age and sex analysis of the bio-social groups are characteristic of the particular community. In Atirro where there are greater work opportunities and free lodging, the migratory unattached men are attracted and help to boost the proportion of males in excess of females in the upper age brackets. This would also affect the number of children and young adolescents of which there are proportionately less in Atirro than in San Juan Sur. Concomitantly there are more persons in the productive age period in Atirro than San Juan Sur. In the more stable, less mobile environment of San Juan Sur there is a larger proportion of its population in the aged group and those in this group are older.

When the families were compared according to income and occupation, it was found, as would be expected, that the large majority of families in both communities are engaged principally in agriculture. In the operation of a large finca, however, there naturally occurs a division of labor which requires a greater variety of occupations than would be found in a peasant farmer community. The majority of the occupations listed in both localities need only a minimum of skill.

The cash incomes of the families living in Atirro and San Juan Sur were found to be roughly equivalent. Nevertheless, the large majority of those in San Juan Sur have material advantages such as land holdings, animals, and home-produced foods not commonly found in Atirro.

The educational institutions in both communities operate within a framework set up by national law and are more or less comparable in serving the needs of the people. The school provided in each community is limited to elementary instruction.

Religion, chiefly Catholic, in both communities may be described as only quasi-effective, though in comparison, its influence is somewhat greater in San Juan Sur than in Atirro. Catholicism as the state religion of Costa Rica has become highly institutionalized and both its dogma and customs have permeated the traditional mores. As a means of social control, however, it is, to a large degree, ineffectual particularly in Atirro, and the people of both communities stretch even the most stringent regulations.

The relatively higher percentage of convivientes and the lack of criticism concerning them in Atirro as compared to San Juan Sur is indicative of the greater breakdown in the religious mores thus relegating religion to a comparatively unimportant position as an effective means of social control.

The stronger influence of religion, both Catholic and Protestant, over those living in San Juan Sur is indicated by the frequency with which they attend church, and by the "santo" which is passed among the member families. The families in both settlements have pictures of saints in

their homes to which they pray and show reverence.

The political organization as it exists in Atirro and San Juan Sur is also an expression of national controls instituted for the safeguard of the civil rights of the people. In Atirro, which has been politically designated as a district, there is a principal police agent who sees to it that order is maintained, keeps a record of all births, marriages, deaths, etc., and sends a monthly report in to the political chief of the canton.

San Juan Sur politically is considered as a caserio and as such has one auxiliary police agent who is encharged with maintaining order in the community. Though the executive branch of goverrment in both localities is comprised of only one policeman, this is apparently adequate for the needs of the people.

3. That the interpersonal relations, as studied in five differing types of social situations remained essentially the same in the majority of cases for both communities, with substantially similar differences being manifested between the communities in the various situations.

The relationships in Atirro unveil two major clique leaders around whom are clustered a series of eight clique groupings. The clique leaders, in this instance, are also prestige leaders. The only clique not grouped around the major leaders is largely detached from the community, and is composed of the finca owner, commissary owner, and the commissary owner's father

In Atirro, the largest number of associations are among friends

followed by those occurring between relatives, with the interaction among compadre relationships being of least significance.

San Juan Sur, on the other hand, discloses twelve cliques of varying sizes characterized by intense in-group interaction and a lesser degree of inter-group association.

The large majority of the associations are between relatives, followed in order of importance by friendship relations and finally compadre relationships.

The degree of change exhibited by both communities in each of the social situations were characteristic of the situation and the community, and provided further evidence of the instability of Atirro in relation to the more stable society of San Juan Sur.

4. That through the use of sociometric techniques combined with the judges rating techniques, the social class structure, as it exists in Atirro and San Juan Sur is well defined in both instances.

As indicated by the data, there are four classes existing in Atirro, and three in San Juan Sur. It is of significance to note that the ratings of the judges were in remarkable agreement as to the number of classes existing within their community.

The major prestige and clique leader families in Atirro tend to fall largely into class two which is the highest status group in which the peons of the finca are found. The major portion of those families in classes three and four tend to be detached from the remainder of the community in their associations. By far the largest class grouping of the community is the bottom class (class one) which comprises the majority

of all families living there.

In San Juan Sur, the largest group comprising over half the community's families in class two. Three of the four top clique leaders fall into this class with the other one being in class three. Out of the five prestige leaders, four appear as members of class three and one falls into class two. Although the statuses of the major clique leaders in the two communities are not generally as high as those of the primary prestige leaders, the data suggest that in relation to their followers, the clique leaders are those who usually tend to hold the relatively higher status positions just as the prestige leaders tend to be those who hold the higher statuses with reference to the whole community.

The significance of a study such as this should be in providing information relevant to the successful introduction of desirable innovations in underdeveloped areas of the Americas with facility and effectiveness.

Among other things, an empirical study of this type attempts to construct new techniques from basic and proven principles, and to compare the results with those ascertained through utilizing methods that have been effective in other similar studies.

The methodology employed in this study could well be adapted to other cultures and environments for like purposes--inducing change.

In addition, the present study sharply outlines the differences between an hacienda and a peasant-farmer community with reference to a major variable--land tenure. The facts, as they appear, clearly indicate to some extent the role each plays in a democratic society.

The conclusions of this study tend to corroborate the contention held by Loomis and others concerning the sociological changes which occur when a people undergo the change in land tenure from peasant farmers to day laborers such as:

1. Pronounced differences in socio-economic status. There are four social classes in Atirro with the majority of families falling in the lowest class. In San Juan Sur there are three social classes with the large majority falling into the middle class.

Economically, the peons of Atirro find themselves in severe financial straits, earning barely enough to eke out a meager existence. While the families living in San Juan Sur have cash incomes comparable to those of Atirro, they generally have the advantage of being able to supply a greater or lesser proportion of their food needs from their own cultivations and domesticated animals.

2. Development of personality and individual initiative is lost. In Atirro the dependency of the families largely upon the two chief prestige and clique leader families seems to parallel their dependency with reference to life generally on the finca. The conditions of finca life provide little opportunity for progress or achievement, which results in a general decrease in incentive and interest. The peon family head can perhaps once remember when he was working towards the owning of his own little casita and finquita--but that is in the past. Now there is just the task of working to keep alive.

In San Juan Sur on the other hand, there is the general incentive to increase one's land holdings, and the opportunity to initiate the ways

and means to do so. There is a greater feeling of independence which also is paralleled by the larger number and substantially more independent clique groupings.

There are none in Atirro to compare with the initiative exhibited by the prestige leader Maximino in San Juan Sur in bringing about improvements for the common welfare of the community, nor do the people in Atirro form into work groups for the purpose of alleviating pressing communal situations such as occurs in San Juan Sur.

3. The high respect for workers and the dignity of labor decreases. This is illustrated by the low status and prestige of the majority living in Atirro as contrasted to the comparatively higher status and prestige enjoyed by those in San Juan Sur. Cheap labor such as that furnished by the peons cannot be esteemed nor can there be any measure of independence where all but the clothing on one's back and a few personal belongings are owned by one individual.

4. The greater efficiency of the family farming unit in the production of food and fiber is lost. To illustrate the differences that arise from utilizing or lack of utilization of what is learned, either from the standpoint of farming methods or from education generally is clearly shown in a comparison of Atirro and San Juan Sur. The educational systems of both communities are comparable with Atirro having one more grade of elementary school than San Juan Sur. Yet, because of a greater need to use this education in managing their own small farming enterprises, there is a higher percentage of persons in San Juan Sur who have not forgotten how to read and write. While the peon of Atirro may have to know

only how to make an "x", the peasant farmers in San Juan Sur may be required to exercise both his reading and writing abilities on various occasions during the year.

Furthermore, there is a larger proportion of families in San Juan Sur who own books thus facilitating further reading.

5. The birth rate tends to drop. As is indicated in the analysis, there is a much higher birth rate in San Juan Sur than Atirro.

6. The people are characterized by greater mobility which is conducive to a breakdown of social control. This is sharply illustrated as being the case in Atirro. In all phases of the study, the evidences point to the greater degree of mobility characteristic of the families in this community, when compared with San Juan Sur. The higher percentage of "convivientes" with a concomitant lack of criticism by others of this behavior is but one example of the effect of this mobility, in contributing to a breakdown of social control. The above indications coalesce to bring into contrast the relatively mobile and disorganized social situation evidenced in Atirro, and the more stable, and integrated social organization characteristic of San Juan Sur, and it eloquently bespeaks the possible trend of Costa Rican society, or Latin America generally, for that matter, if the change from a peasant farmer type of rural economy to control of the land holdings by large haciendas continues.

A low level of living, which seems to be intensified by the peon-patron type of relationship, is strongly evidenced in the lesser developed countries of Latin America. In an attempt to scientifically analyze the problems connected with this backwardness, and to alleviate this critical

situation, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences eventually became established. This study, which was carried out as a by product of the sociological and anthropological sub-project of the community study program being launched by the Institute, should be useful to the furtherance of the Institute's program for the following reasons:

1. It provides empirical data concerning two basic types of land tenure system--the hacienda as compared to the peasant farmer.

2. New approaches and techniques were employed which may be useful to future studies directed along this line.

3. The methodology by virtue of its being adapted to the rural Costa Rican setting may, in like manner, be adapted to other areas and environments.

4. It provides an insight into the needs of the people as well as the means by which to get at these needs--through the natural channels provided by leadership-followership patterns.

5. It provides an understanding of the culture and the people which is essential in any program designed to help and work with them.

6. It leaves room for further analysis along these same lines.

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APPENDIX A

ATIRRO

House Number	Name
1	Jenaro Rivera Molina - Jefe Clemencia Chavarria Munoz - esposa
2	Demetrio Sanabria Obando - jefe Luisa Villalobos Lopez - esposa
3	Andres Arce Fernandez - jefe Felicia Gonzalez - esposa
4	Etelvino Trejos Quesada - jefe Esperanza Rojas Gutierrez - esposa
5	Casa desocupada
6	Jose Campos Obando - jefe Aurelia Morales Aguilar - esposa
7	Jenaro Trejos Arias - jefe
8	Casa desocupada
9	Elias Ramirez Segura - jefe Graciela Viquez Viquez - esposa
10	Casa desocupada
11	Raul Granados Villegas - jefe Piedades Araya Triqueno - esposa
12	Casa desocupada
13	Casa desocupada
14	Casa desocupada
16	Casa desocupada
17	Casa desocupada
18	Jose Alfaro Gutierrez - jefe
19	Casa desocupada
20	Casa desocupada
21	Casa desocupada
22	Casa desocupada

ATIRRO (Continued)

House Number	Name
23	Casa desocupada
24	Casa desocupada
25	Casa desocupada
26	Casa desocupada
27	Casa desocupada
28	Casa desocupada
29	Casa desocupada
30	Casa desocupada
31	Casa desocupada
32	Casa desocupada
33	Rafael Salas Alvarado - jefe
34	Casa desocupada
35	Francisco Noguera Arrieta - jefe Irene Brenes Chavez - esposa
36	Victor Villegas Cordoba - jefe Juana Obares Camacho - esposa
37	Constantino Rivera Araya - jefe Miriam Araya Araya - esposa
38	Casa desocupada
40	Casa desocupada
41	Francisco Brenes Rivera - jefe Fidelia Monge Molina - esposa
42	Luis Coto Montoya - jefe Ramona Guzman Diaz - esposa
43	Francisco Achi Arguello - jefe Ana Maria Corrales Calderon - esposa
44	Jose Joaquin Zamora Zamora - jefe Luisa Ortega Garcia - esposa

ATIRRO (Continued)

House Number	Name
45	Amadeo Sanchez Romero - jefe Pastora Rojas Gutierrez - esposa
46	Ruben Ortega Arce - jefe Natalia Loaiza Hernandez - esposa
47	Gonzalo Garcia Quesada - jefe Maria Mora Arias - esposa
48	Zenon Sanchez Umana - jefe Josefa Chavarria Boza - esposa
49	Maximiliano Ramirez Ramirez - jefe Maria Ramirez Ramirez - esposa
50	Casa desocupada
51	Napoleon Ramirez Calvo - jefe Delfina Castro Gudines - esposa
52	Saturnino Ramirez Calvo - jefe Herminia Sanchez Ramirez - esposa
53	Victor Manuel Solano Barboza - jefe
54	Casa desocupada
55	Casa desocupada
56	Mercedes Azofeifa Gonzalez - jefe
57	Casa desocupada
58	Jesus Astua Cordero - jefe Florinda Hernandez Montes - esposa
59	Miguel Berrocal Quesada - jefe Leticia Gonzalez Brenes - esposa
60	Casa desocupada
61	Domingo Sancho Herrera - jefe
62	Antonio Barboza Gutierrez - jefe
63	Florindo Gonzalez Esquivel - jefe Emilia Cubero Torres - esposa

ATIRRO (Continued)

House Number	Name
64	Casa desocupada
65-A	Manuel Perez Vargas - jefe
65-B	Miguel Araya Madrigal - jefe
66	Casa desocupada
67	Lucas Quesada Flores - jefe Rosalia Avalos Castillo - esposa
68	Marcelino Rivera Araya - jefe Aurora Molina Calderon - esposa
69	Casa desocupada
70	Rafael Chavarria Munoz - jefe
71	Enrique Barboza Gutierrez - jefe Ninfa Hernandez Chavarria - esposa
72	Dimas Rivera Brenes - jefe Maria Barboza Hernandez - esposa
73	Manuel Vargas Brenes - jefe Balbina Sanabria Sanchez - esposa
74	Angel Porras Porras - jefe Josefa Marin Ramirez - esposa
75	Rafael Coto Montoya - jefe
76	Eloy Florindo Loaiza Vives - jefe Alicia Picado Chaves - esposa
77	Juan Ramon Ovares Rojas - jefe Luisa Solis Ramirez - esposa
78	Filiberto Marin Ramirez - jefe Maria Nunez Picado - esposa
79	Enrique Trejos Zuniga - jefe
80	Casa desocupada
81	Luis Rodriguez Herra - jefe Etelvina Marin Ramirez - esposa

ATIRRO (Continued)

House Number	Name
82	Miguel Sanchez Portuguez - jefe Marina Guzman Dias - esposa
83	Antonio Espinoza Berrocal - jefe Maria Martinez Loaiza - esposa
84	Jose Arias Nunez - jefe Mercedes Hernandez Montes - esposa
85	Abel Vargas Delgado - jefe Claudina Aguilar Montoya - esposa
86	Socorro Alvarado Nunez - jefe Carlota Benavides Torres - esposa
87	Marciano Benavides Rodriguez - jefe
88	Anastasio Vega Fonseca - jefe Teresa Gomez Mata - esposa
89	Casa desocupada
90	Fernando Barboza Gutierrez - jefe Juana Jimenez Ramos - esposa
91	Jaime Brenes Rojas - jefe Maria Cedeno Calderon - esposa
92	Isidro Vega Gomez - jefe Dinorah Velez Leon - esposa
93	Luciano Quesada Hernandez - jefe Oliva Coto Montoya - esposa
94	Casa desocupada
95	Casa desocupada
96	Casa desocupada
97	Manuel Granados Mena - jefe Socorro Echeverria Granados - esposa
98	Antonio Brenes Monge - jefe Margarita Cortes Quiros - esposa
99	Alvaro Rojas Quiros - jefe Victoria Eugenia Acosta - esposa

SAN JUAN SUR

House Number	Name	Type of House
1	Dagoberto Navarro Solano - jefe Dulcelina Nunez Camacho - esposa	Rancho
2	Jose Maria Obando Sanchez - jefe Rosario Camacho Vasquez - esposa	Casa
3	Trinidad Camacho Martinez - jefe Josefina Vasquez Fernandez - esposa	Casa
4	Miguel Obando Sanchez - jefe Orfelia Obando Fuentes - esposa	Casa
5	Vicente Sanchez Mendez - jefe	Casa
6	Jose Francisco Castro Perez - jefe Maria Trinidad Castillo Caritto - esposa	Rancho
7	Juan Gregorio Chacon Fallas - jefe Isolina Cordoba Alfara - esposa	Casa
8	Juan Rafael Campos Bermudez - jefe Carmen Solano Montoya - esposa	Rancho
9	Jesus Israel Barquero Fonseca - jefe Clarisa Flores Montoya - esposa	Casa
10	Jose Francisco Barquero Fonseca - jefe Zeneida Montoya Castro - esposa	Rancho
11	Alfredo Loaiza Aroya - jefe Coralia Loaiza Otarola - esposa	Rancho
12	Basilia Solano Fuentes - jefe	Rancho
13	Arturo Loaiza Araya - jefe Zelmira Loaiza Otarola - esposa	Rancho
14	Casa Desocupada	Casa
15	Rafael Meneses Camacho - jefe	Rancho
16	Felix Nunez Fuentes - jefe Joaquina Torres Alvarez - esposa	Casa
17	Odilio Flores Montoya - jefe Blanca Calderon Solano - esposa	Rancho

SAN JUAN SUR (Continued)

House Number	Name	Type of House
18-A	Maria Piedades Solano Araya - jefe	Rancho
18-B	Raul Flores Gamboa - jefe	Rancho
20	Francisco Solano Gutierrez - jefe Carmen Sanchez Rodriguez - esposa	Casa
19	Armando Flores Gamboa - jefe Rosalia Camacho Vasquez - esposa	Rancho
21	Benjamin Solano Gutierrez - jefe Anita Arias Brenes - esposa	Casa
22	Delfino Brenes McLean - jefe Maria Isabel Rivera Araya - esposa	Casa
23	Emilio Solano Hidalgo - jefe Hortensia Montoya Molina - esposa	Casa
24	Anastasio Garro Tames - jefe	Casa
25	Miguel Rivera Garcia - jefe Francisca Araya Rivera - esposa	Casa
26	Casa desocupada	Casa
27	Cayetano Flores Araya - jefe Margarita Montoya Molina - esposa	Rancho
28	Pastor Flores Araya - jefe	Casa
29	Antonio Brenes Nunez - jefe Marcelina Calderon Solano - esposa	Casa
30	Abelardo Picado Brenes - jefe Elvira Torres Jimenez - esposa	Casa
31	Antonio Camacho Vasquez - jefe Elida Ramos Cordero - esposa	Casa
32	Eduardo Chives Rees - jefe Leticia Vasquez Jimenez - esposa	Casa
33	Teresa Loaiza Loaiza - jefe	Rancho
34	Teofilo Monge Cordero - jefe Maria Luisa Barrientos Jimenez - esposa	Rancho

SAN JUAN SUR (Continued)

House Number	Name	Type of House
35	Enrique Solano Gutierrez - jefe Carmen Mora Obando - esposa	Casa
36	Misael Campos Delgado - jefe Maria Cristina Mora Obando - esposa	Casa
37	Manuel Solano Gutierrez - jefe Flora Alfaro Vasquez - esposa	Casa
38	Modesto Solano Carranza - jefe Matilda Gutierrez Gutierrez - esposa	Casa
39	Angel Brenes McLean - jefe Maria Carmen Loaiza Zuniga - esposa	Casa
40	Jenaro Meneses Camacho - jefe Josefa Vasquez Trejos - esposa	Casa
41	Juan Meneses Cedeno - jefe Ramona Camacho Martinez - esposa	Casa
42	Mercedes Chavez Cambronero - jefe	Casa
43	Bernabe Navarro Solano - jefe Francisca Camacho Monge - esposa	Casa
44	Silvano Brenes Zuniga - jefe Eloisa Meneses Camacho - esposa	Casa
45	Omar Mora Calderon - jefe Margarita Ramirez Sanchez - esposa	Casa
46	Joaquin Mora Cambronero - jefe Felicitas Calderon Aguero - esposa	Casa
47	Rafael Obando Sanchez - jefe Hortensia Sanchez Fernandez - esposa	Casa
48	Magin Molina Mora - jefe Pastora Calderon Calderon - esposa	Casa
49	Claudio Molina Calderon - jefe Carmen Camacho Gonzalez - esposa	Casa
50	Pedro Rojas Zuniga - jefe Angela Rodriguez Barrantes - esposa	Rancho

SAN JUAN SUR (Continued)

House Number	Name	Type of House
51	Ricardo Molina Calderon - jefe Josefa Sanchez Molina - esposa	Rancho
52	Gonzalo Solano Fernandez - jefe Buenaventura Molina Calderon - esposa	Casa
53	Jesus Maria Ramirez Mendez - jefe Odilia Molina Calderon - esposa	Rancho
54	Amado Tenorco Martinez - jefe Etelvina Molina Calderon - esposa	Rancho
55	Felix Mora Ramirez - jefe	Rancho
56	Jose Mora Obando - jefe Margarita Solis Sanchez - esposa	Casa
57	Rafael Mora Ramirez - jefe Angelica Obando Sanchez - esposa	Casa
58	Rafael Mora Obando - jefe Liduvina Castro Amador - esposa	Casa
59	Celimo Loaiza Garcia - jefe Ramola Brenes Loaiza - esposa	Casa
60	Rosendo Meneses Cedeno - jefe Virginia Trejos Calderon - esposa	Rancho
61	Arestides Vasquez Fernandez - jefe Luzmilda Fuentes Trejos - esposa	Casa
62	Alfredo Vasquez Fernandez - jefe Herminia Jimenez Brenes - esposa	Casa
63	Bernardo Loaiza Garcia - jefe Juana Octarula Contreras - esposa	Rancho
64	Trinidad Vasquez Trejos - jefe Maria Amelia Calvo Camacho - esposa	Casa
65	Fulgencio Alavarez Valverde - jefe Etelgive Torres Jimenez - esposa	Casa
66	Maximino Torres Alvarez - jefe Marta Picado Brenes - esposa	Casa

SAN JUAN SUR (Continued)

House Number	Name	Type of House
67	Salvador Morales Vega - jefe Delfina Camacho Gonzalez - esposa	Casa
68		
68	Odilio Meneses Camacho - jefe Jeronima Flores Montoya - esposa	Casa
69	Antonio Camacho Meneses - jefe Sofia Navarro Solano - esposa	Casa
70	Maria Concepcion Camacho Martinez - jefe	Casa
71	Luis Torres Madrigal - jefe Angela Elizondo Valverde - esposa	Casa
72	Jesus Camacho Gonzalez - jefe Alvina Picado Brenes - esposa	Casa
73	Adilio Picado Brenes - jefe Juana Barrientos Solano - esposa	Rancho
74	Higinio Picado Araya - jefe Amalia Brenes Nunez - esposa	Rancho
75	Jose Camacho Meneses - jefe Francisca Gonzalez Trejos - esposa	Casa
76	Ventura Morales Camacho - jefe Luz Molina Calderon - esposa	Casa

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

The Figures of Chapter VI and their interpretations are based upon the following data:

VISITING PATTERNS OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Visiting
1	11, 76, 2, 70
2	81, 1, 3, 86
3	86, 2
4	45, 9
6	4, 35, 7, 18, 82
7	35, 11, 4, 6
9	
11	35, 7
18	33
33	
35	18
36	46
37	
41	98
42	56, 77, 93, 75, 44, 70, 68, 43, 82
43	44
44	43, 68, 3
45	68, 36, 4, 91, 52
46	63, 58, 59, 47
47	46, 58
48	49, 47
49	53
51	52, 53, 9, 49
52	51, 9, 53
53	
56	51
58	59, 61, 97
59	
61	
62	71, 90
63	46, 58
65A	48, 79
65B	
67	
68	53, 37, 65A, 49, 65B, 36, 45, 92, 43, 42, 44, 70, 18, 3
70	1
71	72, 90, 62, 61

Family Number	Families Visiting
72	71
73	83, 88, 84, 61
74	81, 78, 75, 93, 33
75	93, 42
76	79, 87, 1, 6, 74, 78
77	72
78	76, 74, 81
79	65A, 33, 76
81	74, 63, 2, 78
82	97, 48, 87, 47, 6, 42, 83
83	62, 85, 84, 73
84	73
85	91
86	48, 87, 92, 88, 6, 79, 65A
87	86
88	52, 51, 65B, 97, 36, 77, 92, 90, 83, 73, 84, 85
90	91, 56, 72, 71, 62
91	85
92	65B, 88
93	56, 75
97	
98	11, 41, 99
99	98

VISITING PATTERNS OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Visiting
1	
2	1, 3, 5
3	1, 62, 31, 2
4	3, 2, 5, 47
5	2, 4, 6, 47
6	
7	6
8	
9	27, 11, 8
10	
11	13
12	10
13	10, 11
15	6
16	
17	29, 18A, 27, 9
18A	29, 17, 21

Family Number	Families Visiting
18B	28, 19
19	18B, 28, 18A
20	37, 18A
21	38
22	25
23	8, 21, 24
24	23, 39, 22, 25
25	22
27	28, 17, 9, 68
28	18B, 19
29	18B
30	66
31	19, 3
32	37
33	63, 34, 32
34	36, 25, 9, 32, 12, 34, 49, 31, 42, 33
35	20, 38, 58, 33, 36
36	35, 57, 34, 33
37	20, 38
38	20, 37, 35, 21
39	23, 24, 22, 32, 42, 46, 45
40	60, 41, 44, 43, 64
41	44, 16, 46, 29, 45, 17, 39, 60, 34, 31, 40, 43
42	
43	44, 41
44	16, 23, 41, 40, 42, 43
45	46, 40, 39
46	45, 50
47	4, 5
48	49, 52, 51, 76, 54, 61
49	48, 52
50	
51	
52	48, 51, 53
53	52, 51
54	59
55	
56	57
57	56, 55, 58, 47, 4, 53, 36, 35
58	57
59	
60	
61	63, 54, 62, 64, 50
62	64, 61, 63
63	62, 59
64	50
65	71, 66, 30
66	71, 65, 30, 53, 74
67	72
68	61, 73, 27, 67, 70, 69, 15
69	15, 75, 67, 68, 40

Family Number	Families Visiting
70	69, 15, 75, 68, 56, 60, 71
71	66, 65
72	76, 49, 74, 73, 70, 69, 67, 75
73	74, 12, 72
74	72, 73, 30
75	..
76	48

FAMILIES RECEIVING FIESTA INVITATIONS FROM FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Inviting
1	76, 86, 70, 11
2	31
3	2, 86, 98
4	45, 9, 7
6	35, 18, 4, 82, 7, 67
7	11, 4
9	..
11	35, 7
18	33
33	..
35	18
36	..
37	..
41	98
42	82, 70, 68, 44, 56, 77, 93, 75
43	44
44	68, 45
45	4, 67, 52, 37, 36
46	58, 47, 63, 37
47	46, 58
48	47
49	53
51	52, 9, 53
52	51, 9, 53
53	67
56	..
58	61, 47, 97
59	..
61	..
62	71, 90
63	58, 46
65A	79, 48
65B	..
67	..

Family Number	Families Inviting
68	65A, 70, 44, 18, 36, 65B, 45, 92, 51, 37, 63
70	1, 68
71	62, 72, 90
72	71
73	2, 84, 61, 83, 88
74	81, 78, 33, 75, 93
75	42, 93
76	79, 1, 6
77	72
78	81, 74, 76
79	33, 65A
81	78, 2, 63, 74
82	48, 87, 6, 83, 97
83	73, 84, 62, 85
84	73, 61
85	
86	6, 92, 88, 65B, 48, 65A, 79
87	86
88	73, 83, 84, 77, 1, 92, 36, 97, 51, 52, 85
90	72, 71, 62, 56
91	85
92	65B, 88
93	56, 75, 74
97	
98	43, 87, 11, 41
99	98, 3

FAMILIES RECEIVING FIESTA INVITATIONS FROM FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Inviting
1	
2	1, 3, 5
3	1, 2, 19, 31, 61, 62
4	2, 5, 47
5	47, 4, 2, 6
6	
7	6
8	
9	8, 11, 27
10	
11	13
12	73, 10
13	10, 11
15	6
16	
17	9, 27, 18A, 29

Family Number	Families Inviting
18A	29, 17, 34
18B	19, 28
19	18A, 18B, 28, 31
20	37
21	38
22	25, 49
23	8, 24, 21
24	25, 39, 23
27	68, 9, 28, 17
28	19, 18B
29	18A, 18B, 17
30	74, 66
31	3
32	37
33	..
34	33, 12, 7, 31, 32, 42
35	20, 38, 58, 36, 33
36	57, 34, 33
37	20, 38
38	20, 21, 35, 37
39	23, 24, 25, 22, 32, 46, 42
40	44, 43, 41, 60, 64
41	39, 29, 45, 34, 60, 46, 40, 43, 44, 16
42	..
43	41
44	42, 23, 41, 43, 40
45	39, 40, 46
46	50, 45
47	..
48	49, 76, 52, 53, 51, 54
49	48, 22
50	..
51	54, 52
52	48, 51, 53
53	52, 51
54	..
55	..
56	57
57	53, 56, 55, 58, 47, 36, 35
58	57
59	63
60	..
61	21, 3, 62, 63, 64, 50
62	61, 64, 63
63	59
64	62, 32, 50
65	30, 66, 71
66	71, 65, 30
67	72, 69
70	75, 15, 69, 71, 68, 60, 56

Family Number	Families Inviting
71	65, 66
72	73, 70, 75, 67, 76, 49, 74
73	74, 12, 72
74	73, 72, 30
75	
76	48

FAMILIES MAKING "SICK CALLS" TO FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Receiving "Sick Calls"
1	65A, 2, 3, 11, 70
2	3, 1, 86
3	2
4	7, 45, 9
6	18, 7, 35, 4, 82
7	11, 4
9	
11	7, 35
18	33
33	
35	18
36	46
37	
41	98
42	43, 44, 75, 68, 93, 77, 35, 82
43	44
44	68
45	67, 35, 4, 91, 52, 36, 68
46	47, 63, 58, 59
47	46, 58
48	47, 49
49	53
51	49, 52, 53, 9
52	9, 51, 53
53	
56	
58	47, 59, 61, 97
59	
61	
62	90, 71
63	46, 58
65A	79, 48
65B	
67	
68	59, 63, 37, 65A, 18, 86, 70, 44, 67, 43, 49, 45, 65B, 36, 51
70	1, 67

Family Number	Families Receiving "Sick Calls"
71	62, 72, 90
72	71
73	70, 83, 84, 61, 88
74	76, 78, 33, 81, 75, 93
75	42, 93
76	78, 33, 74, 6, 87, 1, 79
77	79, 42, 72
78	81
79	76
81	78, 76, 2, 63, 74
82	97, 48, 87, 6, 42, 92, 83
83	85, 73
84	90, 73, 61
85	..
86	65A, 6, 88, 92, 65B, 87, 48
87	86
88	52, 84, 73, 83, 85, 77, 92, 65B, 36, 97, 51
90	56, 72, 71, 84
91	85
92	88
93	74, 75, 56
97	..
98	41, 11, 99
99	98

FAMILIES MAKING "SICK CALLS" TO FAMILIES LIVINC IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Receiving "Sick Calls"
1	..
2	1, 3, 5
3	2, 1, 62, 61, 19, 31
4	2, 3, 5, 47
5	2, 4, 6, 47
6	..
7	6
8	..
9	11, 8, 27
10	..
11	13
12	10, 73
13	10, 11
15	6, 10
16	..
17	27, 9, 18A, 29
18A	17, 29, 21

Family Number	Families Receiving "Sick Calls"
18B	28, 19
19	28, 18A, 18B, 31
20	18A
21	38
22	25
23	21, 8, 24
24	23, 25, 39
25	22
27	17, 28, 9, 68
28	19, 18B
29	17, 18B
30	66
31	3
32	37
33	32, 34
34	12, 33, 25, 42, 39, 7
35	20, 38, 36, 57, 58, 33
36	33, 34, 35
37	20, 38
38	37, 21, 20, 35
39	22, 24, 23, 32, 42, 46, 45
40	41, 60, 43, 45
41	29, 39, 34, 32, 31, 60, 46, 44, 16, 40, 43, 45, 37
42	
43	41, 44
44	42, 23, 41, 40, 43, 16
45	40, 46
46	50
47	
48	51, 49, 76, 53, 52, 54, 64
49	48
50	
51	52, 54
52	51, 64, 50, 48, 53
53	49, 51, 52
54	59
55	
56	57
57	53, 35, 36, 58, 56, 55, 47, 5, 4
58	57
59	63
60	
61	50, 63, 62
62	61, 63
63	59
64	62, 65
65	64, 30, 66, 71
66	71, 65, 74, 30
67	49, 72
68	69, 70, 27, 9, 15, 76

Family Number	Families Receiving "Sick Calls"
69	75, 67, 68, 70, 15
70	69, 75, 67, 68, 56, 60, 15, 71
71	66, 65
72	74, 73, 70, 75, 67, 49
73	74, 12, 72
74	30, 73, 72
75	
76	48

FAMILIES CONSULTED IN CONFIDENCE BY FAMILIES LIVING IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Consulting
1	70, 65A, 11, 76
2	53, 52, 1, 81
3	
4	7, 9, 45
5	18, 35, 7, 82
7	11, 4
9	
11	35
18	
33	
35	18
36	
37	
41	98
42	75, 93, 77, 56, 82, 70, 44
43	
44	68
45	35, 36, 52, 4, 67
47	58, 46
48	
49	
51	9, 52
52	9, 51
53	
56	
58	97, 61
59	
61	
62	90
63	58, 46
65A	48, 79
65B	
67	
68	65A, 65B, 44, 67, 70, 45, 18, 46, 63, 37

Family Number	Families Consulting
70	1, 67
71	90, 72
72	71
73	61, 84, 83
74	81, 33, 75, 93
75	42, 93
76	79, 6, 1, 74, 78
77	72
78	33, 76, 81
79	33
81	63, 74, 78
82	97, 48, 78, 6, 42, 83
83	73, 84, 85
84	90, 61, 58, 73
85	..
86	87, 65A, 6, 48, 65B, 79
87	86
88	65B, 84, 73, 83, 85, 92, 97, 36, 7
90	56, 72, 71, 62
91	85
92	88
93	74, 75, 56
97	..
98	11, 41
99	..

FAMILIES CONSULTED IN CONFIDENCE
BY FAMILIES LIVING IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Consulting
1	..
2	3, 5
3	1, 2, 31, 19, 61, 62
4	2, 5, 47
5	2, 4, 6, 47
6	..
7	6
8	..
9	8, 27
10	..
11	13
12	10, 73
13	10, 11
15	6
16	1
17	9, 27, 29, 18A
18A	17, 21, 29

Family Number	Families Consulting
18B	28
19	28, 18B
20	37
21	35, 38
22	25
23	21, 8, 24
24	23, 39, 22, 25
25	22
27	68, 9, 28, 17
28	18B, 19
29	17, 18B
30	66
31	3, 19
32	37
33	34
34	7, 12, 18A, 33, 32, 42, 49
35	57, 58, 38
36	18A, 33
37	38, 20
38	20, 37, 35, 21
39	22, 24, 32, 36, 23, 42, 45, 46
40	41, 60, 44, 64, 43
41	39, 29, 33, 34, 60, 31, 44, 40, 43, 45, 46
42	..
43	41
44	42, 23, 41, 40, 43, 62
45	39, 46, 40
46	50, 45
47	5
48	54, 49, 76, 52, 51
49	48
50	..
51	52
52	48, 51, 53
53	51, 52
54	..
55	..
56	57
57	58, 35, 56, 55, 47, 4, 53, 36
58	57
59	63
60	..
61	64, 50, 63, 3, 62
62	61, 63, 64
63	59
64	32, 50
65	30, 66, 71
66	71, 65, 30, 34, 54, 53, 74
67	72
68	15, 69, 70, 9, 27

Family Number	Families Consulting
69	70, 75, 67, 15, 68
70	60, 71, 75, 69, 15, 68, 56
71	66
72	76, 49, 73, 74, 70, 69, 75, 67
73	72, 12, 74
74	72, 73
75	
76	48

FAMILIES FROM WHOM THE FAMILIES BORROW IN ATIRRO, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Borrowing
1	70, 3, 2, 76, 49, 63
2	3, 1, 81
3	2
4	7, 45, 9
6	18, 35, 7, 11, 4
7	35, 11, 4
9	
11	7, 35
18	33
33	
35	18, 11
36	
37	
41	98
42	75, 70, 44, 68, 43, 82, 56, 77, 93
43	44
44	45, 42, 43, 68
45	36, 4
46	37, 47, 63, 58, 59
47	58, 46
48	47, 49
49	53
51	9, 53, 52
52	9, 53, 51
53	
56	
58	47, 59, 61, 97
59	
61	
62	71
63	46, 58
65A	48, 79
65B	
67	

Family Number	Families Borrowing
68	65B, 46, 37, 65A, 86, 18, 70, 67, 45, 36, 44, 42, 43
70	67, 1
71	72
72	71
73	63, 92, 61, 88, 84, 83
74	81, 33, 77, 93, 75, 59
75	74, 93
76	79, 78, 6, 77
77	76, 72
78	..
79	65A, 33, 76
81	2, 63, 78
82	97, 78, 6, 48, 42, 83, 91
83	73, 82, 84, 85, 62
84	73, 90, 61
85	82, 49
86	87, 79, 1, 6, 92, 65B, 48, 65A
87	86
88	97, 36, 86, 65B, 92, 76, 90, 73, 74, 83, 84, 85
90	72, 71, 62, 56, 88, 91
91	90, 85
92	88
93	74, 75, 76
97	..
98	3, 99, 41
99	98

FAMILIES FROM WHOM THE FAMILIES BORROW IN SAN JUAN SUR, COSTA RICA

Family Number	Families Borrowing
1	..
2	4, 5, 3, 1
3	1, 2, 62, 31, 19
4	6, 3, 2, 5, 47
5	47, 4, 6, 2
6	..
7	6
8	7, 9
9	8, 13, 11, 27
10	..
11	9, 13
12	10
13	9, 11
15	11, 10, 7
16	..
17	27, 18A
18A	21, 17

Family Number	Families Borrowing
18B	
19	18B, 31, 18A, 28
20	29
21	23, 38
22	25
23	8, 18B, 21, 24
24	23, 39, 25, 22
25	22
27	17, 28
28	19, 18B, 29
29	17, 28
30	66
31	3, 19
32	42, 39, 34, 15, 37
33	34, 35, 36
34	25, 42, 12, 15, 31, 33, 18A, 36
35	36, 38
36	34, 15, 35
37	38
38	37, 21, 20, 35
39	23, 41, 45, 24, 32, 22
40	37, 41, 45, 43
41	40, 29, 16, 39, 44, 46, 45, 43
42	32
43	44
44	40, 43, 41, 16, 42
45	40, 46
46	50
47	4
48	51, 54, 61, 49, 52
49	52, 53
50	
51	54
52	51, 48, 49, 53
53	49, 51, 57, 52
54	59
55	
56	55, 57
57	56, 55, 47, 53, 58
58	55, 56, 57
59	63
60	64
61	62, 48, 50
62	63, 60, 61
63	59
64	65, 60, 62, 50, 32
65	30, 66, 71, 64
66	30, 65, 71, 74
67	68, 69, 70, 72
68	69, 70, 76, 73, 46, 27

Family Number	Families Borrowing
69	75, 67, 70, 68
70	75, 67, 68, 69, 76, 56, 64, 71, 61
71	65, 66
72	75, 67, 76, 73, 74
73	12, 72, 74
74	72, 73, 30
75	..
76	48

APPENDIX C

Turrialba, 26 de Julio, 1948

A los Feligreses de la Parroquia de La Suiza:

Esta carta es para hacerles ver que la persona que los está visitando trabaja en el Instituto de Turrialba y que está haciendo un estudio de los diferentes lugares de este cantón para conocer cómo vive la gente y cuáles son sus dificultades.

Yo tengo seguridad de que ese estudio será de grandes beneficios para todos en el futuro.

Como la persona que los está visitando tiene muy buen deseo de ayudarles, yo les pido, como sacerdote, que lo ayuden contestándole todas las preguntas que él les haga, pues yo tengo fe en que todos los nombres y datos que ustedes le den serán utilizados para un estudio y que nadie más que él y sus compañeros en el Instituto los verán.

Agustín Kreitz C. M.

Agustin Kreitz
Cura de La Suiza

Turrialba, C. R.
Julio 7, 1948

A los Feligreses de la Parroquia de Turrialba:

El portador de esta nota está participando en un estudio sobre Turrialba. El es miembro del personal del Instituto. El propósito de este estudio es puramente científico. Sus resultados serán beneficiosos tanto para Turrialba como para Costa Rica. Por lo tanto, es mi deseo que ustedes contesten las preguntas que el portador les haga, confiando que no hay la menor posibilidad de que estos datos puedan ser usados para perjudicar a las personas mencionadas, ya que son estrictamente confidenciales.

Alfonso Hoeffer H.

Pbro. Alfonso Hoeffer
Cura de la Parroquia de Turrialba

Generalidades:

Informante

Debe tratarse por todos los medios posibles, obtener la información directamente del jefe de familia. Solamente en caso de que este se encuentre ausonte de là casa, podrá solicitarse de la esposa, la información deseada. En ningún caso y bajo ningún concepto, debe interrogarse a los niños para obtener información.

La Presentación

Para explicar al jefe de la familia el propósito del estudio y para pedirle su cooperación, el enumerador debe planear su presentación teniendo en mente los siguientes puntos de vista:

1. Indicar que es miembro del Instituto
2. Explicar que se trata de llevar a cabo un estudio
3. Dejar traslucir en la conversación que otras personas tales como el Sr. Cura de esta parroquia y otròs vecinos importantes de la localidad nos están ayudando.
4. Explicar que alrededor de 600 familias serán tomadas en cuenta para el estudio que se desea llevar a efecto.
5. Advertir que toda información que suministren es absolutamente confidencial.
6. No hacerles creer que se va a ayudar directamente a la familia sino que tales estudios favorecen a las comunidades sociales, al enfocar sus problemas y sus necesidades.
7. Y finalmente pedir ayuda y cooperación al jefe de la familia entrevistado.

Métodos a seguir al formular las preguntas

Las respuestas necesarias pueden obtenerse por medio directo, indirecto, o de observación. Para obtener una información fidedigna y para mantener una actitud favorable durante toda la entrevista, el enumerador debe escoger el método más adecuado para obtener la información, tomando en cuenta la naturaleza de cada pregunta y los problemas específicos inherentes a cada caso en particular.

Cómo debe llenarse el cuestionario

1. Lea y estudie cuidadosamente el cuestionario.
2. Esté seguro de preguntar todos los datos pedidos. Escriba con claridad. No use abreviaciones excepto donde se pide especialmente.
3. Si para alguna pregunta no hay respuesta, trace una raya en el espacio correspondiente.
4. Use lápiz.
5. Si comete un error, pase una línea sobre lo escrito y escriba lo correcto en otro lugar del espacio. Trate de no borrar.
6. Cuando no es posible conseguir alguna información, debe escribirse una nota breve explicando el motivo por el cual

no se pudo obtener. Los espacios deben llenarse con cuidado, para reducir el número de correcciones.

Modo de tomar notas

Cualquier información adicional que se considere de importancia para aclarar las respuestas obtenidas, deben anotarse al reverso de cada página. Siempre que se crea conveniente añadir notas aclaratorias sobre alguna contestación, debe hacerse un círculo alrededor del número o la letra de la pregunta en cuestión, y anotar el número o la letra correspondiente a ésta al reverso de la página, inmediatamente antes de la aclaración.

Revisión de fórmula

Repase la fórmula después de cada entrevista, para asegurarse de que se han contestado todas las preguntas y de que las contestaciones y notas son completas. Revise éstas antes de salir de la casa para que las omisiones o errores, si los hubiese, puedan ser corregidos.

Materiales que debe llevar el enumerador

1. Croquis del segmento donde va a trabajar ese día.
2. Suficientes fórmulas para el trabajo del día.
3. Tablilla para escribir (clip board).
4. Lápices No. 2 ó 2½.

Instrucciones específicas

Enumerador - Escriba su nombre y apellido en el espacio correspondiente.

úmero de la fórmula - Este espacio se dejará en blanco para ser llenado más tarde.

ugar - Indique en el espacio correspondiente el nombre del lugar donde está situada la casa. Por "lugar" se entenderá la división geográfica más pequeña que el informante reconoce como tal.

echa - Indique en el espacio correspondiente la fecha completa, día, mes y año.

mbre del jefe de la familia

Debe escribirse primero el nombre y los apellidos del fe de la familia; en el caso de personas de único apellido escribirán los dos apellidos de la madre. Se tomará como fe de la familia, la persona considerada como tal, por los ros miembros de la familia.

Generalidades:

Informante

Debe tratarse por todos los medios posibles, obtener la información directamente del jefe de familia. Solamente en caso de que este se encuentre ausonte de là casa, podrá solicitarse de la esposa, la información desoada. En ningún caso y bajo ningún concepto, debe interrogarse a los niños para obtener información.

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5. Advertir que toda información que suministren es absolutamente confidencial.
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1. Lea y estudie cuidadosamente el cuestionario.
2. Esté seguro de preguntar todos los datos pedidos. Escriba con claridad. No uso abreviaciones excepto donde se pide especialmente.
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Materiales que debe llevar el enumerador

1. Croquis del segmento donde va a trabajar ese día.
2. Suficientes fórmulas para el trabajo del día.
3. Tablilla para escribir (clip board).
4. Lápices No. 2 ó 2½.

Instrucciones específicas

Enumerador - Escriba su nombre y apellido en el espacio correspondiente.

Número de la fórmula - Este espacio se dejará en blanco para ser llenado más tarde.

Lugar - Indique en el espacio correspondiente el nombre del lugar donde está situada la casa. Por "lugar" se entenderá la división geográfica más pequeña que el informante reconoce como tal.

Fecha - Indique en el espacio correspondiente la fecha completa, día, mes y año.

Nombre del jefe de la familia

Debe escribirse primero el nombre y los apellidos del jefe de la familia; en el caso de personas de único apellido se escribirán los dos apellidos de la madre. Se tomará como jefe de la familia, la persona considerada como tal, por los otros miembros de la familia.

Nombre del informante

Escriba en el espacio correspondiente el nombre completo de la persona que suministra la información. Si el informante es el jefe de la familia, puede escribirse la palabra "mismo", para indicar que es el mismo jefe quién informa. En el caso de dos o más informantes, se escribirán los nombres de todos ellos.

Información General

I. Localización de la vivienda

Por el término "vivienda" se entiende, un cuarto o grupo de cuartos, en los cuales vive habitualmente una familia. Para ser considerados como vivienda deben tener cocina, salida independiente a la calle, o ambas cosas a la vez. Por "familia" se entiende la persona o grupo de personas que habitan en una misma vivienda, unidas por parentesco natural o legal, y aquellas que sin tener lazos de parentesco han sido adoptados como miembros por el jefe del grupo. Si bajo el mismo techo hay una persona o grupo de personas a quienes no los une tales lazos, ni tienen intereses comunes con el resto de la familia, deben considerarse como familias independientes. Una persona puede estar ausente de la vivienda, y ser todavía considerado como miembro de la familia, si su ausencia no es permanente. Por ejemplo, una hija que está en los Estados Unidos en la escuela, o un hijo que trabaja fuera del lugar en que viven, serán considerados como miembros de la familia aunque estén ausentes, siempre que su ausencia sea temporal.

A. Número de la casa

Llénese este espacio con el número correspondiente a la casa, de acuerdo con la numeración indicada en el croquis que como ya se dijo, deberá llevar el enumerador.

Cuadro 1. Distancia a los centros principales de servicios y actividades, clase de camino y medios de transporte que se usan con mayor frecuencia.

Col. (1) Anótense la primera columna, los nombres de los centros de servicios y actividades que la familia frecuenta.

Col. (2.6) Clase de camino. En estas columnas ponga una marca ( ) en el espacio correspondiente a el tipo de camino que ha de transitar el entrevistado para trasladarse de su casa, a tales centros de servicios y actividades. Cuando se usan varios tipos de camino, se pondrá una marca ( ) en la casilla correspondiente, si la distancia que deben recorrer en cada tipo de camino, pasa de 100 varas. Si se usa solamente un tipo de camino, se marcará ésta sin tomar en cuenta la distancia.

Col. (7.8) Distancia. Para la anotación de la distancia, tómese el dato del tiempo que invierten corrientemente las personas entrevistadas para recorrerlo, haciendo la anotación en horas y doceavos de hora; es decir, en fracciones no menores de cinco minutos, asimilándolo a cinco cuando sea tres o cuatro, despreciando la fracción cuando sea de una o dos. Anote a esta misma información en kilómetros, o fracción de kilómetro poniendo la distancia en el número de decámetros que más se aproxima. Para convertir varas y metros a fracciones de kilómetros, consúltese la "Tabla de Medidas" en la página 22 .

Ejemplo: Una familia que tarda 13 minutos en llegar a un centro que queda a 850 varas de su casa, aparecería en las columnas 7 y 8 como sigue:

Distancia	
Horas (7)	Kms. (8)
3/12	$\frac{7,1}{10}$

Para familias que tarden menos de 5 minutos para llegar a un centro, la distancia en horas aparecería como de 1/12. En el caso de familia que vivan a menos de cien varas de un centro, la distancia en kilómetros aparecería como $\frac{.8}{10}$.

Col. (9). Medio de Transporte. Indique los medios de transporte que la familia usa más corrientemente, para ir del hogar a cada uno de los centros.

II. Información sobre la familia

A.B.I. Nacionalidad. Indique de qué país es ciudadano el jefe de la familia; si es de origen costarricense, escriba costarricense; si es naturalizado, escriba el nombre del país de origen seguido de la palabra naturalizado. Para los extranjeros, exprèse simplemente su nacionalidad: chino, polaco, alemán, etc. Repita este procedimiento para obtener la información sobre la esposa, pero si es costarricense de origen, por ley, opta con el matrimonio por la cuidadanía del marido.

A.B.2. Ascendencia . Indique en los espacios correspondientes los nombres de los países donde nacieron los antepasados del jefe de la familia, si es que él lo sabe. El enumerador debe preguntar si ha habido extranjeros en la familia, si fuera necesario aclarar el significado de la pregunta. El propósito de esta pregunta es determinar si la familia se siente que pertenece a un grupo particular, por ejemplo alemanes, polacos, chinos. Repita este procedimiento para obtener la información sobre la esposa.

C. Cuánto tiempo ha vivido Ud. en este lugar? Indique en años, meses o semanas, el tiempo que el informante ha vivido en el "lugar" en que habita en la actualidad. En casos de más de un informante, por ejemplo, el jefe y otra persona, o la esposa y otra persona, el tiempo siempre se refiere al jefe o a la esposa. Cuando quienes informan son el jefe y la esposa, el tiempo siempre se refiere al jefe.

- En la primera columna anote los nombres completos (con dos apellidos; siempre que sea posible), en el orden que han sido escogidos por el informante. En el caso de personas de único apellido, se repetirán los apellidos maternos. Si el informante no recuerda el segundo apellido de la persona a quién se está refiriendo, trace una raya inmediatamente al lado del primer apellido y ponga un signo de interrogación para indicar que no se conoce el segundo apellido (_____?_____).

En esta pregunta, como en las demás de este tipo, cuando la persona entrevistada da el nombre de una persona, escríbalo en el espacio correspondiente. Después pregunte si la persona nombrada es el jefe de aquella familia y si no es, escriba también el nombre del jefe de la familia por detrás de la página o en el espacio que queda a la izquierda de la pregunta. Cuando la pregunta se refiere específicamente a familias, siempre escriba el nombre del jefe de la familia en el espacio correspondiente.

En la segunda columna indique si estas personas son parientes, compadres, amigos o conocidos. Por el término parientes se entiende parentesco consanguíneo o político. Deberá anotarse el parentesco (hijo, cuñado, primo, tío político, etc.) siempre en relación con el jefe de la familia. Por el término "compadre" ó "comadre", se entiende la relación que existe entre aquella persona que presentó a uno de los hijos de la familia a la confirma o al bautizo, y los padres de la persona bautizada. Por ahijado o ahijada se entiende cualquier persona respecto a sus padrinos.

Por padrino o madrina se entiende la persona que presenta a otra a recibir la confirmación, bautizo o casamiento.

En la columna número tres, anote el nombre del lugar donde viven las personas escogidas por la familia entrevistada. Si estas personas viven en el mismo lugar que la familia entrevistada, escriba el nombre de ésto y el número de la casa, si fuera posible conseguirlo en el croquis; por ejemplo Aquiares #74. En caso de que las familias o personas escogidas, vivan en otro lugar, escriba solamente el nombre; por ejemplo La Doris.

Si no es posible obtener el número de la casa durante la entrevista, dejo un espacio en blanco para ser llenado más tarde, con la información correcta; por ejemplo Aquiares #_____.

En esta pregunta, así como en las otras de este tipo, se refiere a las personas que ambos cónyuges escogerían. En hogares donde falta uno de los cónyuges, la pregunta se refiere a las personas que el jefe y otro miembro (preferible adulto) de la familia escogerían. La respuesta a esta pregunta debe obtenerse por método directo.

D. Indique en el espacio correspondiente el nombre del lugar donde vivía el informante, (cuyos datos aparecen bajo "C") inmediatamente antes de venir a vivir a este "lugar". Si el informante ha vivido en este mismo lugar durante toda su vida, siempre se escribirá el nombre del lugar en el espacio correspondiente.

E. Ponga una marca (✓) en el espacio correspondiente a la contestación que se aplica al caso. Por el término "cedido" se entiende que la casa que ocupa la familia les ha sido dada en préstamo, para su uso, por el patrón o por cualquier otra persona.

F. Ponga una marca (✓) en el espacio correspondiente a la contestación que se aplica al caso. Por "solar", se entiéndese el terreno que ocupa la casa y el que está a su alrededor por uno de sus lados, siempre que sea menor de un cuarto de manzana.

G. Ponga una marca (✓) en el espacio correspondiente a la contestación correcta que se aplica al caso.

3. Hilera de casas unidas: Se entiende por este término una serie de casas contiguas que están bajo un mismo techo.

4. Piezas: Se entiende por este término, cuartos dormitorios independientes, bajo un mismo techo.

5. Patios: Se entiende por este término un grupo de casas que tienen un solar común para sus servicios interiores. Generalmente son una serie de casas de hilera, localizadas en el centro de la manzana y que no están contiguas a la calle.

H. Ponga una marca (✓) en el espacio o espacios correspondientes a la contestación que se aplica al caso. Se entiende por "colono o inquilino" la persona que por no poseer terreno propio, paga alquiler o está autorizado por el dueño del terreno para cultivarlo o explotarlo. Por "finca" entiéndese una o más parcelas de terreno, con una extensión total de cinco o más manzanas, las cuales pueden ser manejadas por el dueño, administrador, arrendatario. "Parásitos" son aquellos que, generalmente sin advertirlo, establecen sus trabajos dentro de una propiedad incrista.

Cuando una persona o compañía posee varias extensiones de terreno del mismo distrito y éstas son administradas separadamente, cada una de ellas se considerará como una finca. Si una propiedad tiene parte de su extensión en un distrito y parte en uno o más distritos contiguos, se tomará en aquel distrito en que esté la casa de habitación. Si no la hubiere, se tomará en el distrito por donde se sacan los productos. Entiéndese por "finquita" una o más parcelas de terreno, con una extensión que no alcanza a cinco manzanas. Cuando la finquita es cedida, se entiende que la explotación se lleva a cabo en beneficio exclusivo de la persona que la explota, sin que el dueño de la propiedad participe en forma alguna de los beneficios de ésta.

En el caso de una persona que sea dueña o tenga alquilado un terreno, cuya extensión sea menor de cinco manzanas, la palabra finca en H1 y H2 (según el caso) debe tacharse y escribirse encima la palabra finquita.

En cualquier caso en que se encuentren familias con terrenos, debe anotarse en la parte de atrás de la página la extensión y detalles importantes de ese o esos terrenos, para poder hacer más tarde la clasificación con toda facilidad.

2- Repítase el procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1-(página) Esta pregunta se refiere a personas que no vivan en la casa entrevistada y a quienes dejarían encargados sus asuntos en caso de ausencia.

Cuadro 2. Características demográficas.

Col. (1) Anóte los nombres de los miembros de la familia que viven en la casa.

Col. (2) (Parentesco con el jefe del hogar). En está columna se escribirá el grado de parentésco de cada miembro, con el jefe de la familia (hijo, esposa, sobrina, etc.) o la condición bajo la cual vive la persona en la casa (hijo adoptivo, etc.)

Col. (3) Se debe usar la inicial "M" para indicar sexo masculino y la inicial "F" para indicar sexo femenino.

Col. (4) Indique en el espacio correspondiente la edad de los distintos miembros de la familia, en años cumplidos, si son mayores de un año, o en meses o dias si son menores de un año. Ejemplo: En el caso de un niño de tres meses, se escribirá tres meses y en el caso de un hombre de 42 años y 11 meses, se escribirá 42. Si se trata de años se escribirá sólo la cantidad. Si se refiere a meses o días, se escribirá la cantidad acompañada de la palabra meses o días. Ejemplo: 8 meses.

Col. (5) Indique el nombre del lugar donde nació cada miembro de la familia. Si nació en el extranjero indique solamente el nombre del país.

Col. (6) Indique en el espacio correspondiente el estado civil de cada miembro de la familia. Indique si la persona es menor (si tiene menos de 14 años), ó si tiene 14 años exactos o más, anótese como soltero, casado, viudo, o divorciado, en los casos especiales, si es separado o conviviente. Estos últimos dos casos son estados sociales, pero la ley civil no los reconoce.

Para averiguar en una forma indirecta sin herir susceptibilidades, si una pareja es conviviente, pregúntese al informante cuánto tiempo hace que contrajeron matrimonio, dónde se casaron y cuál fué el sacerdote que los casó. Puede ser que los pocos convivientes que quieren aparecer como casados podrán decir (mintiendo) el lugar donde se casaron, y el tiempo que hace de su matrimonio, pero ninguno le dirá el nombre del padre si no fueron casados por un sacerdote. Así se puede saber si son convivientes o casados.

Col. (7) Indique la religión a que pertenecen los distintos miembros de la familia. Para indicar que son católicos use la abreviatura "C". Para indicar que son protestantes use la abreviatura "P".

Col. (8) Indique el último grado de escuela cursado por cada miembro de la familia. Se indicará con "P" primaria, "S" secundaria, "U" universitaria y el número de años cursados. Por ejemplo, si llegó hasta el final del cuarto grado de primaria se escribirá "P4"; si llegó hasta el final del segundo de secundaria "S2", y si cursó el quinto de universitaria "U5".

Col. (9) Escriba "si", si el miembro de la familia está aún en la escuela. Escriba "no", si el miembro de la familia no está en la escuela.

Col. (10) Trate de obtener esta información de un modo indirecto durante la entrevista. Se puede averiguar (por ejemplo) si los varios miembros de la familia saben leer por mostrarles la carta del Padre Católico para que ellos lo lean.

Para saber quienes saben escribir puede dejarse llenar unos blancos del cuestionario con las contestaciones de las preguntas. En el caso de una persona que lee y no escribe o vice versa, haga una explicación en la parte de atrás de la página. Solamente en último recurso debe hacerse la pregunta en una forma directa. Indique "si" o "no".

Col. (11) Indique la clase de actividad a que se dedica, esto es, agricultura, comercio, industria (fábrica), capitalista, servicio público, profesional, servicio doméstico, servicio personal, sin actividad económica, etc.

Col. (12) Se refiere a la ocupación ó profesión que tiene la persona, por ejemplo, si es doctor, carpintero, ebanista, maestra, jornalero, etc. Si una persona tiene varios oficios, por ejemplo, si es músico y barbero, se anotará el oficio en

que la persona trabaja la mayoría del tiempo.

Col. (13) Indique el oficio o profesión que ejecutaba cada miembro de la familia inmediatamente antes de conseguir el trabajo que tiene en la actualidad.

Col. (14-17) Indique el ingreso aproximado que aportó cada miembro de la familia durante los últimos 12 meses. Puede obtenerse esta información por varios métodos. Si se consigue el ingreso por día, semana o mes, se debe preguntar qué parte del año pasado trabajó y si recibió el mismo sueldo durante los últimos 12 meses. Usando esta información se puede determinar el ingreso anual aproximado durante este período. También debe tomarse en consideración cualquier ingreso adicional que haya recibido la familia, por ejemplo, un premio de lotería, ingreso por concepto de trabajos hechos durante horas no laborables, pagos de cesantía y pre-avisos, etc.

Miembros Ausentes: Considéranse como tal aquellos miembros de la familia que están ausentes del hogar al tiempo de la entrevista y que han vivido fuera del hogar más de la mitad del tiempo, durante los últimos doce meses. Se entiende que los hijos casados, si viven fuera del hogar, no se tomarán como miembros ausentes, ya que forman una familia aparte.

-3- Repítase el procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1-(Página--)

Cuadro 3. Miembros muertos de la familia.

Col. (1) En esta columna indique el sexo de cada uno de los miembros de la familia. Ponga "F" para indicar femenino y "M" para indicar masculino.

Col. (2) Indique en el espacio correspondiente la edad que tenía cada uno de estos miembros de la familia al morir. Si eran menores de un año al morir, indique la edad en meses o días cumplidos; si eran mayores de un año, indique la edad en años cumplidos.

Col. (3) Indique en el espacio correspondiente el año en que murió cada uno de los miembros fallecidos.

Col. (4) Indique en esta columna el lugar donde vivían los distintos miembros fallecidos de la familia al tiempo de su muerte.

Al hablar de miembros muertos de la familia no se tomarán en cuenta las pérdidas que haya tenido la esposa, pues realmente, para los efectos civiles, esos hijos no han nacido y por consiguiente no pueden haber muerto.

-4- Repítase el mismo procedimiento seguido en la página -1-(pag.--

Cuadro 4. Delineación de la Comunidad

Col. (1) Servicios y actividades. En esta columna se encuentra una lista de los servicios y actividades que se han determinado como de importancia suficiente, para ser incluídos en esta sección de la delineación de la comunidad. La importancia se determinó de acuerdo con el uso que un número de familias entrevistadas, hacía de estos servicios. Los servicios y actividades eliminados, fueron usados tan esporádicamente, que no se consideró necesario incluirlos en la lista final. Por "servicios y actividades" se entienden aquellas funciones en las cuales el individuo participa y coopera junto con otros miembros de la sociedad, para satisfacer diferentes necesidades de aspecto sociales y económicos de la vida. Todos los servicios y actividades serán definidos usando como base el lugar donde las personas satisfacen estas necesidades. Por ejemplo, si un hombre tiene una vaca y vende la leche que ésta produce, a sus vecinos, se considerará, para el propósito de este estudio, igual que una lechería que produce leche en gran escala. De la misma manera, una tienda que vende pan, se considerará igual que una panadería que hace y vende pan y otros productos tales como pasteles, galletas, etc. Si por ejemplo, un hombre en Aquiares compra pan en el comisariato, tres veces a la semana, y compra otros productos en la panadería de Turrialba, dos veces al mes, la información deberá aparecer como sigue:

Servicios y actividades	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades	Frecuencia conque participan de estos servicios y actividad			
		Diariamente	Veces por Semana	Veces por mes	Veces por año
f. Panadería	a. Aquiares b. Turrialba		a. 3	b. 2	

Col. (2) Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades.

Indique los lugares donde la familia participa o participaría de estos servicios y actividades. Si hay más de un lugar, anote los nombres de éstos en orden de importancia cuando esto sea posible. Para propósito de identificación marque cada lugar (a), (b), (c), (d), de acuerdo con el orden de importancia. Ejemplo: una familia que compra su ropa en San José, Turrialba y La Suiza, comprando la mayor parte en Turrialba y la menor en La Suiza, aparecerá como sigue:

(a) Turrialba (b) San José, (c) La Suiza.

Si la familia no participa de estos servicios y actividades, anote el lugar donde ellos indican que participarían de éstos en caso de necesitarlos, y si la familia no sabe donde irían para participar de éstos, apúntese "no lo saben" en la

columna número dos.

Col. (3-6) Frecuencia con que participan de estos servicios y actividades.

Indique la frecuencia con que la familia ha usado durante los últimos doce meses, cada uno de los servicios enumerados en la columna número uno. Si los ha usado diariamente, ponga una marca (√) en el espacio correspondiente. En los otros casos indique las veces por semana, mes o año que la familia usó estos servicios. Si en la columna número dos se anotó más de un centro, indique en las columnas tres a seis la frecuencia con que la familia usó cada centro. Al hacerlo, use la misma letra que identifica al centro en la columna número dos. Ejemplo: Si la familia compró ropa en (a) Turrialba una vez al mes, en (b) San José dos veces al año y en (c) La Suiza una vez al año, aparecerá en la columna tres como sigue:

Frecuencia en el uso

Diariamente (3)	Veces por semana (4)	Veces por mes (5)	Veces por año (6)
		(a) 1	(b) 2 (c) 1

Si los miembros de la familia han participado en los servicios y actividades enumerados en la columna número uno durante años anteriores pero no durante los últimos doce meses, escriba en el espacio correspondiente "no lo han usado". Si los miembros de la familia nunca han participado de estos servicios y actividades, escriba en el espacio correspondiente "no lo usan".

Si al contestar la columna número (2) con referencia al lugar donde participan o participarían de los distintos servicios y actividades, como por ejemplo, en el caso de verdulería, la familia informa que producen todas las hortalizas en la casa, se deberá escribir en las columnas 3-6 con referencia a la frecuencia en el uso "producido en la casa". Si la familia compra algunas hortalizas una vez a la semana en Aquiares y produce el resto en la casa, llene las columnas 3-6 como sigue:

Servicios y actividades	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades	Diariamente	Veces por semana	Veces por mes	Veces por año
C. Verdulería	Aquiares		1 (lo demás producido en la casa)		

En el caso de una familia que ha vivido menos de un año en el lugar que habitan en la actualidad, se llenará el Cuadro 4. como sigue:

(1) En cuánto a todos los servicios y actividades que se ocupan diariamente, por semana o por mes,--si la familia ha vivido en el presente lugar por más de una semana o mes--, se apuntarán los nombres de los centros que están frecuentado o que frecuentarían para disfrutar de estos servicios y actividades, en la columna dos; con la frecuencia con que participan o participarían de éstos, en las columnas 3-6.

(2) En el caso de los servicios y actividades que se ocupan unas cuantas veces al año,-- o por mes o semana en el caso de una familia que nó ha vivido por más tiempo en el lugar -- escriba en la columna dos, los nombres de los centros que frecuentan o frecuentarían en la actualidad para participar de éstos servicios y actividades. Si fueron a estos mismos centros para participar de éstos, mientras que vivían en otro lugar o lugares donde han vivido durante los últimos doce meses; se pueden llenar las columnas 3-6 con la frecuencia en el uso incluyendo todo el último año.

En el caso de que los centros que ellos ocuparon mientras vivieron en el lugar o lugares anteriores sean diferentes de los que están ocupando en la actualidad, anótese al reverso de la página, siguiendo las instrucciones dadas en las Generalidades bajo el párrafo "Modo de tomar notas", los nombres de los centros que frecuentaron antes, y la frecuencia en el uso, durante esa parte del último año que la familia vivió en el lugar o lugares anteriores y visitaron los centros indicados.

(3) En cuanto a los servicios y actividades que la familia no ha usado durante los últimos doce meses, pero que si han ocupado alguna vez durante su vida, se anotará en la columna dos, el lugar donde ellos participarían en la actualidad de tales servicios y actividades, escribiendo en las columnas 3-6, las palabras "no lo han usado".

En el caso de que la familia nunca haya ocupado tales servicios y actividades, se escribirán las palabras "no lo usan" cubriendo las columnas 3-6, sin alterar la columna dos.

En el caso de que los servicios y actividades que no se han usado durante el último año, pero que se usaron anteriormente en el mismo lugar en que se usarían ahora, no hay necesidad de hacer ninguna aclaración, más, si el lugar en que se participó de tales servicios y actividades, no es el mismo que se frecuentaría en la actualidad, se anotará en esa forma al reverso de la página.

I. Centro de Negocios

g. Ferretería: Se entiende por ferretería la tienda que se especializa en la venta de artículos tales como: instalaciones, maquinarias, herramientas y equipo para el hogar y la finca. En caso de que la familia compre algunos de estos artículos en una ferretería de un pueblo, y otros en la ferretería de una localidad diferente, se deben anotar los nombres de ambos pueblos, con la correspondiente frecuencia en el uso en cada caso.

j. Cantina: Esta respuesta debe obtenerse por métodos indirectos. No debe tratarse de conseguir la frecuencia, pero sí se debe tratar de conseguir información sobre si usa este servicio o nó.

5- Repítase el procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1- (Página---)

II. Actividades Sociales

Visitas: Para obtener información sobre este tópico, se hace necesario explicar á la familia que como regla general, hay dos tipos de visitas, las visitas de cumplido y otras visitas informales. a. Visitas de cumplido: Aquellas visitas para las cuales la familia o algunos miembros de ésta se visiten, se arreglan, y sacan tiempo especialmente, con el propósito de visitar a algún conocido, como por ejemplo, en caso de nacimiento, muerte, o por invitación especial. Estas visitas se hacen de acuerdo con un plan premeditado.

Cuando se encuentra que la familia no ha hecho visitas de cumplido durante el último año escriba "no lo han hecho". Si nunca han hecho tal clase de visita escriba "no lo hacen".

b. Otras visitas informales. Este tipo de visitas se refiere a la costumbre de ir a ver a un conocido o a un pariente, para conversar y para relacionarse con las personas más íntimas.

Generalmente, el compañerismo es el objetivo de la visita; por ejemplo, ir a la casa de un amigo o pariente a charlar o a pasear por la tarde, o invitar unos amigos para que vengan de paseo.

c. Lugar de reunión con amigos. Indique en el espacio correspondiente, el sitio donde se reúne con mayor frecuencia el jefe de la familia con sus amigos. Por ejemplo, anote si el sitio de reunión es la cantina, la pulpería, la calle, la casa del vecino, el comisariato, etc.

III. Educación.

a.b. Escuela (primaria y complementaria). Indique en el espacio correspondiente en la columna número dos, el lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios. Si han usado estos servicios durante la vida de cualesquier miembros de la familia, pero no los han usado durante los últimos doce meses, escriba "no lo han usado". Si nunca han usado estos servicios escriba "no lo usan".

En el caso de que ellos asistieron a la escuela primaria o complementaria en años anteriores, pero no durante los últimos doce meses y el lugar o lugares donde participaron de estos servicios, no sea el mismo donde participarían ahora, escriba en la columna dos, el centro donde participarían ahora de éstos, y en las columnas 3-6 escriba "no lo han usado". Entonces en la parte de atrás de la página anote el lugar donde en la actualidad usaron estos servicios.

.6- Esta pregunta se refiere al tipo de visita clasificado como "otras visitas" en la sección de actividades sociales (IIb). Debe preguntarse inmediatamente después de haber hecho las preguntas sobre visitas, en la sección de actividades sociales (II a.b.) para que el entrevistado conteste ambas preguntas (b-6-) con referencias al mismo tipo de visita. En esta pregunta repita el mismo procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1- (página---).

Col. (1-4) Indique la frecuencia con que los miembros de la familia entrevistada visitan a las familias cuyos nombres aparecen en esta pregunta. Si lo hacen diariamente, ponga una marca ( ); en los otros casos indique las veces por semana, mes o año que la familia visita a estas familias.

IV. Salud:

a. Unidad Sanitaria: Incluye ésta, todos los servicios que ofrece la Unidad, doctor, dentista, enfermera, farmacia.

b. Hospital de Seguro Social: Incluye este término todos los servicios que ofrece el hospital: doctor, dentista, enfermera obstétrica, farmacia y hospitalización.

c.d.e. Dentista, Doctor y Enfermera Obstétrica "particular": por el término "particular" se entiende que estos profesionales trabajan todo el tiempo o parte del tiempo independientemente del Hospital del Seguro Social y de la Unidad Sanitaria y que gene-

ralmente cobran honorarios por sus servicios.

Enfermera Obstétrica: por este término se entiende una persona que está autorizada oficialmente para atender partos.

f. Partera: por este término se entiende una persona que sin tener licencia que la autorice a practicar esta función, atiende partos.

g. Curandero: por este término se entiende una persona que sin tener preparación académica que lo capacite, ni licencia que lo autorice a practicar la medicina, toma la responsabilidad de atender casos y recetar medicinas.

h. Farmacéutico: por este término se entiende una persona que está debidamente preparada y que tiene licencia que lo autoricen a preparar medicamentos. Además, debido a sus conocimientos sobre farmacia, la gente acude a él en busca de recetas y consejos.

Al preguntarlo al informante si visitan al farmacéutico, se entiende que es con el fin de que los cure de alguna dolencia y no únicamente a comprar medicinas, pues eso se contesta en I. i. del Cuadro 4.

-7- Repita el mismo procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1- (Página--)

V. Religión

Acción Católica: organización religiosa que está compuesta por varios ramos tales como Juventud Obrera Católica, Liga Obrera Católica, y otras.

1. Lugar donde trabaja Ud. Indique el lugar donde trabaja el jefe de la familia. Si el jefe no trabaja, indique el lugar donde trabaja el principal sostén de la familia.

Cuadro 5. Alimentos y otros artículos vendidos. Si la familia produjo artículos para la venta, proceda a contestar esta pregunta. Si no produjo estos artículos, trace una raya a lo largo de los espacios en blanco.

Col. (1) Enumere los distintos artículos que la familia vendió durante los últimos doce meses.

Col. (2) Indique la cantidad vendida durante los últimos doce meses de aquellos artículos enumerados en la Col. (1).

Col. (3) Indique el lugar donde la familia vendió estos artículos.

2. Si la familia produjo artículos principalmente para consumo en el hogar, enumere éstos en el espacio correspondiente.

Trace una raya a lo largo de los espacios en blanco, si la familia no produjo artículos para consumo en el hogar. Por "principalmente" se entiende más de la mitad de la cantidad producida.

3. Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente a la contestación que aplica al caso.

-8- Repita el mismo procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1- (Págin

Condición Económico-Social

1. Indique el número de cuartos (aposentos) en la casa incluyendo dormitorios, cocinas, cuartos de baño, etc. que estén bajo el mismo techo. Indique el número total de personas que viven en la casa (incluyendo sirvientes y otras personas que duermen en la casa).

Si algún miembro de la familia ha estado ausente del hogar por más de seis de los últimos doce meses, para propósito de esta pregunta no se incluirá en el número total de personas que vive en la casa.

2. Indique el número total de sirvientes que trabajan en la casa. Incluya lavandera, jardinero, niñeras, sirvientes, etc., siempre que trabajen todo el tiempo para la familia.

3. Indique si la fachada de la casa está pintada, encalada o sin pintar. Por "pintada" se entiende que se ha usado pintura de aceite o pintura de agua. Por "encalada" se entiende que se ha usado una mezcla de cal y agua.

4. Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente para indicar si la familia tiene o no un radio.

5. Obtenga esta información de un modo indirecto. Incluya solamente los libros que pertenecen a la familia y no los prestados.

6-7. No haga estas preguntas, ya que la información correspondiente se obtendrá en otra sección del cuestionario.

Cuando esté muerto el esposo, o la esposa, o cuando no haya ninguno de ellos, trace una raya en el blanco correspondiente para indicar que no hay tal persona en la vivienda. En caso de que hay esposo o esposa en la vivienda pero no han cursado ni un grado en la escuela ponga un "0" en el blanco correspondiente.

Estas preguntas son aplicables no solamente en el caso de matrimonios legales y matrimonios convivientes sino también en aquellos casos en que una mujer declara que es soltera pero tiene hijos y ha establecido un hogar. En este último caso se

debe contestar la pregunta (6) con referencia a la educación de la mujer que es considerada como jefe de la familia.

8. Esta pregunta debe contestarse refiriéndose al cuarto de baño de mejor categoría en la casa.

a. Completo y moderno: se entiende por tal, un cuarto de paredes de mosaico, con todas las instalaciones y accesorios de material importado (cromados) y que generalmente consta de todas las piezas necesarias (lavamanos, jabonera, excusados, aspersión y tina, toallero, etc.)

b. Aspersión, con paredes de concreto o zinc: se entiende por tal, un cuarto de paredes de concreto o zinc, cuyas instalaciones y accesorios son sin duda, mejores que el común (material galvanizado).

c. Aspersión, con paredes de madera: se entiende por tal un cuarto de madera con accesorios de material galvanizado.

d. Tina rústica (baño): receptáculo usado corrientemente para bañar niños y en el cual pueden bañarse adultos también.

9. Refrigeradora y Nevera - La diferencia entre refrigeradora y nevera es que la primera produce su propia refrigeración mientras que la otra requiere hielo.

10. Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente para indicar la clase de cocina que tiene la casa.

a. Un cuarto especial de la casa - Se entiende por este término un cuarto de la casa destinado únicamente a los servicios de la cocina.

b. Un cuarto aparte de la casa - Se entiende por tal, un cuarto que está completamente separado de la casa y destinado a los servicios de la cocina.

c. Parte de la sala - Se entenderá que la cocina es parte de la sala cuando la familia cocina habitualmente en la sala.

d. Caedizo - Se entiende por tal, una construcción junto a la casa, consistente de un techo y generalmente sin paredes laterales, que sirve de cocina.

11. Facilidades para cocinar - Las clases de cocina se han clasificado de acuerdo con los tipos de combustible que usan. Esto con el propósito de facilitar la clasificación de los varios tipos de cocina que se hallen. Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente para indicar la clase de cocina y combustible que usa la familia.

a. Leña

(3-4) Fogones: diferencia entre fogones colocados sobre un armazón y los colocados directamente en el suelo.

b. Carbón

(1) Anafre: hornilla pequeña para cocinar con carbón.

c. "Canfín"

(1) Cocina que usa kerosina como combustible y que es construída de hierro.

d. Electricidad

(2) Calentador: Se entiende por este término una hornilla eléctrica.

12. Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente a la contestación que aplica al caso.

13. Indique en el espacio correspondiente si algún miembro de la familia duerme en la sala habitualmente.

14. Equipo para dormir en la sala - Conteste esta pregunta afirmativamente en el caso de que esté a la vista en la sala algún mueble para dormir, tal como: cama, catre, hamaca, tijereta, etc. Contesto esta pregunta solo por observación.

15. Piso de la sala - Ponga una marca en el espacio correspondiente para indicar qué clase de piso hay en la casa de la familia entrevistada.

b. Tablas ásperas - Se refiere este término al piso de tablas sin pulir.

c. Tablas lisas y uniformes. Se refiere al piso de tablas bien pulidas, niveladas y bien terminadas. Se diferencia de las tablas ásperas, no en el tamaño sino en el acabado y la calidad de la madera.

e.f. Ladrillo y Mosaico - Se diferencian estos términos en que el ladrillo generalmente es de un solo color, la superficie es más áspera especialmente en las orillas y su terminación es de peor calidad, siendo menos uniforme que el mosaico. El mosaico, por el contrario, es generalmente de diseños de varios colores y su terminación en general es de más alta calidad.

g. Tablas finas - Se entiende por este término, el tipo de tabloncillos de maderas finas como laurel, cedro, etc. que han sido construídos tomando en consideración que el piso forme una superficie bien nivelada y sin grietas.

16. Muebles de la sala

a. Juegos

1. Baja calidad - Se entiende por tal, un juego de sillas rústicas de mala construcción, con su mesa de centro. Son hechos enteramente de madera blanca encerada y nunca son tapizados.

2. Mediana calidad - Se entiende por tal, un juego de sillas no bien pulidas, barnizadas o medio charoladas, y generalmente hechas de madera, (cedro, laurel) con su mesa de centro. Algunas veces tienen asientos tapizados, pero generalmente sin resortes.

3. Alta calidad - Se entiende por tal, un juego de sillas bien construídas con su mesa de centro y otros muebles tales como esquineros, lámparas, mesitas pequeñas, etc. Son hechas de maderas finas bien charoladas, generalmente tapizadas en cuero legítimo o género floreado de alta calidad y siempre con resortes en los asientos. Las sillas pueden sèr completamente tapizadas o combinación de tapicería y charol.

b. Muebles sueltos

1. Bancos - Se entiende por tal, un asiento de madera sin respaldo en el cual generalmente puede sentarse una persona solamente.

2. Escaños - Banco con o sin respaldo y capaz de que en él se sienten dos o más personas.

3. Sillas rústicas - Se entiende por tal, sillas mal construídas, hechas generalmente de madera blanca y terminadas con una capa de cera solamente. Nunca son tapizadas.

4. Sillas finas - Se entiende por tal, sillas de buena construcción, hechas de madera tales como cedro amargo, cedro dulce, laurel, etc., bien charoladas. Generalmente tienen asientos tapizados con cuero legítimo o género floreado de alta calidad. Los asientos

5. Butacas - Se entiende por tal, una silla más ancha que la anterior y con brazos. Tiene el asiento tapizado con imitación de cuero o géneros floreados y puede o no llevar resoretes. Usualmente están bien construídas y son hechas con maderas tales como cedro, laurel, etc., medio charoladas.

17 - Tocador rústico - Se entiende por este término una tablilla o mesa en la cual se ha colocado un espejo y varios accesorios para el aseo personal, tales como peinillo, polvos, jabón, etc.

18 - Cuadros en la sala - En esta pregunta ponga el número de cuadros que tienen en la sala, ya sean originales, reproducciones, retratos, calendarios, etc. Si no tienen cuadros en la sala, ponga "0" en cada uno de los espacios correspondientes.

a. Originales - Por este término se entiende pinturas ya sea acuarela, oleo, pastel, etc. o dibujos al carbón, lápiz, etc., en los cuales se reconoce cierto valor artístico.

b. Reproducciones - Por este término se entiende copias de obras originales, cuadros recortados de revistas, periódicos, etc., incluyendo los cuadros de santos.

(2) Marco rústico - Se entiende un marco improvisado que puede consistir de madera, bambú, papel engomado, tela, etc. y que ha sido hecho por una persona no diestra.

c. Retratos - Se refiere a cualquier fotografía.

(2) Marco rústico: vea definición 18 b (2).

19. Ventanas de la sala - Ponga una marca ( ) en el espacio correspondiente al tipo de ventana predominante en la sala.

b. Ventana sin moldura, es un hueco cortado en la pared.

c. Ventana con Moldura, es un hueco cortado en la pared, pero con moldura en la parte exterior.

d. Ventana con hojas: igual a la anterior pero que está provista de un mecanismo de madera adjunto que permite abrirla y cerrarla.

e. Ventana de vidriera, un tipo de ventana en el cual el mecanismo que se usa para abrir y cerrar o que cubre el hueco con la pared consiste de vidrio.

20. Indique en el espacio correspondiente el número de estatuas y reproducciones de cuadros de santos que hay en la sala.

21. Cortinas en la sala:

a. Cortinas y Colgaduras - Se entiende por cortinas, en este caso, el lienzo transparente que cubre la ventana y por colgaduras la tela más pesada que cuelga alrededor de la ventana.

b y c. Cortinas de alta y baja calidad - Se entiende por cortina el lienzo que puede o no ser transparente y que se usa para cubrir ventanas o puertas. Se considerarán de alta

calidad, las cortinas que están bien proporcionadas, cuyos pliegues están bien hechos y que han sido puestos en forma atractiva. Si las cortinas no tienen todas estas características se considerarán de baja calidad.

22. Pregunte a que organizaciones pertenecen los miembros de la familia. Compruebe esta información mencionando los nombres de las organizaciones de la comunidad. Si la familia menciona el nombre de una organización que no ha sido incluída en la lista debe añadirse a ésta.

9- Repita el procedimiento seguido en la pregunta -1- (Página--)

R. Powell

Varas	Metros	Kilómetros
100	83.60	.8/10
150	125.40	1.3/10
200	167.20	1.8/10
250	209	2.1/10
300	250.80	2.5/10
350	292.60	2.9/10
400	334.40	3.3/10
500	418	4.2/10
550	459.80	4.6/10
600	501.60	5.1/10
650	543.40	5.4/10
700	585.20	5.8/10
750	627	6.2/10
800	668.80	6.7/10
850	710.60	7.1/10
900	752.40	7.5/10
950	794.20	7.9/10
1000	836	8.3/10
1050	877.80	8.7/10
1100	919.60	9.2/10
1150	961.40	9.6/10
1200	1003.20	10/10

I.I.C.A.- M.S.C.

ESTUDIO DE LA COMUNIDAD
SUB-PROYECTO DE SOCIOLOGIA Y ANTROPOLOGIA

CUESTIONARIO No. 1.

Enumerador_____ Planilla Nº_____

Lugar _____ Fecha _____

Nombre del Jefe de la familia_____

Nombre del informante _____

Información General

I. Localización de la vivienda

A. Número de la casa_____

Cuadro 1. Distancia a los centros principales de servicios y actividades, clase de camino y medios de transporte que se usan con mayor frecuencia.

Lugar	Clase de camino					Distancia		Medio de Transporte
	Pavimento	Macadam	De tierra (autos)	De carretas	Vereda (trillo)	Horas	Kms.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

II. Información sobre la familia:

A. 1. Nacionalidad del jefe_____

2. Ascendencia _____

B. 1. Nacionalidad de la esposa_____

2. Ascendencia _____

C. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido Ud. en este lugar?_____

-1- ¿Entre las personas que Ud. conoce, quienes considera Ud. que son las más capaces, honradas, activas y que se preocupan más por las dificultades de Uds. y de la gente de estos lugares?

	Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.			
2.			
3.			

D. ¿Dónde vivía Ud. antes de venir a este lugar? _____

E. Tenencia de la casa: 1. Propia_____2. Alquilada_____ 3. Cedida_____ 4. Otros, especifique:_____

F. Tenencia del solar: 1. Propio_____2. Alquilado_____ 3. Cedido_____ 4. Otros, especifique:_____

G. Tipo de casa: 1. De una familia_____ 2. De dos familias_____3. Hileras de casas unidas_____ 4. Piezas_____5. Patios_____6. Otros, especifique: _____

H. Formas de explotación de la tierra:

1. Es dueño de finca_____ 2. Tiene finca alquilada_____3. Trabaja en agricultura y posee una finquita_____ 4. Trabaja en agricultura y tiene finquita cedida_____ 5. Trabaja en agricultura y no tiene finquita_____ 6. "Parásitos"_____ 7. No trabaja en agricultura._____. 8. Colonia .....

2- ¿Si Ud. tuviera que salir por unos días, a quién le dejaría encargados sus asuntos?

	Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.			
2.			
3.			

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Cuadro 2. Características demográficas

Características personales							Educación			Ocupación			Ingreso			
Nombre (1)	Parentesco con el jefe de la familia (2)	Sexo (3)	Edad (4)	Lugar de nacimiento (5)	Estado civil (6)	Religión (7)	Grados cursados (8)	Todavía en la escuela (9)	Sabe leer y escribir (10)	Clase de actividad (11)	Oficio o profesión (12)	Ocupación anterior (13)	Día (14)	Semana (15)	Mes (16)	Año (17)
Jefe																
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
7																
8																
9																
10																
Miembros ausentes																
1																
2																
3																

Cuadro 2. Características demográficas

Características personales							Educación			Ocupación			Ingreso			
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Jefe																
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
7																
8																
9																
10																
Miembros ausentes																
1																
2																
3																

3- A quienes invita Ud. a los bautizos, fiestas de Navidad, matrimonios, o cualquier otra fiesta? 414

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.		
2.		
3.		

Cuadro 3. Miembros muertos de la familia

No.	Sexo (1)	Edad al morir (2)	Fecha de defunción (3)	Lugar de defunción (4)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

4- En caso de duelo en la familia, a quienes avisaría Ud. primero?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.		
2.		
3.		

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Cuadro 4. Delineación de la Comunidad

Servicios y actividades (1)	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades (2)	Frecuencia conque participan de estos servicios y actividades			
I. Centro de negocios		Diariamente (3)	Veces por semana (4)	Veces por mes (5)	Veces por año (6)
a. Tienda de ropa					
b. Tienda de comestibles					
c. Verdulería					
d Carnicería					
e. Lechería					
f. Panadería					
g. Ferretería					
h. Zapatería					
i. Botica					
j. Cantina		La usa?	Sí _____	No _____	

-5- Indique las familias a las cuales los pediría prestado si tuviera necesidad:

	Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.			
2.			
3.			

Cuadro 4. (Continuación)

Servicios y actividades (1)	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades (2)	Frecuencia conque participan de estos servicios y actividades			
II. Actividades sociales		Diariamente (3)	Veces por semana (4)	Veces por mes (5)	Veces por año (6)
a. Visitas de cumplido					
b. Otras visitas					
c. Lugar de reunión con amigos, especifiquo:____					
d. Cine					
e. Footbal					
III. Educación					
a. Escuela primaria					
b. Escuela complementaria					

-6- A qué familias visita Ud. más a menudo?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección	Diariamente (1)	Veces por semana (2)	Veces por mes (3)	Veces por año (4)
1.						
2.						
3.						

Cuadro 4. (Continuación)

Servicios y Actividades (1)	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades (2)	Frecuencia conque participan de estos servicios y actividades			
IV. Salud		Diariamente (3)	Veces por semana (4)	Veces por mes (5)	Veces por año (6)
a. Unidad Sanitaria					
b. Hospital de Seguro Social					
c. Dentista (particular)					
d. Doctor (particular)					
e. Enfermera obstétrica (particular)					
f. Partera					
g. Curandero					
h. Farmacéutico					

-7- ¿Si Ud. se enferma quienes son los primeros amigos o familiares que vienen a verle?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.		
2.		
3.		

Cuadro 4. (Continuación)

Servicios y actividades (1)	Lugar donde participan o participarían de estos servicios y actividades (2)	Frecuencia conque participan de estos servicios y actividades			
		Diariamente (3)	Veces por semana (4)	Veces por mes (5)	Veces por año (6)
V. Religión					
a. Iglesia					
b. Acción Católica					
VI. Servicios públicos					
a. Banco					
b. Correo					
c. Telégrafo					
d. Ferrocarril					
e. Camión					

1. Lugar donde trabaja Ud: _____

Cuadro 5. Alimentos y otros artículos vendidos

No.	Artículos (1)	Cantidad vendida (2)	Lugar donde los vendió (3)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

2. Alimentos producidos principalmente para el consumo de la familia. Especifique:_____

_____

_____

3. Considera Ud. que consume en la casa_____ o vende_____ la mayor parte de todo lo que produce?

-8- ¿Quiénes son las personas a quienes Ud. trata con toda confianza y con quienes Ud. discute sus problemas personales?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1._____		
2._____		
3._____		

Condición Económico-Social

1. Proporción entre cuartos y personas:

   número de cuartos_____número de personas.....

2. Número de sirvientes en la casa .....

3. Fachada de la casa:

   a. pintada.....

   b. encalada.....

   c. sin pintar .....

4. Radio: si_____ no_____

5. Número aproximado de libros que posee la familia.....

6. Instrucción de la esposa:

   grados cursados en la escuela.....

7. Instrucción del esposo:

   grados cursados en la escuela.....

8. Cuarto de baño:

   a. completo y moderno..... _____

   b. aspersión, con paredes de concreto o zinc.._____

   c. aspersión, con paredes de madera......_____

   d. tina rústica ......_____

   e. ninguno ......_____

9. Refrigeradora y nevera:

   a. ninguna....._____

   b. nevera ......_____

   c. refrigeradora "canfín"....._____

   d. refrigeradora eléctrica....._____

10. Cocina:

   a. cuarto especial de la casa....._____

   b. cuarto aparte de la casa .....,_____

   c. parte de la sala .....,_____

   d. caedizo .....,_____

11. Facilidades para cocinar:

   a. <u>leña</u>

      (1) cocina de hierro fundido (importada)..._____

      (2) cocina de hierro (hecha totalmente con láminas de metal).....,_____

      (3) fogón sostenido por un armazón....._____

      (4) fogón en el suelo .....,_____

   b. <u>carbón</u>

      (1) anafre .....,_____

   c. "canfín" (kerosina)

      (1) cocina .....,_____

d. electricidad

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(1) cocina eléctrica....._____

(2) calentador ....._____

12. Paredes de la sala:

a. pintadas....._____

b. tapizadas (empapeladas) ....._____

c. encaladas ....._____

d. forradas con periódicos, revistas o anuncios._____

e. sin nada ....._____

13. Duermen en la sala? sí_____ no_____

14. Equipo para dormir en la sala? sí_____ no_____

15. Piso de la sala:

a. tierra ....._____

b. tablas ásperas ....._____

c. tablas lisas y uniformes ....._____

d. cemento....._____

e. ladrillo ....._____

f. mosaico ....._____

g. tablas finas ....._____

16. Muebles de la sala:

a. juegos

(1) baja calidad ....._____

(2) mediana calidad ....._____

(3) alta calidad ....._____

b. muebles sueltos: número

(1) cajones ....._____

(2) bancos y/o escaños ....._____

número

(3) sillas rústicas....._____

(4) sillas finas ....._____

(5) butacas ....._____

17. Tocador rústico en la sala: si_____ no_____

18. Cuadros en la sala: número

a. originales ....._____

b. reproducciones

(1) con marco ....._____

(2) marco rústico ....._____

(3) sin marco ....._____

c. retratos

(1) con marco ....._____

(2) marco rústico ....._____

(3) sin marco ....._____

d. calendarios .....

e. otros, especifique: (_____)_____

19. Ventanas en la sala:

a. ninguna ....._____

b. ventana sin moldura ....._____

c. ventana con moldura ....._____

d. ventana con hojas ....._____

e. ventana de vidriera ....._____

20. Número de santos en la sala ....._____

21. Cortinas en la sala:

a. cortinas y colgaduras ....._____

b. cortinas de alta calidad....._____

c. cortinas de baja calidad 423

d. ninguna .....

22. Organizaciones a que pertenecen:

a. religiosas

(1) Hijas de María.....

(2) Juventud Obrera Católica.....

(3) Liga Obrera Cátolica .....

(4) Apostolado de la Oración .....

(5) Cofrádía de la Virgen del Carmen .....

(6) _____

(7) _____

(8) _____

b. económicas

(1) Confederación de Trabajadores .....

(2) _____

(3) _____

c. sociales

(1) Club Deportivo .....

(2) Club Rancho .....

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

d. cívicas

(1) Club de Leones .....

(2) Cámara de Comercio .....

(3) Masones .....

(4) _____

(5) _____

-9- ¿Qué personas escogería Ud. para que lo representaran a Ud. y a las personas de estos lugares en una comisión?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relación	Dirección
1.		
2.		
3.		