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ABSTRACT

The educational and residential (migrant and nonmigrant) characteristics of two generations from a minifundia community in rural Colombia were examined to determine the relationship between occupational attainment level and parental social class (determined by land ownership). Occupation and residence histories were obtained from a 10% sample of rural households which produced data for 204 second generation household heads, their spouses, and their siblings 16 years and older (n=1,677) and their third generation children 12 years and older (N=593). Additionally, agricultural and marketing data were analyzed. The guiding hypothesis maintained that the number of high educational and occupational levels of both generations would be meager and that representatives from the larger landowning families would attain the higher levels. Results indicated: (1) the rural-born were likely to remain concentrated in traditional positions in the agricultural or service sectors where much underemployment prevails; (2) the few rural people from higher social class positions would maintain that position from one generation to another via transfer of land or migration to urban places and entry into technical or professional positions; (3) despite industrialization, the pyramidal social hierarchy, characteristic of preindustrial society, would continue. (JC)

THE OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT FARM-REARED YOUTH: A COLOMBIAN CASE*

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I. Introduction

As traditional economies experience disruption produced in part by industrialization and urbanization, the lives of the rural-born undergo profound change. Labor demands typically stimulate migration as increased availability of technology enable labor release from agriculture, mining or fishing, without decreasing output. Rural-urban migration is a typical readjustment mechanism. Under these circumstances, rural people migrate to urban places where they enter disproportionately the semi-skilled and unskilled manual labor jobs (Scudder and Anderson, 1954 and Schwarzweller, et al., 1971). Despite this disproportionate employment in lower-level occupations, the overall occupational attainment of rural-urban migrants subsequent to migration is superior to that of rural nonmigrants as well as that of their rural-born counterparts who move to other rural areas (Scudder and Anderson, 1954; Leuthold, et al., 1967; Blau and Duncan, 1967; and Rieger, 1972). And recent evidence suggests that in the aggregate rural-urban migrants who locate in small cities, as compared to large metropolitan areas, obtain the economically and socially more superior positions (Blau and Duncan, 1967 and Rieger, 1972).

Most of these findings, however, are based on the experiences of capitalistic developed countries. Preliminary inquiries into the relationship between urbanization, industrialization, and residential and occupational mobility in developing countries of Latin America reveal the emergence of some different patterns resulting from their particular historical experiences (Dillon Soares, 1968, Hobsbawn, 1969; and Balán et al., 1973). One of the most noticeable aspects of this "new industrialization," as Dillon Soares has termed the process in Latin America, is a rapid urbanization of the population without a concomitant massive growth of the manufacturing sector. This has typically meant a phenomenal growth rate for the already large, dominating urban center and the few moderate-sized ones. Additionally, the nature of the industrialization

that has occurred differs from that experienced in developed countries. During the colonial period, Latin American economies were export-oriented tied to the mother country as suppliers of primary products in return for luxury goods to satisfy consumption needs of the wealthy. In the post-independence era, the dependent status scarcely changed as the economies became integrated into the world economies of powerful nations as suppliers of agricultural products and/or minerals. Again, light manufactured items were supplied primarily by imports and a limited number of small-scale domestic industries. As a way of dealing with severe balance of payments deficits produced by this neo-colonial status, many Latin American governments have more recently pursued import-substitution policies typically by encouraging the assembly of consumer items within their national boundaries often by subsidaries of multi-national firms. Hence, today, processing and assembly of light manufactured goods, under increasingly more highly-automated conditions, form the bulk of the industrial sector. Only recently a few countries are developing heavy industries to provide at least some of the inputs for light manufacturing.

Under these conditions of relatively capital-intensive technology, there is not the demand for large amounts of unskilled and semi-skilled labor characteristic of early industrial periods for developed countries (Hobsbawn, 1969). Rather, this type of industrialization creates a demand for relatively highly-trained personnel in the manufacturing process as well as in the growing bureaucratic sector of private industry. This, together with increased demand for governmental services in education, health and other areas, brings about new positions which carry a high degree of formal education and other formal employment criteria (e.g., certificates of training and letters of recommodations) as prerequisites for entry. In short, capital-intensive industrialization coupled with an increased reliance on formal employment criteria for both the secondary sector and the

bureaucratic positions of public and private industrial and service establishments creates productive employment opportunities primarily for the highly educated. The upshot of this, as Balan and his colleagues, among others, have pointed out, is a faster increase in demand for skilled workers, technicians, and white collar employees than for unskilled workers. So in comparison to the early industrialization of the developed countries, a greater proportion of the labor force is absorbed into the tertiary sector albeit in self-employed, low-paying, unstable positions in manual labor activities. In sum, the labor demands have expanded occupational opportunities at the higher level rather than at the middle levels as was the case during the early stages of industrialization in the developed countries.

Furthermore, the supply of labor in Latin American countries is greater than that of developed countries during their early industrial stages. For one thing, the urban population growth from natural increase is much higher. In some cases, urban population growth alone may be sufficient to meet the labor demands in the urban secondary and tertiary sectors. Yet, in these same countries, hundreds of thousands are annually squeezed out of the agricultural sector to swell the urban labor force.

The rural- and village-born movement to the cities represents both a natural increase in these areas and a decrease in productive employment in agriculture and traditional crafts. Rapid population growth in the countryside has seriously exacerbated the precarious people-land relationships, which have evolved through historical patterns of resource use and control. In the heavily populated areas, continuing deforestation and intensive cultivation of steep mountainsides by generations of rural families have left the present inhabitants a very depleted resource base for agricultural activities. With relatively few serious attempts at redistribution of large holdings in the fertile highlands and intermontane valleys, increases in the

rural population have forced further parcelization of subfamily units on marginal agricultural lands and fostered outmigration. Some formerly densely-settled areas have become virtually depopulated as rapid soil depletion forced generations of youth to seek employment in the cities and rural frontiers.

Frontier areas have not created the employment once believed possible. In general, the highly-leached tropical soils lack the natural fertility needed to sustain small-scale, intensive cultivation. Without adequate governmental assistance for initial land improvement and infrastructural development, shifting cultivation practices by colonists often lead to a rapid destruction of the fragile resource base (FAO, 1971). Furthermore, many of the colonist-cleared lands are quickly consolidated into large absentee holdings with only limited employment opportunities for the displaced families.

Meanwhile, many owners of extensive holdings on the coastal plains and in the high mountain plateaus and intermontane valleys have begun to substitute capital-intensive technology for labor as many traditional ranching and plantation operations are converted into full-scale, commercial crop and livestock enterprises. Even owners who maintain traditional ranching patterns continue to absorb a diminishing number of workers as mechanization and other labor-saving techniques become available and relatively cheap. Likewise, labor-saving technology has made heavy inroads into all but perhaps field harvesting of many large-scale field crops such as sugar cane and cotton (Soles, 1972).

In sum, large-scale agricultural expansion using both labor-saving and yield-increasing technology without any significant efforts toward redistribution of land and capital continues to uproot settlers and diminish the agricultural wage labor force as well as reduce market alternatives for small-scale producers on marginal land. Use of labor-saving technology

in the nascent industrial sector and formal employment criteria in both the industrial and service sectors means insufficient jobs for the rapidly growing internal urban labor force, to say nothing of the labor increment contributed by migration. Under these conditions, the question becomes, can the economies fully employ their burgeoning labor force.

In this paper, we attempt only to explore how the rural-born, specifically those from minifundia (small farm) families in highland Colombia, have dealt with this employment situation. What occupations have they obtained? Are they stable, remunerative ones? In the agricultural sector or outside it? Traditional or modern positions? Has their attainment varied with their educational level and family social class situation?

Our guiding hypothesis is that the number obtaining high educational and occupational levels will be meager, and that those from the larger landowning families attain the higher levels. Even in minifundia communities, families vary in their relation to the cash market system they have been a part of for decades. The income earning opportunities of these producer-sellers vary according to the amount of land owned and operated. Under an equal inheritance system, such variations theoretically ought to be a major factor in determining occupational levels of offspring. Only larger landowner families may be able to generate the income needed to enroll children in post-primary education and subsequently encourage them to leave for urban centers once local communities reach their meager capacities for trained personnel. Considering the limited availability of scholarship funds and restricted economic opportunities as small-scale agricultural production is engulfed by large-scale commercial operations, small owner families will be less likely to generate income streams sufficient to move their offspring into productive, nonagricultural positions through education or through provision of capital to ownership positions in either the agricultural or nonagricultural sectors.

II. The Study Site

The data in this paper are based on 1967 and subsequent field studies conducted in a Colombian highland municipio (local political division similar to a county) located approximately three hours by bus east of the capital city, Bogota.[1]

The municipio, part of the densely-settled region of the Eastern Range of the Andes Mountain chain, extends from about 4,800 feet above sea level to nearly 12,000 feet above sea level. Like the neighboring municipios, most of the nearly 12,000 inhabitants are crowded into the lower altitudes which have a temperate climate. In total, nearly 85 percent of the people inhabit ten percent of the land area. Twenty percent of the population resides in the only village which is located on the eastern boundary. The rural population is scattered on small plots of land on the steep mountain slopes and a few alluvial and colluvial fans. Population growth characterizes at least the past three decades. Local records reveal fertility increases and declining mortality, particularly among infants. In turn, the population is a young one--slightly over 40 percent are under 15 years.

The transportaion network within the municipio is restricted to a small extension of dirt penetration roads passable by heavy-duty vehicles during the dry season and a system of rugged trails limited to human and animal traffic. Most of the temperate climate residents live within two hours by foot from the village but perhaps as many as one-fourth of the rural families live two to five hours by horseback from their administrative and service center. The village is connected to other municipios and to a paved road linking the eastern plains and the capital of Bogota by a crushed stone road. Eight buses per day travel between the village and Bogota

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[1]The municipio is quite similar to others in the Colombian highlands with the exception that the availability of general and agricultural services is somewhat higher. Hence, generalizations from this data could be expected, if anything, to overstate the attainment levels of the rural families and their offspring.

With the exception of a scattering of primary schools in the hinterlands, local services are found in the village. Notwithstanding federal efforts to improve rural primary educational facilities, much of the increment is the result of local efforts. In the late 1960's, nearly every vereda (rural neighborhood) had a primary school; but only in the village was complete primary education (five years) available. The majority of the veredal schools had three years available. These schools were staffed almost exclusively with locally trained teachers who for the most part had completed four years of secondary training and two years of normal school.

Since the end of the 1950's the municipio has had a fairly complete secondary educational system. These include: a five-year primary school, a boys and girls vocational school, and a boys and girls secondary/normal school. In the latter, students may choose six years of college preparatory training or four years of secondary education and two years of normal school training. The staffing of the village school system has been mostly with local normal school graduates. Only about one-fourth of the boys' secondary school faculty have received some university training. The secondary/normal school facilities are semi-public, hence students must pay monthly tuition fees, a matriculation fee, an annual assessment for uniforms and books, and should they take advantage of the boarding facilities in the school, a monthly stipend for room and board. Scholarship funds are limited; in addition to a few national provincial scholarships only two local scholarships are available. Given low income levels, large family size, the relatively high cost of post-primary education and limited scholarship funds, it is not surprising that school records show only a meager portion of the rural youth from the municipio enrolled in the village secondary and vocational schools.

At the turn of the century, the land tenure system of the municipio was dominated by haciendas owned by landed gentry, who resided for the most part in the village, and operated by service tenants and other forms of tied agricultural laborers. These large estates were interlaced with a few pockets of smallholders which by and large had resulted from gradual subdivision of former collectively-held Indian lands. Over the past four decades the extensive estates have generally been divided through inheritance into smaller units and subsequently offered for sale by the heirs when they left for Bogota on terms which virtually excluded anyone without ready access to capital and credit as perspective buyers. Those who met collateral requirements for government-financed, short-term loans were primarily local merchants and members of the new salaried class, including many outsiders who staffed the public and semi-public service agencies. As population growth built up a young and abundant labor supply and national demand accompanied by relatively cheap, publicly-aided infrastructural development made commercial production more lucrative, the new landowners converted this available labor into tenants and wage laborers utilizing vestiges of the old tied-labor institutions.

Meanwhile, demographic pressure and equal inheritance patterns forced a further division of the holdings of small owners. At the same time, the scarcity of land coupled with its increasingly high commercial use-value forced rural tenants and small owner families to devote smaller proportions of their land resources to staple crops for their own consumption. The move to commercial production compelled many to enter tenancy arrangements in order to increase the size of their production unit and finance the necessary inputs. And, increasingly these rural families were relying on funds received from the sale of commercial crops to purchase the family's food and fiber. Commercial production and its accompanying demand for money to finance purchase of factor inputs and family consumption has

destroyed or drastically altered the traditional marketing system of exchange of agricultural and craft products and sale of the limited surplus. The integration into the national market destroyed many traditional occupational activities, chiefly crafts, and opened up petty commerce and "banking" occupational roles potentially as means for ascendency.

III. The Sample

An intensive interview schedule was administered to a 10 percent sample of rural households selected by means of an area sampling technique.[2] Occupation and residence histories for the 204 sample household heads and their spouses, their siblings (N=1677) and children (N=593) were collected along with detailed agricultural production and marketing data.[3]

Educational Attainment

Three-fourths of the household heads and nearly two-thirds of their spouses were essentially illiterate if one considers more than two years of primary training necessary for functional literacy in a modern society. This included 37 percent of the household heads and 25 percent of the spouses who had received no formal education and another 38 and 36 percent, respectively, who had completed only one or two years of primary education. The mean number of years of school completed for household heads was 1.5 and for spouses 2.2. Figures for male and female siblings of the household heads and their spouses were slightly higher; still only two-thirds had

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[2]The sample was designed to include all households units found in randomly selected blocks of a grid superimposed on an aerial photo.

[3]For a more detailed discussion of the study area and the findings see Wava G. Haney, "Educational and Occupational Attainment of Migrants and Nonmigrants from a Colombian Highland Community" (Ph.D. dissertation; University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Sociology, 1972). A detailed analysis of the agricultural production and marketing data is found in Emil B. Haney, Jr., "The Economic Reorganization of Minifundia in a Highland Community of Colombia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1969).

completed two years or less. Consistent with the expansion of primary education in the veredas as well as the village, the proportion completing three or more years of primary training was markedly greater among the younger age group. However, the meager increment in younger males and females studying in the secondary curriculum was not commensurate with the increase in the enrollment potential for boarding and nonboarding secondary students in the village. The mean educational level of Generation II (sample household heads and spouse and their siblings) members from large owner families is markedly higher than that of those from nonowner, or small or medium owner families.[4] Among the younger members the magnitude of difference is about four years; for the older siblings it is slightly over two years. In general terms, the younger children of large owner families complete primary and usually some post-primary schooling, while those from all other families complete two or three years of primary school. In other words, only the children of large landowners are usually able to take advantage of the educational facilities located in the village.

Increased availability of primary education in the rural areas and secondary education in the villages has upgraded education attainment so that 60 of every 100 sons and daughters 12 years and older of the sample households (Generation III) were functionally literate. This represents a doubling of the functionally literate population from one generation to another. Still most rural youth receive only two or three years of primary education. Only 9 of every 100 males and 16 of every 100 females had completed post-primary training. Offspring of large owner families tended to have superior levels of education. Likewise, offspring of large producer

[4]Parental social class was measured by landownership categorized according to employment criteria. The categories are: nonowner; small owner, less than three hectares; medium owner, 3 to 9.99 hectares; and large owner, 10 or more hectares.

families had received more education.[5] However, large producers were most frequently medium or large owners since tenancy arrangements usually served only to give sufficient land to place a family in the next closest land category. Therefore, except among the few nonowner families who operated medium and large units, tenancy arrangements did not sufficiently improve income earning opportunities so as to alter educational opportunities for their children. Large ownership and medium and high income were the factors that distinguished primary educated from post-primary educated.[6] Close proximity to the village compensated somewhat for meager ownership and low net farm and family income usually by ensuring more primary education.[7]

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[5]Our initial analysis of land tenancy and annual income for sample households revealed differences between the amount of land owned and the amount of land in the production unit. Nonowners entered into tenancy arrangements to become producers and many land owners either operated additional land in tenancy or gave out some of their land under tenancy arrangements. In addition, both the mean and medium incomes from family production enterprises and any wages or salaries earned by the family members were directly related to size and a rank-ordering of the type of production units (amount of land operated and tenure of land operated). Accordingly, for members of Generation III we examined the mean level of educational attainment using four different measures of parental class situation--amount of land owned, amount of land operated, tenure of land operated, and net farm and family annual income.

[6]The income categories were established on the basis of the going non-agricultural wages in the area in 1967. They are: very low, under 25 pesos per day; low, 25 to 39 pesos per day; medium, 40 to 79 pesos per day; and high, 80 pesos and over per day. The coversions to U.S. dollars, made at the official exchange rate of 1 pesos = .059 U.S. dollars, are: very low, under $383 per year; low, $383-$613 per year; medium, $614-$1,226 per year; and high, $1,227 or more per year.

[7]For example, children of nonowners as well as those from low and very low income families, living near the village had attained three to four years of primary education rather than one to two. In most cases this does not represent attendance at the village primary school where uniform and book costs are higher, but rather the earlier availability of three and four years of primary education at the veredal level as teachers became available and they preferred employment close to the village where they usually lived.

Geographical Mobility

Ninety-five percent of the sample household heads and spouses were born in the municipio; the others were from neighboring municipios. About 80 percent had never lived outside the municipio. The majority of the males who were returned migrants had worked as farm laborers or as tenants in the Llanos Orientales or the coffee zone and the majority of the females had worked as domestic servants in Bogota or neighboring municipios.

At the time of the study, 22 percent of the siblings of the sample household heads and spouses had migrated outside the municipio, principally to urban centers of 100,000 or more. However, the place of settlement for males and females differed in two important ways. Male migrants were more likely to settle in other rural areas, villages, and small towns; those who were rural-urban migrants settled in a variety of cities. On the other hand, 75 percent of the female migrants have gone to large urban centers, chiefly Bogota. The percentage of males migrating to other areas was inversely related to amount of land owned by parents. Moreover, sons from landless and small owner families were more likely to have gone to rural areas while those from medium and large landowning families were overwhelmingly urban migrants. However, the percent of females migrating varied only slightly with the size of parental landholdings. And, regardless of the amount of land owned by parents, daughters were most likely to have settled in large urban centers. Although they were few in absolute terms, a greater proportion of both males and females with post-primary education had migrated than those from any other educational level. Male migrants with no education were essentially equally distributed between the rural and urban areas, while the greatest proportion of unschooled females migrated to urban areas. All migrants with post-primary education were residing in urban areas. In contrast to their parent-siblings, one-third of Generation III males and females 25 and over were residing outside the municipio; one-

fourth of those 12 to 24 had already left. And, in comparison to their parent siblings, many fewer were residing in rural areas outside the municipio. Indeed 70 percent of the females and 60 percent of the male migrants to urban areas were living in Bogota. Looking just at those 25 years and older for whom migration should be nearly complete, again we observe the importance of non-ownership of the productive resource land in "pushing" rural-born people to other areas. For example, one-half of the children from nonowner families had migrated. This compared to from one-fifth of the children from large owner families. Sons of nonowner, low income families were especially prone to migrate --two-thirds compared to one-fourth of the sons of large owner, high income families. The importance of nonownership is underscored by the limited differences in the proportion migrating according to the amount of land operated by the parents. In other words, regardless of the amount of land parents operate under various tenancy agreements, knowledge that there will be no land inheritance seems to foster migration. With respect to education, male migration is highly selective of the functionally illiterate and the most highly educated. While some of the post-primary trained males initially take positions in the municipio as a source of employment most, if not all, eventually migrate to attractive openings in Bogota or other urban centers. None of the rural migrants have received post-primary training; indeed most were functionally illiterate. The educational selectivity pattern for females differs however. The post-primary educated females are most likely to have migrated. However, the proportion of post-primary educated females who migrate is much lower than the proportion for males.[7]

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[7]This is mainly accounted for by more females than males attending the local vocational school; those who attend the vocational school are not so likely to migrate as those who attend the normal school. The apparent reasons for this pattern is that vocational school training can be utilized within the municipio while the more specialized normal school training offers fewer alternative outlets.

IV. The Findings

With a greater understanding of the study area and the educational and residential characteristics of the sample, let us now examine the level of occupational attainment and its relation to parental social class and educational attainment for these two generations from a minifundia community in the Colombian highlands. We have argued that the sons and daughters of the landless and smallholders caught in the population-mechanization-resource deterioration squeeze will be forced to sell their labor in the rural or urban unskilled labor market despite penetration of more and more governmental agencies designated to improve rural services and consequently agricultural productivity&income. Only those from comparatively large landowner families will have the capital and/or access to credit or educational opportunities to obtain sizeable agricultural or commercial enterprises or to enter the more stable and remunerative blue or white collar occupations.

Occupational Attainment-Generation II

Indeed we found that mean occupational scores were higher for Generation II males if they were more educated and if they had been born to large owner rather than nonowner, small or medium owner families.[8] (See Table I) The combination of post-primary education and medium or large parental landownership resulted in the highest mean occupational scores. A few children from nonowner and small owner families had received post-primary education and attained relatively high level occupations. However, males from nonowner and small owner families were overwhelmingly members of the small owner and manual labor occupations. The more advanced their age the more likely they had become petty owners of either agricultural or commercial establishments.

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[8]Parental social class was measured by landownership categorized according to employment criteria. The categories are: nonowner; small owner, less than three hectares; medium owner, 3 to 9.99 hectares; and large owner, 10 or more hectares

The nonmigrant males were primarily agricultural producers. Nearly two-thirds of those engaged in agricultural pursuits owned at least part of their production unit while most of the remainder were service tenants. But nearly three-fourths of those reporting ownership have less than three hectares. Utilizing either the traditional figure of three hectares or that of five hectares established by the CIDA studies for the Andean Region of Colombia as the standard for a viable income and employment producing land unit, a maximum of one-third or one-fourth would qualify. Over one-fourth of the land owners possessed a title to less than a hectare. Less than 10 percent owned 10 hectares or more--what we have termed a large landowner in this community. Whereas inheritance of marriage partners, gifts, and purchases enabled many sons of nonowners to receive title to very small plots of land, almost all the owners of five hectares or more were sons of large owners. A more detailed analysis of male household heads helpsus understand the occupational pattern for many of those owning less than three hectares. Among the male household heads, slightly over one-half were full-time agricultural producers while another fourty-three percent devoted part-time to their agricultural production units and part-time to varias secondary occupations, mostly as agricultural day laborers, fresh produce peddlers, or livestock traders.

When compared to nonmigrants, a greater proportion of the sons of non-owners, small, and medium owners who had migrated to rural areas had become landowners. But most of the landowners were 45 years and older who had left prior to 1950 and were under 25 years when they migrated. The more recent rural-rural migrants were employed primarily as tenants, managers, or farm laborers and 15 percent were members of the seasonal migrant agricultural labor force, and "worked in what they could find" the remainder of the year.

Nearly 7 out of every 10 rural-urban migrant males held blue collar positions. Two of these seven were craftsmen in small-scale construction

projects or semiskilled workers employed in small industrial concerns; another two were employed in protective or personal services; one each as chauffeurs of public transport vehicles, petty merchants or peddlers, and freight loaders, street sweepers, or road repairmen. In most cases the contractors, industrial owners, or merchants for whom the migrants worked, were former residents of the municipio who had established contact with these workers through kinship or pseudo-kinship networks. Another one of every ten were employed in lower-level governmental, community and business service positions. Most were clerical workers in state or federal governmental bureaus or in banks and private companies. The others were primary school teachers or members of religious orders; two had reportedly earned law degrees attending night classes and now had established their own law firm. The remaining two of every ten had no identifiable stable employment.[9]

Migrant females were more likely to be employed in the nonfamily labor force than nonmigrant females. Slightly over one-half of the migrants were employed in nonhousehold activities. Slightly over one-third of the female migrants in nonfamily labor force positions worked as domestics while an additional one-fourth performed other personal services (waitresses, prostitutes, laundresses, cooks, etc.). One-fourth were petty merchants or peddlers and one-sixth were clerical workers, nuns or primary school teachers. Among the nonmigrant females two-thirds were full-time housewives while another one-fifth were employed in the family labor force as domestics. These included unmarried, mentally and/or physically handicapped females who lived primarily with siblings and helped with household and farm chores in return for room and board, and single females living with parents and therefore not in complete charge of household responsibilities. Nonmigrant females employed in the nonfamily labor force are primarily domestics; ten are petty merchants and peddlers and five are primary school teachers.

[9]One of these two was occasionally employed in manual jobs, e.g., "alla anda trabajando en lo que encuentre"; another was seeking work, e.g., "tenia tal puesto, pero ahora vive con su tia, o mi hermano."

In numerical terms, certainly few of the Generation II males had attained a reasonably secure and remunerative occupation position. Considering that owners of three hectares or more (in this case seldom exceeding 25 hectares), lower-level professionals, clergy and clerical workers are the most economically remunerative and secure occupations in which males entered, 22 out of 100 Generation II males had attained such a level. At least 11 of these 22 are owners of three to ten hectares of land (medium owners). But, again, we find substantial differences between high occupational levels and more extensive parental landholdings. For every 100 Generation II males from medium and large owner families, 38 had attained high occupational levels by our definition. This compared to 11 out of every 100 sons of nonowners and small owners. Among the females where the nonfamily labor force participation was greatly reduced, 9 out of every 100 daughters of medium and large owners compared with only 2 of the daughters of nonowners and small owners were employed in the lower-level professions, religious orders or clerical positions.

Occupational Attainment-Generation III

The somewhat higher educational level of Generation III males and females might suggest that occupationally they would be less concentrated then their parents and parent-siblings in manual labor and petty enterprises. However, such reasoning would fail to take into account the nature of the increase in educational attainment as well as the nature of the shifts in the Colombian occupational structure. Indeed, it is questionable whether additional education is sufficient to maintain Generation III in the same relative position as Generation II. The youthfulness of Generation III mitigates against our being able to deal as precisely as desired with this very important question. While we have caught most of Generation II at their maximum level of occupational attainment, our data for Generation III are biased toward the first job, which we know does not necessarily correspond to the highest level of attainment in any individual's occupational history.

This difference notwithstanding, those over 25 years will provide some general indication of any shifts in occupational attainment from generation to generation.

As seen in Table II, there is no clear direct relationship between parental class situations and mean occupational scores; in fact, an inverse relationship is found for certain age and migrant categories. But a detailed examination of the data suggests trends in the hypothesized direction. Extraordinary nonfamily assistance[10] rendered to three sons of a nonowner coupled with extensive family labor force participation by sons of large owners accounted for the reversal. And we might expect that future inheritance by sons of large owners may provide instantaneous movement to an occupation with a considerably greater score while sons from any other parental landownership category would have limited opportunities for movement to higher ranked occupation.

Moreover, the averaging obscures some important variability within parental landownership categories. While the agricultural sector was absorbing nearly two-thirds of the older and younger sons from all parental landownership categories, the type of position differed considerably. Sons of nonowners were primarily agricultural laborers and tenants while sons of large owners were operating the family agricultural enterprises on a full-time basis with their fathers. The older sons of small and medium owners were evenly divided between tenancy and ownership. But, most of the younger sons of small owners contributed to the family labor force on a part-time basis. Indeed, even though they supplemented their family labor with off-farm employment as agricultural laborers, many in this group remained unemployed during parts of the year. The labor of the younger sons of medium owners was absorbed on their fathers enterprises on a full-time basis.

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[10] The local parish priest befriended a veredal leader allegedly for political favors by arranging employment and scholarships to finance the secondary education of three sons.

Additionally, data from the younger sons reflect the differential educational attainment and consequently earlier entry into the labor force of sons of small owners and nonowners. Younger sons of medium and large owners retained student status longer or are employed in the family labor force. There were no sons of nonowners who were students, and only 10 percent of the sons of small owners were in school, nearly all in primary. However, 21 and 26 percent of the sons of medium and large owners were enrolled as post-primary students.

Three-fourths of the nonmigrant males were nonowners who operated production units as tenants under either sharecropping or service tenant agreements or provided labor input to the parental enterprise. Most of the other nonowners worked as agricultural day laborers; they were primarily under 25 years of age. Only 10 percent had become owners; 60 percent of the owners had titles to less than three hectares of land. The 10 percent not employed in agriculture were engaged in petty commercial ventures as merchants or chauffeurs, or were miscellaneous service employees. Aside from two secondary school teachers and a local bureaucrat the service employees have low-paying positions.

Looking only at nonmigrant males absorbed in agriculture, two-thirds of the younger age group were members of the family labor force as part-time or full-time family farm laborers or as service tenants, i.e., they operated a separate production and consumption unit. The fully-employed, full-time family farm laborers worked about 300 days per year on the family enterprise in a nondecision-making capacity. They are primarily from large owner families. Even with additional land received under tenancy arrangements, many families still have operating units too small to productively employ all the family labor force. Consequently, one-third full-time family farm laborers were underemployed; most were from families operating less than three hectares. Some sons of small owners who were absorbed into the family labor force

found part-time work in the nonfamily labor force as agricultural day laborers (two-thirds) or as sharecroppers on their own or with their fathers (one-fourth).

Compared to their parent-siblings, older male migrants to urban areas had slightly higher mean occupational scores. The difference seems to stem from a lower rate of periodic unemployment even though fewer had been absorbed into clerical, lower-level professional, and small proprietor positions. Seven of every ten of these migrants were employed in the tertiary sector. Two of these were ex-military conscripts or volunteers who were presently members of the national police force. Another two were miscellaneous service employees as messenger boys, short order cooks, bakery employees and power company employees. Two others were employed as nonmanufacturing laborers, primarily in freight loading jobs for bus companies and in miscellaneous day labor positions. Except for a priest, a secretary and two sales clerks, the other one in ten were engaged in petty commerce as drivers for taxi or bus companies, peddlers or petty proprietors.

The secondary sector employed 2 of every 10 Generation III male migrants. One of these was engaged as semi-skilled or unskilled industrial labor in small firms and the other one typically worked in the construction trades as a contractor on petty jobs or as an employee of subcontractors, many of whom had been born in a municipio and in some cases retained a residence there. The remaining 1 in 10 were almost evenly divided between unemployment and studying. With the exception of a small owner's son who was receiving support from the ecclesiastical order that administered the secondary school he attended, all of the secondary students were sons of medium and large owners. Three students had matriculated in post-secondary professional training curricula -- two of them for training as agricultural technicians at the para-professional level and the other in a pre-veterinary program at a university in Bogotá. The latter's father was one of the largest land owners in the sample and had one of the largest holdings of any full-time municipio resident.

For females, the data shows an overwhelming tendency for family labor force participation. Nonfamily labor force participation was greatest among two groups, daughters of nonowners and the post-primary educated who most often are daughters from medium and large owner families. However, the type of occupation into which females from these parental landownership groups were absorbed differed markedly. Daughters of nonowners most often became domestic servants or unskilled laborers. Only five percent were students. On the other hand, all of the daughters of large owners in the nonfamily labor force were lower-level professionals and clerical workers. And among the younger daughters of large owners slightly over one-fourth were pursuing post-primary studies.

The most important occupational data for female nonmigrants are their participation in the family labor force. Only 20 percent were employed in nonfamily occupations, one-half of whom worked as domestic servants usually for village families. The others were nearly evenly divided among dressmakers, primary school instruction and petty commercial endeavors. One-half of the family labor force members were full-time housewives and family farm laborers. Another two percent worked as laundresses in addition to their housekeeping roles. Thirty-eight percent were family domestics; that is, although not the decision maker on housekeeping matters they contributed labor to the household chores -- primarily laundry and meal preparation -- as well as farm chores such as tending animals. Finally 10 percent of the family labor force members worked in nonhousehold activities in addition to being part-time family domestics. Generally, the secondary occupations of these part-time family domestics were agricultural day laborer and domestic servant.

Migrant females were more likely to enter the nonfamily labor force than nonmigrants; sixty-four percent had entered the nonfamily labor force. Four of every ten nonfamily labor force employed worked as domestic servants and one as a prostitute. An additional 1 in 10 were engaged in each of the

following: in petty commerce as peddlers, in nonfamily retail shops as sales clerks and as seamstresses in their homes or small manufacturing firms. Two in ten were para-professionals or office workers.

Overall, then, the occupational level of Generation III is quite low. Certainly this is a young population, the majority of whom cannot be assumed to have reached their peak occupational attainment. Still, despite receiving more schooling than their parents and parent-siblings, only five percent were engaged in an occupation which might be considered reasonably remunerative and secure. Presently, there are no large landowners; slightly more than one percent are engaged in lower-level professions; and, another four percent are medium landowners. Even with the addition of those presently pursuing post-primary studies, the proportion of members of Generation III obtaining economically remunerative and secure positions would not reach 15 percent. Inheritance of larger plots by the sons of large owners who presently are family farm laborers would only add another two or three percent.

For the other four-fifths of Generation III presently employed in low-paying, unstable positions -- such as family or nonfamily laborers and tenants on small agricultural holdings; domestics and other personal or protective service workers; petty commercial agents and petty craftsmen; or frieght loaders, construction workers, and semi-skilled laborers in small industrial enterprises -- possibilities for obtaining more stable, high-paying occupations are bleak. The bulk of them possess neither the quantity of education, capital, or contacts to penetrate the prerequisities for the limited number of viable occupations. At best, they may enter reasonably well-paying temporary jobs like construction, or become low-paying but perhaps more secure landowners.

What clues does the present analysis give us about employment of people from minifundia communities in economies where labor supply exceeds productive employment demands and the existing demands are chiefly for positions with formal employment criteria, particularly post-primary education. It suggests that unless conditions change drastically prospects for remunerative employment in the rural areas are very dim. Within these densely populated areas, continuing concentration of the productive means in the hands of an eroding elite, and more importantly a newly emerging administrative and commercial elite, denies rural families access to the kinds of employment opportunities that are essential to the alleviation of perpetual poverty. There is a massive concentration of people on meager production units incapable of absorbing their labor. Increasingly, these family units sustain themselves through a multiplicity of income-earning relationships. They enter service tenancy and often sharecropping arrangements as well, with village and sometimes rural landlords to receive land or inputs necessary to produce commercial crops. Frequently, the landlord is a village merchant who also extends consumer and producer credit during the interim between harvests. In addition, the underemployed family farm laborers find periodic employment as agricultural day laborers in the municipio or as members of seasonal harvesting crews. The women work as part-time domestic servants, and the family as peddlers of fresh agricultural produce.

Moreover, previous opportunities to gradually move up the so-called agricultural ladder while somewhat available to past generations[11] seem quite remote for the many underemployed and unemployed of the present generation. For one thing, small producers face increasing competition for factor and product markets from large-scale producers. Secondly, their resource base is rapidly deteriorating.

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[11]Some sons of nonowners gained title to very small plots of land through inheritances of marriage partners, gifts or purchases; a few sons of small owners added to their inherited property by land purchase.

Drawn increasingly into cash markets by profit-minded commercial and land-owning interests, small producers have abandoned many of their traditional intercultivated subsistence crops in favor of clean-cultivated row crops which seriously threaten the fragile ecological balance. Without proper soil and water management techniques, the fertile top soil quickly erodes from the mountainous plots and chokes the valleys and waterways with sediments. Therefore, reclining yields as a result of fertility losses, disease, and insect damage, together with fluctuating prices for products and rising costs of fertilizer and pesticides, have driven a number of small producers back to subsistence crops.

Productive employment opportunities in less densely populated rural areas are not much greater. As the less productive frontier areas become filled and as large-scale merchanized agriculture takes over in the fertile inter-montane valleys and coastal plains, it appears that opportunities for migration out of congested rural areas to productive employment elsewhere in rural areas will diminish. To be sure, these areas may absorb significant streams of migrants as they are squeezed out elsewhere, but most of these migrants are likely to become agricultural wage laborers with limited bargaining power.

For those who elect to go to the urban areas, the employment picture appears to be mixed. On the one hand, the children of the petty owners and nonowners can expect intense competition for menial jobs from the children of urban workers. Through kinship and pseudo-kinship networks a few may find employment in small industrial and building contracting ventures launched by former residents of the municipio. Military veterans may join the national police force or private protection forces as watchmen. But most will become service workers -- the females as domestics, the males as garage, transport, packinghouse, etc. workers -- or nonmanufacturing laborers sweeping streets or floors, or shoveling materials on road crews.

On the other hand, those children from the relatively few large and medium owner families may expect to find viable positions in the lower levels of the ever-growing private and public bureaucracies. However, they too will be facing growing competition from children of urban bureaucratic, technocratic, and commercial employees who will likely have a comparative advantage over their rural counterparts because of their established contacts and knowledge of the prerequisites. This disadvantage will undoubtedly grow as the educational opportunities expand differentially for urban youth compared to rural youth.

In sum, the rural-born are likely to remain concentrated in traditional positions in the agricultural or service sectors where much underemployment prevails. The few rural people from higher social class positions will maintain that position from one generation to another by transfer of land or by migration to urban places where they find employment in lower-level, white collar, technical or professional positions. On a macro level, this implies despite urbanization and industrialization a continuation of the pyramidal social hierarchy characteristic of preindustrial society. These ideas remain to be tested, hopefully, by longitudinal analysis of this and other samples.

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TABLE I

Mean Occupational Level of Generation II by Amount of Land Owned by Generation I, Migration Status, and Educational Level[a]

Educational Level of Generation II	Amount of Land Owned by Generation I (Hectares) None	0.01-2.99	3.00-9.99	10+	Total
Nonmigrant Males - <35					
None	3.1	4.0	4.0	-	3.7
	(9)	(9)	(5)	(0)	(23)
Primary	3.4	3.3	3.4	4.6	3.4
	(24)	(59)	(34)	(10)	(127)
Post-primary	0.0[b]	-	5.0	8.0	5.2
	(2)	(0)	(4)	(4)	(10)
Total	3.1	3.4	3.6	5.6	3.6
	(35)	(68)	(43)	(14)	(160)
Migrant Males - <35 years					
None	1.0	-	3.3	-	1.7
	(7)	(0)	(3)	(0)	(10)
Primary	3.1	4.2	4.4	5.0	3.9
	(16)	(19)	(10)	(1)	(46)
Post-primary	-	0.0	7.0	8.0	4.0
	(0)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)
Total	2.4	4.0	4.3	6.5	3.5
	(23)	(20)	(14)	(2)	(59)
Nonmigrant Males - 35+ years					
None	4.0	4.2	4.2	5.8	4.2
	(52)	(50)	(33)	(5)	(140)
Primary	4.1	4.1	4.7	5.8	4.6
	(44)	(66)	(78)	(41)	(229)
Post-primary	4.0	8.0	5.5	5.3	5.8
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(7)
Total	4.0	4.2	4.6	5.8	4.5
	(97)	(117)	(113)	(49)	(376)
Migrant Males - 35+ years					
None	3.2	4.9	2.4	6.3	3.9
	(12)	(10)	(7)	(3)	(32)
Primary	2.6	2.6	4.4	4.4	3.3
	(25)	(27)	(27)	(8)	(87)
Post-primary	8.0	7.5	7.7	7.0	7.5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(8)
Total	2.9	3.4	4.3	5.9	3.7
	(38)	(39)	(37)	(13)	(127)

continued...

Educational Level of Generation II	Amount of Land Owned by Generation I (Hectares) None	0.01-2.99	3.00-9.99	10+	Total
Nonmigrant Female - <35 years					
None	0.9	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.8
	(9)	(6)	(1)	(1)	(17)
Primary	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.3
	(51)	(52)	(39)	(3)	(145)
Post-primary	0.0	1.7	0.0[b]	2.7	1.5
	(1)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(14)
Total	0.3	0.2	0.6	2.1	0.4
	(61)	(61)	(44)	(10)	(176)
Migrant Female - <35 years					
None	0.8	1.2	5.0	-	1.3
	(5)	(6)	(1)	0	(12)
Primary	2.1	0.9	3.0	5.0	1.9
	(24)	(14)	(5)	(1)	(44)
Post-primary	0.0	2.0	8.0	8.0	5.7
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(6)
Total	1.8	1.0	4.5	7.0	2.1
	(30)	(21)	(8)	(3)	(62)
Nonmigrant Females - 35+ uears					
None	0.6	0.1	0.4	1.5	0.4
	(46)	(41)	(28)	(4)	(119)
Primary	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
	(67)	(69)	(83)	(24)	(243)
Post-primary	0.0	5.3	3.3	1.0	2.5
	(3)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(13)
Total	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.5
	(116)	(113)	(115)	(31)	(375)
Migrant Females - 35+ years					
None	1.2	1.5	3.8	5.0	1.8
	(17)	(14)	(4)	(2)	(37)
Primary	2.0	0.3	1.7	3.4	1.4
	(21)	(33)	(25)	(7)	(86)
Post-primary	3.0	-	5.0	4.6	5.4
	(2)	(0)	(2)	(5)	(9)
Total	2.0	0.6	2.2	4.1	1.8
	(40)	(47)	(31)	(14)	(132)

[a]Generation II refers to the sample household heads and spouses, and their municipio-born siblings 16 years and older who were still alive at the end of 1967; Generation I are their parents.

[b]Most members of this cell are students.

TABLE II

Mean Occupational Level of Generation III by Amount of Land Owned by Generation II, Migration Status, and Educational Level[a]

Educational Level of Generation III	Amount of Land Owned by Generation II (Hectares) None	0.01-2.99	3.00-9.99	10+	Total
Nonmigrant Males -<25 years					
Primary[b]	2.3	1.3	1.5	0.2	1.3
	(16)	(56)	(32)	(18)	(122)
Post-primary	-	2.3	0.0[c]	0.0[c]	1.0
	(0)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(7)
Total	2.3	1.3	1.4	0.2	1.3
	(16)	(59)	(34)	(20)	(129)
Migrant Males -<25 years					
Primary[b]	3.5	4.6	3.0	-	4.0
	(12)	(9)	(7)	(0)	(28)
Post-primary	-	0.0[c]	0.8[c]	0.0[c]	0.5
	(0)	(1)	(6)	(3)	(10)
Total	3.5	4.1	2.0	0.0	3.1
	(12)	(10)	(13)	(3)	(38)
Nonmigrant Males - 25+ years					
Primary[b]	3.1	3.3	3.0	2.9	3.3
	(9)	(43)	(21)	(14)	(87)
Post-primary	6.7	4.0	7.0	-	6.2
	(3)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(5)
Total	3.8	3.3	3.2	2.9	3.4
	(12)	(44)	(22)	(14)	(92)
Migrant Males - 25+ years					
Primary[b]	4.2	4.1	4.8	4.3	4.9
	(12)	(18)	(12)	(6)	(48)
Post-primary	8.0	-	5.3	5.0	5.7
	(1)	(0)	(3)	(2)	(6)
Total	4.5	5.1	4.9	4.5	4.9
	(13)	(18)	(15)	(8)	(54)
Nonmigrant Females -<25 years					
Primary[b]	0.9	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.4
	(13)	(34)	(24)	(8)	(79)
Post-primary	-	2.0	1.1[c]	1.6[c]	1.5[c]
	(0)	(5)	(7)	(5)	(17)
Total	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.6
	(13)	(39)	(31)	(13)	(96)

continued...

Educational Level of Generation III	Amount of Land Owned by Generation II (Hectare)				
	None	0.01-2.99	3.00-9.99	10+	Total
Migrant Females -<25 years					
Primary[b]	3.0	2.1	3.5	-	2.5
	(7)	(16)	(4)	(0)	(27)
Post-primary	-	0.0	0.0	7.5	3.0
	(0)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(5)
Total	3.0	1.9	2.8	7.5	2.6
	(7)	(18)	(5)	(2)	(32)
Nonmigrant Females - 25+ years					
Primary[b]	0.8	0.2	0.7	1.4	0.6
	(6)	(39)	(35)	(8)	(88)
Post-primary	1.7	0.0	1.4	4.0	1.5
	(3)	(3)	(5)	(2)	(13)
Total	1.1	0.2	0.8	1.9	0.7
	(9)	(42)	(40)	(10)	(101)
Migrant Females - 25+ years					
Primary[b]	0.4	2.5	1.3	2.5	2.4
	(5)	(23)	(11)	(2)	(41)
Post-primary	7.3	2.2	8.0	-	5.4
	(4)	(4)	(2)	(0)	(10)
Total	3.4	2.5	2.4	2.5	3.0
	(9)	(27)	(13)	(2)	(51)

[a]Generation II refers to the sample families and Generation III to their municipio-born children 12 years and older.

[b]This category includes a few reporting no formal education completed; in total 33 of 520 individuals.

[c]Most members of this cell are students.