SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN A COSTA RICAN TOWN

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Location map of Costa Rica. (Taken from: León, Jorge. Land utilization in Costa Rica. Geographical Review 38(3): 444-456. 1948; map on page 447.)

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FOREWORD

The town of Turrialba is located on the eastern edge of the central highland plateau in Costa Rica. It is the place where the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, (I. A. I. A. S.), a research and educational branch of the Organization of the American States, has its main research center. Within the last four years the town and the adjacent farm districts of the Canton of Turrialba have been the subject of an extensive study by research workers mainly from North American universities, including prominently Michigan State College workers, and from Latin American countries. The present paper is a part of this series of research projects.

Many of these studies have had as a nucleus the Community Development Project of the Department of Economics and Rural Life of the Turrialba Institute. The project seeks to study the conditions prevailing in the rural communities in such areas as social organization, communication, health, education, and agricultural economics in order to find and test methods utilizing to the best advantage the resources that may be mobilized to speed progress.

It is understood that human relations and human resources are of primary concern to the technical development projects. Whatever the current problem, whether increased food production, soil conservation, the improvement of sanitary conditions, the action programs should comprise the study of existing human capacities, interests, values and spontaneous social trends prevailing in the areas concerned. The failure to see the role of human determinants in a deliberately changed external situation might prove wasteful to the engineering agencies' efforts, or even jeopardize the prevailing degree of social cohesion.

Action programs are realistic only if they are carried out by the people themselves. Many social institutions or established social policies can be traced back to the unsystematic, spontaneous tendencies among the people themselves. These traces should be discovered, evaluated, and those in line with the action program should be rationalized and embodied in the planned actions.

Few social phenomena have such an immediate bearing upon the analysis of these factors of human spontaneity as those centered around the concept of social stratification. The preferred order of social rewards, as it is perceived by the people themselves and depicted in the structured class pattern, reflects not only the pursuit of individual goals but also the integrated norms and goals of the entire society.

This work intends to measure and explain various components of social class and class consciousness in the Turrialban town. It was made possible through the opportunity offered by the I. A. I. A. S. to the writer to study at the Institute and later to work there during 1949-1950.

The writer is in debt for this arrangement to Dr. Ralph Allee, Director of the INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES and to Dr. Julio O. Morales, Head of the Department of Economics and Rural Life. The writer wants to extend his gratitude to Drs. Charles Loomis, Heikki Waris, Veli Verkko, Armas Nieminen and Mr. Antonio Arce who have offered valuable criticism during the work. He wants to thank Mr. Edwin Murillo who was the field assistant during the interviewing period, and the other members of the staff of the I. A. I. A. S. who have in one way or another given aid to the writer.

SAKARI SARIOLA
Helsinki, June 1953

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CHAPTER I

SITE OF THE STUDY

GENERAL

In her climatic and topographic features Costa Rica offers the same sharp contrasts which generally are present in the rest of the Central American countries, and to which the patterns of settlement can be clearly attributed (1)*. The nucleus of Costa Rica is the rather narrow belt of densely populated inland area, locally called the "Meseta Central". Although this highland plateau forms less than 10 per cent of the total area of Costa Rica, it claims nearly three fourths of the total of about 800, 000 Costa Ricans. On the "Meseta Central" are located the four biggest cities of the country, San José, Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela. Most of the developed wealth of the country is concentrated in this central plateau.

The elevation of the populated valleys of the central plateau varies from 3, 000 to 4, 000 feet. There is an agreeable mean temperature of 70 degrees Fahrenheit in San José, with an annual variation of only five degrees. Encircling the central plateau, the coastal regions toward the Pacific in the West and the Caribbean in the East, as well as the areas toward the Nicaraguan border in the North and the Panamanian border in the South, offer a widely contrasting picture. There, with a climatic zone of "Tierra Caliente", the climate becomes hot, humid, and unhealthy.

The Turrialba district, the site of this study, is located on the lowest edge of "Tierra Templada". The town of Turrialba, at an elevation of 2, 000 feet, has a mean temperature of 73 to 76 degrees in the hottest month of the year, usually May or June, while the coldest month, usually January of February, has a mean temperature of 68 to 71 degrees. The annual range in temperature is relatively small, as compared with the noticeable diurnal range (2).

The rainfalls in the elevated "Meseta Central" occur mainly from May to November and are not generally continuous during the whole day, but the rains in the Turrialba

* The number in parenthesis refers to the Literature Cited that appears at the end of the Chapter.

district fall throughout all the months, with two periods of heavy rainfall, the first around June and July and the second around November and December. A relatively drier "summer" period occurs during January, February, March and April. In the rest of the year, the "winter" period, the rains are often continuous throughout the day. The average annual rainfall in Turrialba is near to 100 inches.

In many other aspects the Turrialba region can be considered as an eastern post of the "Meseta Central". It was settled by colonists from the interior regions, and maintains active connections with the provincial capital of Cartago and the national capital of San José which are respectively only one hour and one and one-half hours by automobile from Turrialba along the same road. It belongs to the interior coffee producing zone; it has the highest acreage and production of coffee among the coffee producing districts of the country, and stands near the top in sugar cane production (1). Racially it resembles closely the prevalent patterns of the "Meseta": about half of the people might be of pure white ancestory and probably in almost an equal part there are traces, or some proportion of indian blood. Although there are some Negroes in Turrialba, the town still clearly falls on the white side of the "color line" which may be drawn further to the East. In climate and elevation the region differs distinctly from the "Meseta Central", but in economy, history and human resources it bears a resemblance with this, the interior backbone of Costa Rica.

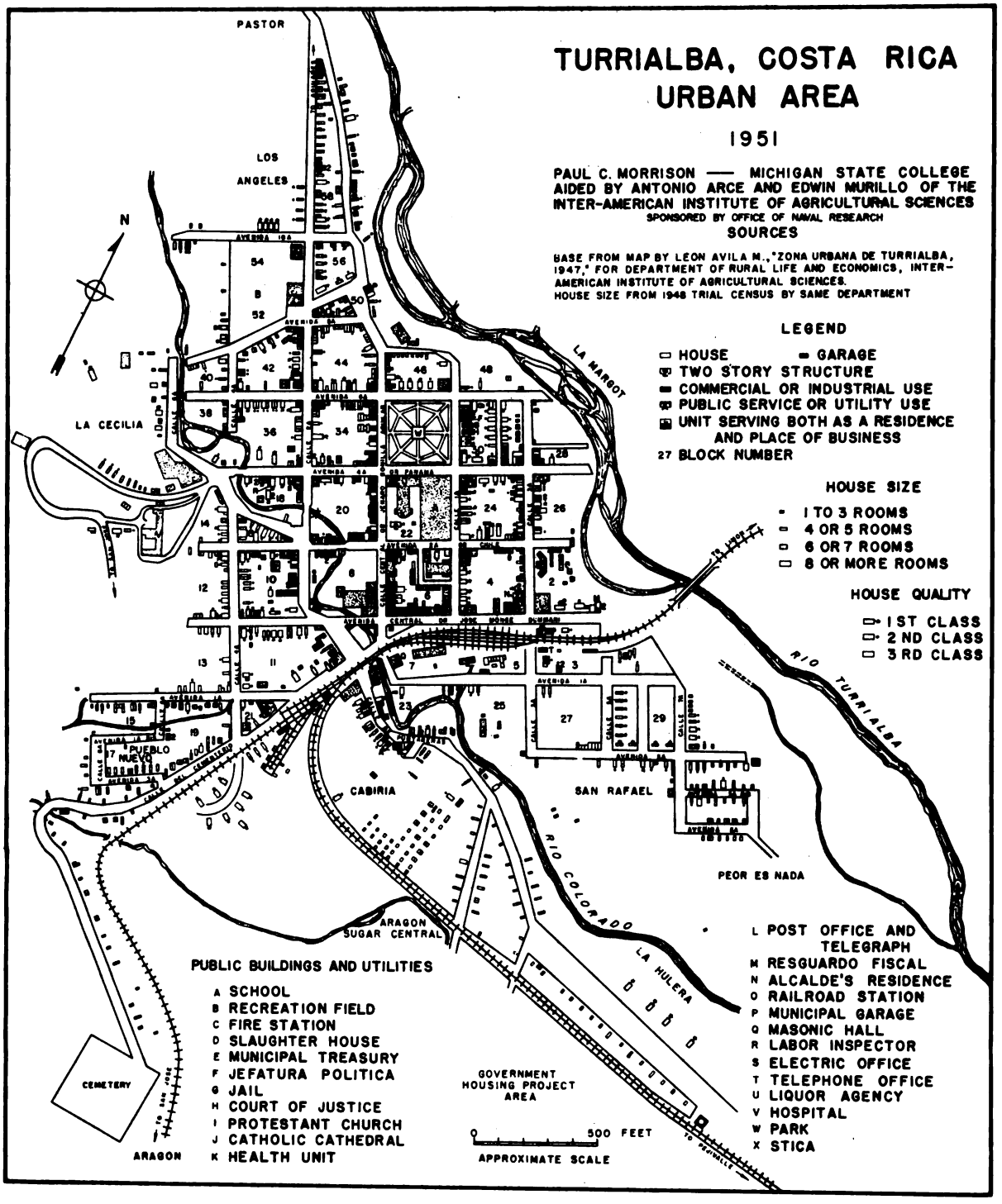
THE TOWN

The town of Turrialba is oriented Northwest to Southeast. The main urban zone spreads over an almost square area, which is approximately one-half kilometer on each side and has an angle-to-angle span of about two-thirds kilometers or about one-half mile (Figure 1). The bulk of the central urban area falls within a narrow strip of land of about .3 kilometers in width bordered by two rivers, the Turrialba and the Colorado, which run roughly parallel to each other in the town from Northwest to Southeast. Rapidly rising grounds on the North and West sides of the town half-encircle Turrialba with mountains and hillsides of predominantly steep profiles (often greater than 45°), among which the Turrialba Volcano dominates the mountain background in the Northeast. To the South and to the East of the town lie the fertile lowlands of the Reventazón River valley.

The town of Turrialba, according to an official census in 1949 had 694 buildings, which provided 1,077 dwellings for 5,316 persons (4). This study comprised a somewhat broader area, since it included also Aragón, Cabiria, Canta Ranas (or San Rafael), Peor es Nada, El Pastor, Los Angeles, and parts of La Cecilia, suburban neighborhoods which are contiguous to the town itself. When these sections are also considered, the total number of inhabitants in the area surveyed increased to 6,359 (3,178 males and 3,181 females) in the total of 1,138 families living there at the time the initial data were gathered in Autumn 1948.

There is a concentration of bigger establishments toward the southern half of the town. Here, in a Southwest to Northeast direction runs the main street, Avenida Monge Dumani, popularly called "La Pavimentada" because it is the only paved street except the Turrialba-Cartago highway and the Santa Rosa road toward the West of town. Close to the "Pavimentada" and almost parallel to its southern side run the railroad tracks of the line from San José to Limón. Toward the western end of this main street is the busiest corner of the town, "El Triángulo". Here, facing and opposite each other are the

Figure 1



town's most important general store, its busiest bar-cantine, and its only dancing hall. The southern side of the "Pavimentada" is bordered by palm trees and some benches, and is open, except for the railway tracks and railway station toward its East end. The northern side of it is taken by a row of mostly commercial houses, among which are dry-good stores, butcher shops, vegetable stands, a hardware store, a gasoline station, textile stores, a drug store, a barber shop, the town's main hotel, bars, the town's bank, the post office, and a few private homes. North of the "Pavimentada" but not more than one or two blocks away, near its eastern end, are to be found the Health Unit, the offices of the district judge, and the town's two movie houses.

Walking up the cobblestone street that meets the "Pavimentada" vertically at the "Triángulo", one will find immediately several other important business stores, and in two blocks will come to the West corner of the town's central park. Around this "plaza" are found the Catholic church, the main school house, the police station, the prison, the treasury office, the Evangelic church, several private houses, and a few business shops.

The "plaza", or central park covers a city block and is arranged in a pattern similar to those in many other Latin American small towns. There are shade trees and simple stone benches, and a central band stand in rotunda style, from which walks radiate toward the surrounding streets.

In the Northwest corner of the town, on the Santa Rosa road and five blocks above the "Pavimentada" are found the small Secondary School building, "La Complementaria", the fire station, and an open ground for playing soccer, the most popular outdoor sport of the country. This ground was originally set aside for a market place, since the town was expected to grow in this direction; such did not prove to be the case, and the site is now used mainly for sports.

On the West border of the town, on a hill by the side of the highway to San José, is the cantonal Turrialba Hospital. The municipal cemetery lies on a hillside on the South edge of the town. Beyond the foot of the cemetery hill opens Aragón, a sugar-mill and farm plantation which spreads in the southern outskirts of the town. Some of the farm houses in Aragón are contiguous with the houses in the Town. In the body of the town, the houses follow a rather regular street block pattern, but in the border areas the houses are distributed in a less organized fashion. These areas comprise roughly the non-urbanized secondary out-growths of the town, where the blocks are not fully constructed, the grounds are uneven or sloped, the street connections to the central areas incomplete, and some of the communal services, such as electricity, water supply, and sewage disposal might be lacking.

An analysis of the area of living in relation to other indices of social status showed in the suburban areas a more distinct predominance of the lower class than was found in the other sections. Relatively less lower-class families live in the six central blocks between the central park, the fire house, and the "Pavimentada", but on the whole there are relatively few socially discriminated areas in the town where a well to do citizen would not erect his building if the grounds and services seemed otherwise suitable. Many of the differentiations found living areas in cities with more residentially stable populations are not clearly distinguishable in Turrialba. Recently some good houses have been constructed further away from the center, especially along the highways and roads leading out of town, thus presenting tokens of tendency toward decentralization. Neither is there any discernable discrimination related to race in matters of housing.

If the proportion of Negroes or Orientals appears higher in certain areas, the explanation might be found more readily in the occupational and social characteristics of these individuals than in racial prejudice.

A great number of Turrialbans in the upper socio-economic levels own houses for rent, which provide them additional income. The number of such houses owned often serves as a rough symbol of wealth in popular minds. An individual might own up to 20 or 25 such renting units. These units are often built within a narrow area; quite often they are under one common roof, each family renting one room or "pieza" as a residence. The rentals in the units of the same owner are often equal and thus this system tends to draw together tenants with homogeneous socio-economic characteristics. The same effect is produced by farm housing in the sections of town touching such neighborhoods, as Aragón and La Cecilia. The "pieza"-type rental units, as well as the housing areas provided by the farms for their workers, are usually planned so that the tenants have to share certain facilities, shower, toilet or latrines, and the washtubs. The backyards of the urban blocks and of the rural ceded houses set the framework for an important system of family groups living in multiple everyday affinity. For many housewives of the lower class, the talks in the backyard while doing the laundry and bathing the children make their regular entertainment. Such living arrangements are usually noisy, and offer but little privacy. For those families who resent too much intimacy with neighbors, tranquillity and privacy become emphasized values in housing.

Another common focus of social interchange in Turrialba is the outside porch of the house, the "corredor". Parallel and facing the street, this corridor makes an elevated stage which is usually balconied or pillared. It is covered by the extended, most frequently zinc roof of the house. A picturesque touch is given by the numerous plants, set in old tin cans or in wooden boxes usually nailed all over the front wall, the door frames, and the pillars of most of the lower-class houses, thus making the "corredor" a conspicuous symbol of a laborer's desire for decoration. On the front porch men and women sit in the afternoons and the evenings to see the traffic go by, to read, to sew, to chat with callers, or to while away the time. In contrast to the frequently dark, poorly ventilated and smoky living room, the corridor affords sunlight and the freshness of relatively cool breezes.

DAILY ROUTINE

The day in Turrialba begins early. Around five o'clock in the morning farm laborers are already on the streets. Many have to walk for an hour or more to reach the place of work, and go, with a "machete" fastened to the waist, and lunch bag over the shoulder, on their way out of town toward the outlaying farms. Trucks from some of the farms come into town and begin loading their platforms with workers who stand packed against each other as the trucks start off.

People start on their way to early mass. Some farm youths and small farmers begin to come into town with produce which they spread for sale on the sidewalks near the "Triángulo". People in need of medical services are lining up around the doors of the Social Security wards at the cantonal hospital in order to get a chance to be attended during the day.

By eight in the morning most of the businesses in town have opened. For such a small town as it is, there are relatively many food tradesmen in Turrialba, and housewives can find differences in prices for the same products which will often prompt them

to patronize particular shops. Around noon the biggest stores will close, but the greater number of smaller stores will keep open for business without any noticeable "siesta" hour.

The afternoon between two and three o'clock is marked by the farm laborers walking back from the fields, often with a load of firewood piled on their backs, and if it is raining, holding a banana leaf as an umbrella. By 3:30 most of the school children have been let out; many of them play in the streets or run errands for their mothers. Several young men and boys gather around the sports ground and practice soccer. Dinner in most families is served around four or five o'clock. After that the several pool rooms will open, and will be frequented mostly by men from the middle class.

Before seven o'clock in the evening groups of young men and girls appear on the "Pavimentada" and start to walk slowly back and forth on the street along the 200 meters between the railway station and the "Triángulo". This stretch, which in the daytime serves vehicular traffic, is now completely taken over by the promenaders. Saturdays and Sundays the number of youth partaking in this rite may reach the hundreds. While in the daytime almost one-half of the Turrialbans passing the central corner were barefoot, and the men commonly clad in khaki pants, the night promenaders are a better-dressed crowd. Practically all of them wear shoes; men have white shirts and good quality pants; girls appear in more fashionable dresses, frequently wear high heeled shoes, and are made-up. The evening strolls along the "Pavimentada" are usually over by 10:30 or 11:00 o'clock.

Club "El Rancho" is the only place in town where dances are regularly held*. It is an unpretentious dance hall on the second story of a large wooden house at the "Triángulo". Here juke-box music and drinks are available. Generally, the participants in dances have the same characteristics as those promenading on the central street.

There are two local movie houses which run shows every night. Moving pictures are one of the very popular recreations of the Turrialbans. During the evenings, the movie goers appear to be mostly of middle and upper classes, whereas the Sunday matinees, being less expensive, gather proportionally more of the lower-class people. Movie offerings feature prominently Spanish-spoken Mexican and Argentinian films, American cowboy series, and less often other American films, mostly B-class and second-run.

On Saturdays and particularly on Sundays, people from the rural sections come into town to do their marketing, church going, visiting, and for treatment in the hospital. Most of the stores are kept open throughout Saturday and on Sunday morning, for these are the busiest days for the salesmen. Groups gather in the streets near the "Triángulo"; people in them have about them an air of curiosity and attentiveness to the small incidents of the traffic and the bargaining. Beggars, shoe-shine boys, peddlers of saints' pictures, sellers of clay-works, of fruits, vegetables, and other vendors turn the central corner into a market. There are about twenty professional lottery vendors and about twenty more part-time vendors in Turrialba, and many of these now mingle in the crowd to sell "chances" and lottery tickets.

The Sunday masses in the Catholic church gather large crowds. In the opinion of

* Later on, in 1952, another social Club, the "Club Juventud Deportiva de Turrialba" was established.

the parish priest, half of the people in Turrialba are Catholics in "every sense of the word": they attend the masses regularly, marry through the church*, baptize their children, and see that their children make their first communion. The first mass on Sunday morning is held at 5:30 A.M. It is followed by a special shorter mass for children at 7:30, and by an 8:30 mass for adults. At all these masses the church, seating about 700, is practically filled.

Breaks in the routine pattern of life in Turrialba are introduced by the religious "fiestas" of the Roman Catholic calendar and also by the days dedicated to civic and patriotic motives which are frequent throughout the year. Easter Week, "Semana Santa", is the most impressive of all the celebrations in the year. Strict formal mourning is kept by the town during the days of Passion. On Good Friday, tableaux and processions re-enacting Biblical characters and scenes parade the streets. Christmas is celebrated with gift giving and family parties. An outstanding tradition is the preparation of the "portal" which almost all families set up in their homes at this time. The "portal" is a representation of the manger scene which consists in poorer families of a few small dolls set on grass in a paper box, but which in well-to-do homes may develop into a highly decorated structure covering sometimes a space of six to eight feet in width in a corner of the living room. Here, with the use of figurines, sawdust, colored papers and other ornaments, the biblical scene of Christ's birth is presented in greenery among mountains, springs, and forests.

On the occasions of civic and religious "fiestas" open-air stands are occasionally erected in central parts of the town, where games of chance are played and refreshments sold.

Other important gatherings are the family weddings, baptisms, birthdays, and funerals. Attending funeral wakes, "ir a las velas", is also a custom. The friends of the deceased call on the latter's family to have a last look at the deceased. Many of them stay at the watch during the whole night and may alternately pray, eat, drink, or gossip.

Some other details of religuous organization besides the numerous "fiestas", and the Saint cult come from the Iberian Catholicism (3). So there are the religious organizations and forms of charity maintained in Turrialba. Among religious organizations the "Juventud Obrera Católica" (Catholic Labor Youth), "Hijas de María" (Daughters of Mary), "Corazón de Jesús" (Sacred Heart), "Apostolado de Oración" (Apostolate of Prayer), and "Vicentinas" (Vincentines) might be mentioned. The members of these are gathered by the priests once a week for a meeting consisting mainly of religious lectures. The Catholic Labor Youth Organization program includes, however, activities like games, sports, and bazaars. The Vincentines occupy themselves in charity, aiding 20 to 30 poor families in the town with a small weekly contribution. Similar forms of charity are carried on by

* The total percentage of children born out of wedlock, according to "Anuario de la Dirección General de Estadística" of Costa Rica, was 23.6 of the children born in the whole country in 1948. This percentage is very much higher in the lowlands than in the "Meseta Central". Cartago Province had the lowest percentage of 13.1. Considering these ciphers and the fact that there has been in recent years an active campaign in Turrialba to get the marriages sanctified by the Church, an estimation of 10 to 15 percent may be an approximation to the situation in Turrialba.

the Evangelist minority church.

There is a local chapter of the Lions' International Organization in Turrialba. To it belong many of the professionals and the more important businessmen. The Lions hold dinners once a month and sponsor some civic activities. The Masons also have an active Lodge in the town. There is the Sports Club, "Club Deportivo", whose activity is centered around soccer. Organized labor associations do not play any marked role in Turrialba at the present.

The most well-to-do families may spend holiday periods in San José or vacations in the seashore provinces of the Pacific coast. The poorer families may go out of town once or twice a year to Cartago in order to attend religious festivities, or for a day or two to another locality to visit relatives, but in general there are no noticeable vacationing seasons* except that of the school children beginning in December.

Life in Turrialba is remarkably alike throughout the year, notwithstanding the livelier coffee-picking season when many women of the lower class take up field work; or the heavy rains which occasionally make the rivers rise and frighten the townsmen with the remembrance of past floods which swept away houses and property. The routine of life is to a great extent a derivative of the monotonous climate which offers very little seasonal variation.

PIONEERING PERIOD

Many of the characteristics of the town of Turrialba can be accounted for by its relative youth. Some of the "fundadores", founders of the community, are still living in the town; and many an adult citizen can well remember its rapid growth since the last decade of the nineteenth century. However, the first origins of Turrialba go farther back. The first colonizing elements came from the Spanish settlements in the "Meseta Central", and entered the present Turrialba district early in the 18th century, without meeting any acute resistance from the indigenous population. By 1740 the Indians, due to repeated plagues and to their emigration mainly toward the Southwest, had already become nearly extinct in the region and given way to the whites. The Turrialba outpost was at first mainly a transition point on the way from the "Meseta" inland areas to the Atlantic lowlands. Toward the middle of the 19th century it had become gradually a cattle raising and cocoa growing settlement. A cholera epidemic in 1856 followed by an unidentified plague a few years later caused the site of the present Turrialba to be abandoned, the inhabitants having moved to Colorado, one of the present rural neighborhoods of the zone. It was only after the completion of the railroad connection from Cartago to the Atlantic, in 1890, that the settlement of the present Turrialba site began a steady growth. During the construction of the railroad a block-system plan for the city was drafted. The first buildings on the present site were built before 1885, and the first public establishments were the railway station, a small hotel-restaurant, and some commercial stores which followed rapidly upon each other in the 1890's.

In the following years toward the end of the century, the construction of the town

* Costa Rican laws provide for a two-week vacation period with pay for every fifty weeks of work.

went on with increasing speed, and the town became a commercial center for the adjacent farms which, profiting by the rail transportation to the "Meseta" and to the Atlantic, were also established.

Much of the impetus for the growth of Turrialba was due to a "finca" owned by the Aragón brothers. On this big farm plantation was founded the country's biggest sugar mill, one of the three existing in Costa Rica at that time. The first important coffee plantation in the zone was also established at Aragón farm.

Turrialba became an independent "Cantón" in 1903. The town's church was initiated in 1909 and terminated in 1919, together with the parish house. A small school house had operated in the town since the turn of the century. In 1908 a four-room school was built, and three more classrooms were added in 1923. This school was later replaced with a modern concrete school building. The town's water system was established in 1900, and increased in 1928 to supply 1000 houses. The electric power system was completed in 1927, and sewage disposal in 1928. The same year a slaughter house was built. A hospital was inaugurated in 1918; a Health Unit, "Unidad Sanitaria" was established in 1933.

Before 1926 the present Central Park of the town had been used partly as a park and partly as a market, but that year a new market was built in the northwestern section of the town. Because of its location, marketing in the new place was later virtually abandoned and at present most produce vendors have their shops in different parts of the town, or ply their goods on the sidewalks near the "Pavimentada".*

While cattle raising and cocoa cultivation had been the main activities of the first white settlers in the zone, coffee, sugar, and bananas have become the main sources of income of the present rural Turrialba. The banana industry was taken up on a broad scale around 1920, reached its peak in the middle twenties, but has suffered drastic losses since then due to banana disease. Most of the farmers had by that time already adopted coffee and sugar growing, and these became the dominant crops in the later years (1).

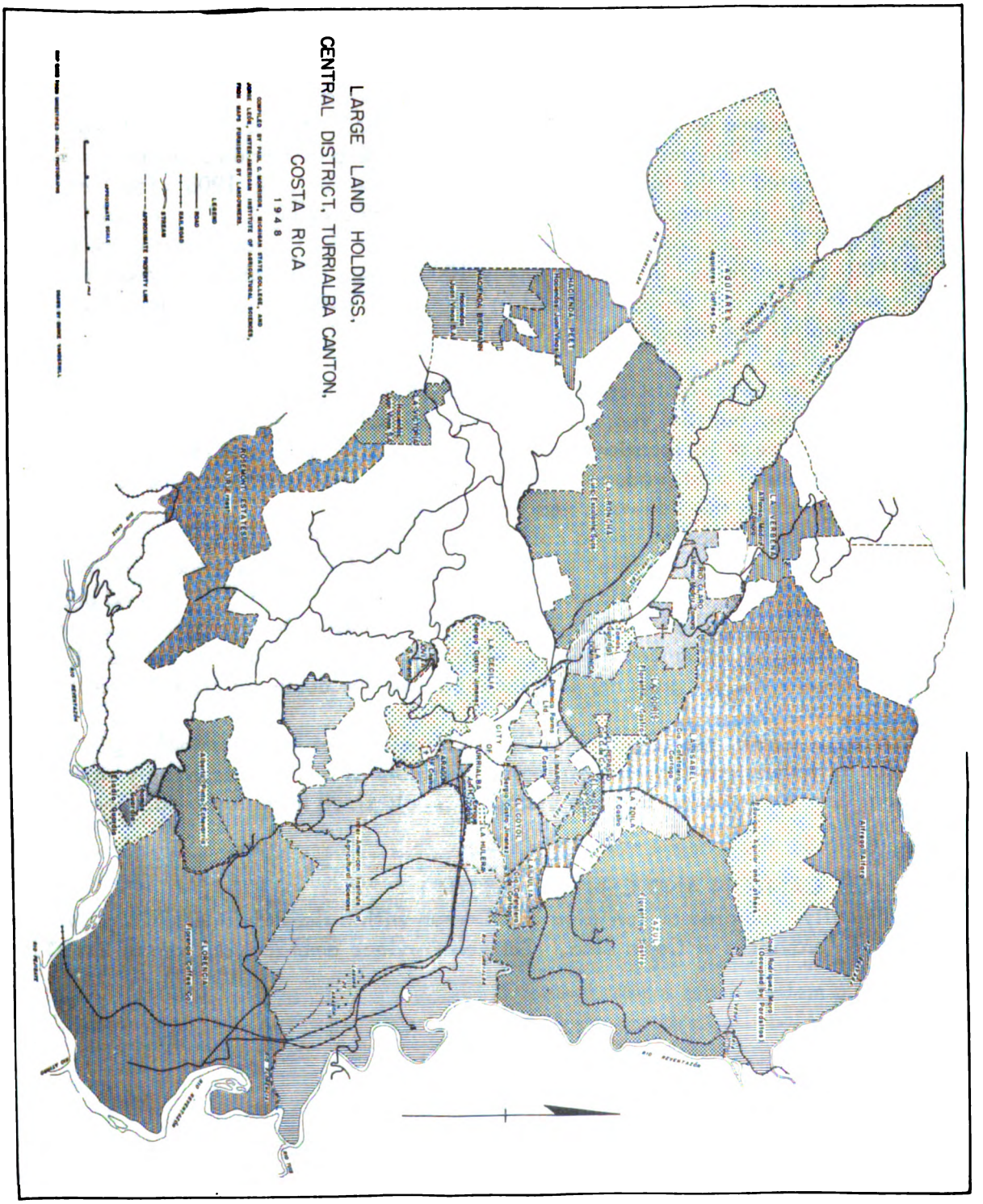
The major part of the "Cantón" of Turrialba belongs to large landholdings, "haciendas", but in the western and southern parts of its central district, especially in El Banco, Colorado, San Juan Norte, and San Juan Sur, small-sized farms are predominant (Figure 2).

PROVINCE, CANTON AND CENTRAL DISTRICT

Politically, the area of Turrialba is a Canton within the Province of Cartago, one of the seven provinces of Costa Rica. Cartago Province embraces an area of 2,600 square

* Historical data taken mainly from the newspaper La Tribuna, August 18, 25, and September 1, 1935; from comments of Father Menzel, octogenarian priest who has lived in Turrialba for over forty years, and Sr. Edwin Murillo, ex-councilman of Turrialba and school supervisor; and from Sequent Occupance, Turrialba Central District, Costa Rica, op. cit. by Paul C. Morrison and Jorge León.

Figure 2



kilometers and has a population of about 100,000. About 12,000 of the inhabitants of the Cartago Province live in the City of Cartago, while Turrialba has 5,300 people in the urban zone, and about 17,000 in the area of the political Central District.

This political Central District (Figure 3), includes, besides the town of Turrialba, thirty-two rural neighborhoods, which lie in respect to the town as follows: North to Northeast, between the Guayabo River in the North and the Aquiares River, El Banco, La Ceiba, Alfredo Alfaro, Alto de las Varas, Jesús María, Las Animas, and Azul; Northwest to East, between the Aquiares River, Azul River, and Turrialba River, Aquiares, Santa Rosa, Río Claro, La Doris, La Dominica, Repasto, La Isabel, La Julia, La Margot, and El Coyol; in the wider strip, between the Turrialba River and the Reventazón River from the West to Southeast, Peet, La Esmeralda, La Roncha, El Pastor, Colorado, Aragón, Noche Buena, San Juan Norte, San Juan Sur, Florencia, Central Azucarera, Riachuelo, Las Pavas, Chiz, and Murcia. Although politically part of the Central District, Chiz and Murcia, by economic and social contacts, are closer to the neighboring Juan Viñas Canton. On the other hand, Eslabón, La Suiza, Canadá, and Atirro which do not fall within the official limits of the Central District, have close social and economic relationships with Turrialba.

The 'Hulera' Rubber Experimental Station of the United States Department of Agriculture and some of the holdings of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences fall in the geographical area of the Central District of the Canton.

In this study, the term Central District will refer to all areas included within the political limits but excluding Chiz and Murcia and the two mentioned United States and Pan American holdings.

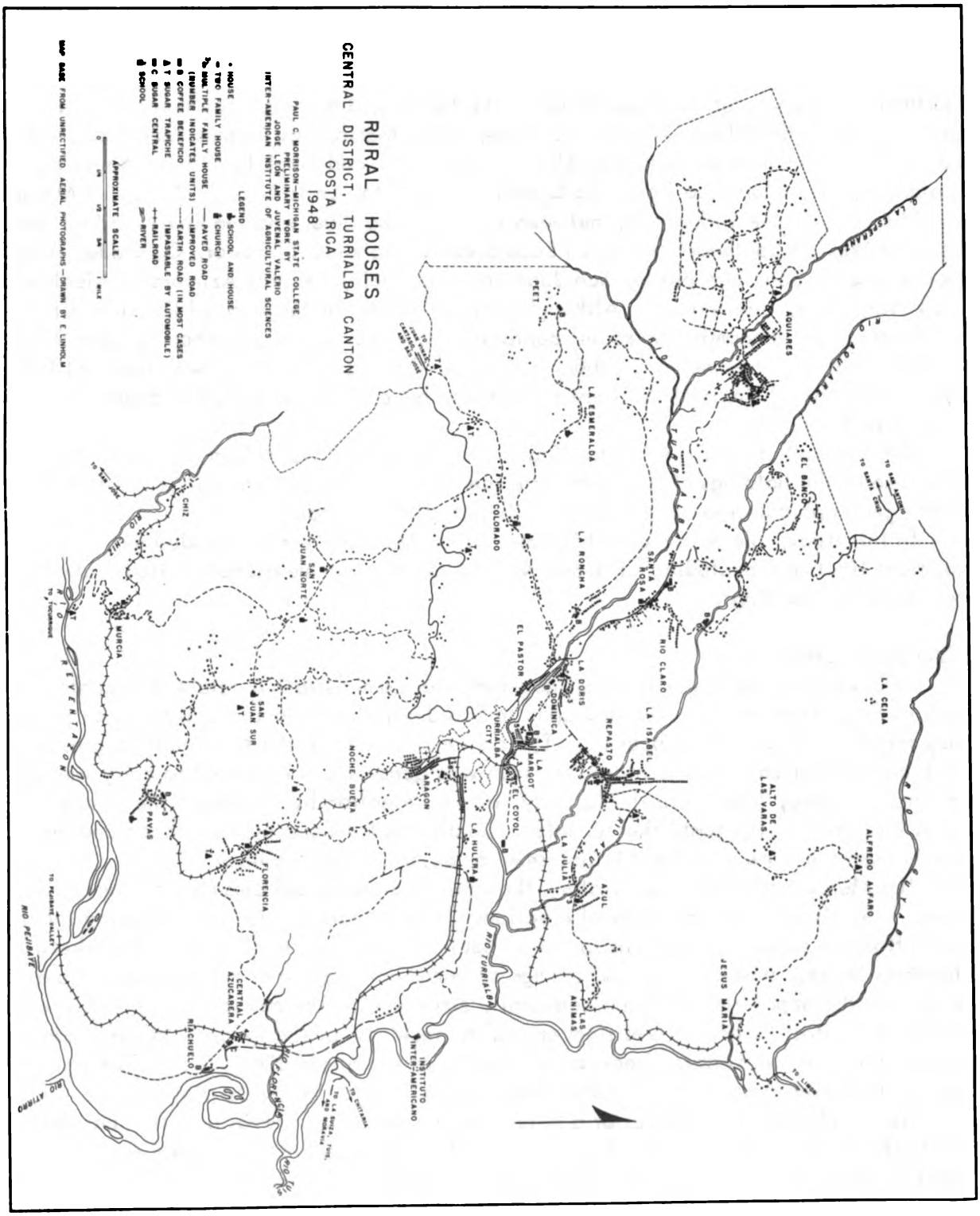
POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In Costa Rica the major issues of governmental administrative nature of a canton as well as those of a town are decided upon in San José, the national capital, even though they might be only of local bearing. The cantonal deputy in the National Congress ("Asamblea Legislativa") is, therefore, the man who generally is expected to carry through reforms of primary interest to the locality, and his election by cantonal vote arouses a vivid interest. In the past, the Turrialban candidates for Congress have been chosen mostly from the more prominent businessmen or physicians of the town.

"La Municipalidad", a body along the lines of a municipal assembly or community council, is also elected in cantonal elections. It is responsible for administering locally such affairs as street or road construction, repair and paving, the building of markets, slaughter houses, parks, water and sewage systems, and the use of the municipal taxes as well as the appointing of minor community employees. The municipal council selects different "juntas" or committees from among the residents of the locality to carry administrative authority on matters of education, health or social security. It is customary for the municipality to apply for national financing of larger community projects.

The chief executive officer of a province, the governor, serves as a link between the Costa Rican government and the cantons, but he is frequently put aside in direct local inspections which the government ministers or the president often make, and by the direct appeals to San José of the municipality, the committees, and the cantonal deputy. Responsible to the governor is the "jefe político", political chief, who represents the executive power in his canton and participates in the community administration attending the meetings of the municipal council although without the right to vote in these. The

Figure 3



political chief is also responsible for maintenance of order in the canton, and he commands the police corps. Both the provincial governor and the cantonal political chief are appointed by the President of the Republic, and are clearly political appointees(4).

Even though Costa Rica rightfully enjoys the fame of a peaceful nation in comparison to her politically less stable neighbors, the happenings which followed the election dilemma in 1948 have made her the scene of strong political passions. Taken as a whole, political issues in the country seem to be suffused by a tendency of the Costa Ricans to follow personalities rather than consistent ideologies. The influential strong parties are those gathered around influential strong men (5). Since 1948 the government have been popularly called the "Figueristas", after the chief of the Military Board which ruled the country from 1948 to 1950, and the "Ulatistas", after the elected president who took office in 1950. The main opposition is commonly called "Calderonistas", after the ex-president and presidential candidate in the 1948 elections. The "Ulatistas" are officially called the "Partido Unión Nacional"; the "Calderonistas" are the "Partido Republicano Nacional"(6).

Costa Rican newspapers give much space to passionate personal political campaigning. They use as front-page news letters sent by the public, if these reflect the political leanings of the newspaper. The radio stations, on the contrary, are not used to such a large extent as political vehicles, and, save for the commercial advertising, broadcast chiefly music and other entertainment. During political campaigns, however, the radio is used considerably.

CITY, TOWN, AND COUNTRY

Besides the dependency on San José in political and administrative matters, there are other ties which bring the town into the sphere of the national capital; not among the least of these are economic relationships. Even smaller farmers might sometimes bring their products to market in San José. Some businessmen of Turrialba have ventured opening stores in the capital, eventually to stay there permanently. Some of the Turrialban business establishments, on the other hand, are owned by individuals residing in the capital and administering them from there. San José is the only city which can fully furnish an upper-class family with most of the modern conveniences, cars, fine furniture, stylish clothes, special foods, and the many commodities which are not offered by the town merchants. For a manufacturer or plantation owner, a great deal of the necessary equipment is to be found only in the capital. Also available there are the best services and medical facilities. At the "Teatro Nacional" in San José amateur theatrical groups frequently present shows; the national orchestra gives a regular series of concerts; and occasionally there is an opportunity to hear a pianist or other renowned soloist who will perform in San José while on stop-over during a South American tour. Opportunities for higher education and private schools are available principally in San José or in the nearby cities such as Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela.

In the same manner that the Turrialban society and above all its upper strata reach toward San José, the people from the Central District reach toward the services and opportunities offered by the town.

The school, which is the one institution in Latin America that has been pointed out as reaching furthest into the rural villages, serves the rural areas of the Canton in a lesser degree than it does the town. There were ten elementary schools in the rural areas of

the Central District of the Turrialba Canton in 1948*. These, with the exception of Aquiares school, have only two grades and one to two teachers. As the number of teachers determines the capacity of these rural schools, the first and the third grade are frequently alternated with the first two grades. In such a case, the students who are ready to enter the third grade will be put in this grade, but the ones who would have been going to the second grade will be put back into the first grade where they receive another year of first-grade training while waiting for the next year when the second grade will be offered. While only one of the rural schools gives up to four years of instruction, the town's elementary school has six simultaneous grades, and three more advanced grades are available in the town's secondary school, thus making a total of nine school years available.

In religuous matters as well, the dominance of the town over the rural villages of the Central District is noticeable. There are thirty rural villages and these have altogether only three chapels** which, with the exception of that in Aquiares, are very small and poorly furnished. Where no chapel is available, services are sometimes held in private houses; but masses in the rural villages are held irregularly and, at best, only monthly or bimonthly. Priests may pay visits to the villages on specified weekdays, and have organized in some of them chapters of the "Juventud Obrera Católica".*** The town's Catholic Church, however, is the main nucleus of religious activities for the urban as well as the rural people. Besides the main church, it has the priest house where two or three priests live regularly, and where the parish office of Turrialba is located. The one non-Catholic church is located in the town, although it serves parishioners in the whole Canton of Turrialba.

The only hospital of the district is located in the town of Turrialba to serve the whole Canton in medical, surgical, and obstetric cases under the Social Security Act of Costa Rica. In the rural villages the medical services are limited to those offered

* The rural schools were in Aquiares(first to fourth grade; 144 students; four teachers), La Dominica (first and second grade; 46 students; one teacher), La Isabel (first and third grade; 114 students; two teachers), Santa Rosa (first and second grade; 51 students; one teacher), Colorado (first and second grade; 51 students; one teacher), La Esmeralda (first and second grade; 42 students; one teacher), San Juan Sur (first and second grade; 48 students; one teacher), San Juan Norte (first and third grade; 38 students; one teacher), Florencia (first and second grade; number of students not reported; two teachers), Las Pavas (first and second grade; 41 students; one teacher), The information refers to the number of students and the capacity of schools at the beginning of the semester in 1948.

** The chapels are in Aquiares, Colorado, and San Juan Norte.

*** In 1948 there were Catholic Labor Youth chapters in Aquiares, Santa Rosa, Colorado, San Juan Norte, and Las Pavas.

by medicine men, "curanderos", by empirical midwives, and by the dry-good store keepers who will sell and sometimes prescribe some basic drugs and patent medicines.

The office of the cantonal judge, the "alcalde", is situated in the town; and the chief executive officer of the Canton, the "jefe político", resides there. Although the "jefe político" has subordinates in four of the rural villages*, and four of the nearer neighborhoods each have a Justice of Peace in practice**, these rural representatives are not much more than nominal appointees with but limited authority to act independently. A police corps of about fifteen men also has town headquarters.

While a few of the big "haciendas" have their own dry-good stores, or "comisariatos", a considerable part of the rural villagers' purchasing is done in the town. The town is also the marketing center used by a number of small-farmers. Similarly, there are no banking facilities, movie houses, restaurants, or hotels out in the rural villages.

The Turrialban rural village is, indeed, a highlyintegrated community, united by intense interpersonal contacts, friendship or blood relations. However, it still lacks many of the organs for meeting the needs of more specialized and progressive modes of life. The services rendered by the town of Turrialba in marketing agricultural products, merchandizing, manufacturing, and the offering of recreational, professional, religious, social and personal services are vital to many functions of the rural neighborhoods; the town, on the other hand, lives by rendering these services. Notwithstanding the dependency of town and country on each other, the former has turned in many of its interests away from those of the peasant of the rural zones, and many values ascribed to rural forms of life have been replaced there by new values connected with city-life.

These emerging values are most easily discernible within those strata of people who are not part of the "patron-peon" system prevailing in the neighboring country regions, and who base their living on independent enterprise in different fields of commercial and technical activity which are the same pursuits that characterize the town as a whole in contrast to the adjacent farm villages. A person who dedicates himself to these activities is likely to be qualified as belonging to a decidedly different and a more esteemed social class than that of employed farm laborers; success in these activities is likely to build a bridge to the most prestiged social positions which are rewarded by the society with relatively highest content of living, political power, and authority.

* These are called "Agentes Auxiliares de Policía", and they were, in 1948, located in Santa Rosa, San Juan Sur, San Juan Norte, and Las Pavas.

** Justices of Peace were appointed, in 1948, for Florencia, La Isabel, Aragón and Cabiria.

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(3) John Gillin. Modern Latin American Culture. Social Forces, Vol. 25, 3, 1947, pp. 243-248.

(4) Marco Tulio Zeledón. Lecciones de Ciencia Constitucional y Constitución Política de Costa Rica. Imprenta Nacional. San José, Costa Rica; 1945, p. 45.

(5) John and Mavis Biesantz. Costa Rican Life. Columbia University Press. Third printing, 1946, p. 232.

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CHAPTER II

CONCEPT OF CLASS

In the attempt to study relationships between observed social group phenomena, a crucial aspect presents itself in the choice of the criteria upon which the units of analysis are to be defined. The purpose of any classification, naturally, is the one common to all sciences: the establishing of the units of analysis which make the analyst able to generalize about relations found to exist between individual observations. The web of social interrelations around us is incomprehensible, in terms of scientific comprehension, not of course in terms of everyday personal experience, as long as no rationalizing devices are assumed to reduce the means of explanation. The necessity for generalizations appears because "our human capacity for responses is limited to a far smaller number than the millions of stimuli and situations in the world about us," as Stuart Dodd expressed it (1).

Whatever principles of classification are assumed, they have to be evaluated in relation to the hypotheses and goals of the analyst. For these goals, the classificatory techniques serve as instruments; "the purpose of description and classification is not mere taxonomy, but to bring out differences of structure associated with differences of behavior which will enable us to better understand the behavior and to be able to predict what it will be under given conditions," says Dwight Sanderson about social group analysis (2).

The analyst often seeks to make his generalizations on relatively higher levels of abstraction, by combining various sets of observational data into the same units of analysis. This is done in the endeavor to obtain classificatory means which might serve various analytic purposes simultaneously, and which consequently would be more economical, since they explain many observations by relating them to fewer analytical units. The tendency toward abstractions on higher levels of combined observations, however, is checked by the mounting difficulties in definition, and disagreement among workers, the more generic are the dividing criteria involved.

The active interest of sociologists in the concept of social class, as well as the relatively wide disagreement in the matter of measuring and defining this phenomenon are explicable against this background. To mention only a few areas of conflict among researchers with social class focus, reference is made to the apparently wide gap between those who see social classes as primarily psychological formations and those who want

to explain them in terms of "tangible" properties or attributes of individuals; to the important difference between those who define classes as social groups and those who understand by them mere statistical strata; and to the disagreement in regard to the validity of methods drawn to measure social class in empirical research.

Most researchers agree that a society, community, institution, or a social group is "stratified" when individuals are perceived by other individuals as superior, equal, or inferior to each other according to their characteristics or the degree of these they might possess (3). Thus social stratification refers to the ordering in superiority-inferiority positions of a population along certain scales of considerations which shall be called here value scales or hierarchies.

Since the concept of value is involved in the phenomenon of stratification, it needs to be defined for the purposes of this presentation. By "value" is meant something which is considered desirable, and more exactly, as Lundberg states, something "towards which people behave so as to retain or increase their possession of it" (4).

However, values cannot be reduced to a rigid hierarchy applying similarly to groups and situations of different nature. Different principles of value inference might prevail in different realms of the social order. Generally, any value is given its order of preference in view of the particular situation. Sometimes the economic organization of the society functions to neutralize some values to certain of its members who might secure their "ultimate" value achievement indirectly, through the division of labor (5). Deprivation in regard to biological needs lessens the urgency of "higher" values.

Correspondingly, the principles of stratification diverge in accordance with the general types of values which might be discerned to prevail in the particular group or society under study in a particular situation. Insofar as a scientist proceeds on the assumption that there exist principles of stratification which can be applied, as a continuum, to the whole group or society, he might need to work on such high levels of abstraction that the assumption can be verified only with difficulty, if at all at the present stage of social research.*

When now turning to the concept of "social class", emphasis should be placed on its fundamental logical separation from the concept of stratification which was discussed in the previous paragraphs. In the first place, stratification does not intrinsically imply a reference to social classes. As Sorokin has pointed out, there might be social classes, such as those of farmers, peasants, or workers, who cannot be hierarchically placed as superior or inferior to each other (6). The assumption by an analyst that social class

* An individual's "social position" is defined here as his composite rank along the dimensions of stratification which have been included in the operation of the particular measurement of the social strata. By "class position" is meant an individual's membership in a class in instances where class situation has been postulated. The functional counterparts to these concepts, that of "social status" and "class status" are defined to comprise the rewards from society corresponding to the respective positions. "Economic position", "economic status", "socio-economic status", and "educational status" are additional concepts used in this study to denote aspects assumed to be related to social position and social status, within the limites of the stratifying devices indicated in the context.

necessarily presupposes superiority or inferiority of rank might lead to the delineation of mere nominal aggregations. It might be concluded with Sorokin that "rank or hierarchy, though frequently a secondary characteristic of the comparative position of a given class, is by no means its essential trait" (6).

Some of the general characteristics presented in sociological literature to describe social class bear a certain resemblance to those frequently used to describe any social group, whose definition by most sociologists implies some of the following traits: (a) plurality; (b) some duration; (c) organization; (c) group identification and solidarity among members; (e) a common set of values and goals or norms; and (f) interaction (7).

Among the particular characteristics of social class given by a number of researchers to distinguish it from the more general concept of social group are: (a) occupational and economic ties between class members (8); (b) more or less clearly conceived set of rights and duties of a given class as contrasted to the rights and duties of other classes (9); (c) integrating effect of membership in a class on long-span traits, total behavior, attitudes, ideology, and personality of the class members*; and (d) effect of class status on the "life-chances" of the individuals in each class (10).

In regard to methodology, the class approaches most commonly used in current sociological literature might be divided roughly into three main types: (a) those based on external objective criteria selected by the analyst; (b) those laying stress upon internal subjective factors of class; and (c) those implying the "cultural" concept of class which maintains that social class unity is based on frequent social intercourse of individuals of the same class status from early childhood and avoidance, even if it be involuntary, of contacts with members of an alien class (11). When now inspecting these three types of approaches, the last type will be given a relatively broad meaning.

OBJECTIVISTIC CLASS APPROACH

The first of these three types of social class approaches, the objectivistic view, is pointedly represented in the doctrinary literature following some of the theories of Marx in basing the class difference between men on their access to the means of production. Also Max Weber's class approach is in part objectivistic; he applies the term "Besitzklasse" ("property class") to situations in which class membership is primarily determined by the differentiation of property holdings; and the term "Erwerbsklasse" ("acquisition class") when class situation is primarily determined by the individuals' opportunity for the exploitation of services on the market. However, Weber also postulated the existence of "Soziale Klasse" ("social class"), the structure of which is composed of the plurality of class statuses between which an interchange of individuals on a personal basis is possible and typically observable (12).

Other "objectivists" have used such criteria as occupation, income, and levels of living as indices of class. These types of stratifying devices are frequently called socio-economic, so as to avoid the problems centered around the term "class" (10). They

* John W. Bennett and Melvin N. Tumin, Social Life, Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1949, pp. 471 ff.; C. Wright Mills, The Middle Classes in Middle-sized Cities, Am. Soc. Rev., II, 1946, pp. 520 ff.

might refer to a single socio-economic factor as in the case of occupational classification*, to income or expenditure in relation to the size and composition of the family (13); rent (14); or to a combination of these and other socio-economic indices pertaining to the levels of living**.

That the income, for example, correlates with the general behavior of people in different income levels has been shown by various researches (15). Theoretically, there would be as many objectivistic stratifications of a population possible as there are single or combined criteria of socio-economic divisions to be found (16), and a great many of them would undoubtedly yield some correlation with observed behavior of people on different strata. If several objectivistic criteria are used, it is more likely than not that a correlation be discovered between ranks in population obtained by different stratification instruments insofar as they combine elements of the so-called content of living. The criterion of internal consistency has, therefore, often been used by several workers like Sewell as a basis for the measurement of the socio-economic status with a composite scale (17). Some researchers, on the other hand, have used the criterion of external consistency. Warner's Index of Status Characteristics (18), for example, presupposes external consistency between this scale and his Evaluated Participation technique.

However useful the socio-economic criteria have proved to be for social researchers, a reservation should be made as to their applicability to different sociological tasks. These criteria measure relative gradations existing in societies in regard to selected components, but nothing can be said about their possibility to produce social group entities bound together with meaningful ties of mutual interest, cohesion, or solidarity without further investigation of the characteristics of the groupings that they produce. "Minute differences do not produce either solidarity among the members of the same class or antagonism toward other classes, and hence do not lead to a sense of class consciousness", states Sorokin (6). If too much attention is given to the relative stratified differences between individual traits of men, sometimes the role of broad, underlying dynamic social group structures might escape the researcher's mind.

SUBJECTIVISTIC CLASS APPROACH

In the subjectivistic approaches to class are included, among others, the methods which assign individuals into groups or rank order according to how they identify themselves in the scheme of social classes or status ranks by self-affiliation, or to how members

* Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, XVI Census, 1940, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1953; Paul K. Hatt, Occupation and Social Stratification, Am. J. Soc., Vol. LV, 1950, pp. 533 ff.

** F. Stuart Chapin, A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community, J. Educ. Psych. XIX, 1928, pp. 99 ff.; William H. Sewell, The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families, Oklahoma Sta. Tech. Bull., 9, 1940; A M Leahy, Measurement of Urban Home Environment, Uni. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1936.

of the community place or rank other members in respect to prestige.* Thus the main notion underlying these attempts is either the functional conception of classes as internally cohesive psycho-social groupings in the sense defined by Centers (19), holding that classes are "real" entities whose existence may be tested by class identification, or the concept of prestige, involving a composite frame of reference of the total of statuses that an individual has gained in the community.

In research along the lines of self-affiliation, individuals have been questioned, either directly or indirectly, in respect to which social class they consider themselves to belong in of a group of alternatives presented by the worker or left to the contestants to decide upon. An outstanding study of this type is that of Richard Centers on the psychology of social classes (19); another approach along these lines is the attempt by Sims (20) to analyze "unconscious class affiliation" by the use of a Social Class Identification Scale.

The workers who have used prestige as the key issue have most often relied upon local prestige "judges" to do ratings in the manner first employed by Edgar Schuler (21) in his study of a Louisiana Hills community. Among others who have used the rating technique are: Kaufman (22) with a study of a New England community; Useem (23) who studied a South Dakota farm center; Loomis (24) who based his comparison of the social class structure prevailing in two different types of villages of the Canton of Turrialba in Costa Rica partly on this technique; and Hollingshead (25) who used it in a Middle Western community in the U. S. A.

Besides self-attribution and the ratings by judges, other techniques used to identify social class structures subjectivistically have purported to discover directly how individuals visualize or verbalize the social class system in their locality by asking them whether they believe there are social classes in the community, what they believe were the bases for social inequality, how the various classes were placed in hierarchies, how they were termed, and similar factors. In Centers' study mentioned previously, some questions were formulated along these lines of analysis. West's (26) study in a small Missouri town is of this type. He collected individuals' interclass evaluations, descriptions and sentiments about those in other classes with an emphasis on such status factors as wealth, lineage, morals, and manners. Warner's (27) studies offer a large number of observations on how people believe the society is divided in classes.

CULTURAL CLASS APPROACH

The cultural approach to class, in the narrower meaning which this term might be given, requires data on individuals in reference to other members of the same class. More specifically, data are predicated about individuals but refer to the unit inherent in their definition (28). The cultural class approach inplies the existence of integrated group life by class levels (29), and it is used, for example, in studies on interpersonal relations and in the measures developed to analyze social distance as a mechanism of

* Prestige is defined here as the estimation of an individual's social status by another individual who is in possession of information with which to appraise it.

social differentiation. Examples of this class approach are found in the works of Charles Loomis* and others who have applied sociometric techniques for use in social class analysis.

In a broader sense, the cultural approach to class includes also those treatises presenting personality in reference to the total group, as its subjective aspect or its "internalization", and where class culture has been postulated as the frame of reference of the personality, as in some of the anthropologically oriented studies (30).

Still in another sense, the cultural approach to class might be viewed as comprising those studies which have sought to analyze certain limited aspects of an individual's personality or behavior from the viewpoint of his class position. In Hollingshead's Elmtown (31), the adolescents' social life in and outside the school, their attitudes toward authorities, their sexual experience, work outside the school, and other items are focused on the basis of their parental social class status. Lundberg (32) studied the effect of status on membership and participation in organizations, a topic which has been selected by a number of other workers such as Anderson**, MacDonald (33), Kaufman (34), and Dotson (35).

Further examples of the numerous studies which come near to the cultural class approach in this broadest sense are Dollard's (36) work which analyzed class differences in sexual mores; Kinsey's (37) study where the sexual behavior of the American male is related to social class differences; Centers' (38) analysis on intraclass marriages; Davis' (39) study about class differences in child training; Lazarsfeld's (40) study on social status and voting behavior; and Anderson's (41) on status and physical mobility. Most of these and similar works are aimed at the establishing of relationships between status and selected human traits of behavior rather than at the analysis of the social class phenomenon itself. Their mention here might emphasize the fact that for a number of empirical workers the concepts of status and class have become operative tools in important areas of scientific research despite the seemingly discouraging state of confusion in regard to the definition of these terms.

CLASSIFICATORY USAGE OF CLASS CONCEPT

In the present work, the assumption is made that social class, at this state of knowledge on the subject, can be most fruitfully described by measuring, weighing, and correlating observations on the community level which can be shown to make interrelated "clusters" of societal phenomena along various continua which are decided upon at the stage of the analyst's hypothesis formulation. Therefore, the tentative definition of social class is offered as the end product of the analysis, and its verification is to be

* C. P. Loomis, et al., Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification, Sociometry, Vol. X, 1947, p. 329; application also in Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany, Michigan State College Book Store, East Lansing, 1945.

** W. A. Anderson, Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-Ratings, Am. Soc. Rev., II, 1946, pp. 253 ff.; and Social Participation and Religious Affiliation in Rural Areas, Rural Sociology, IX, 1944, pp. 242 ff.

tested by further research. The identification of a definition with its measurement, of course, implies that the analyst is prepared to a "formula" definition of the class, combining probably numerous characteristics common to its constituent members in varying degrees. The "real", substantive, nature of class, when this view is taken, cannot be discovered; instead, the analyst is to realize the conclusions of the selection of this approach and to rule out, with Lundberg, as metaphysical "the question as to whether societal groups 'really are' of a fundamentally mutually exclusive 'nature' or whether they 'are' entities which may be designated by different names according to whether they possess more or less of certain characteristics. The only question with which science needs to be concerned is whether the results we seek are more perfectly and easily achieved by proceeding on the latter assumption rather than on the former" (42).

The means of constructing a "formula" most suited to the social class structure in the particular society under study are in the data themselves. Centers' characterization of the North American class structure serves here as a good example, since it was derived from his extensive body of data. "Social classes in their essential nature can be characterized as psychologically or subjectively based groupings defined by the allegiance of their members," he states. "Integral to their structuring are tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the qualifications for membership in them, tendencies toward common conceptions by their members of the occupational characteristics of their membership, tendencies toward common attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in economic and political matters, and perhaps tendencies toward common attitudes, beliefs and behavior in many other ways as yet undiscovered and undefined. These constituent tendencies in the formation of social classes are the responses of individuals to the whole complex situation of their lives, but are determined to a very large extent by their statuses and roles in their activities of getting a living. Classes can be less comprehensively described simply as politico-economic interest groups formed in response to total life situation dominated by socio-economic position" (19).

The classificatory principles of empirical science, therefore, become one focus of the researcher's interest in delineating the class. Lazarsfeld and Barton have indicated (43) that there is a direct line of continuity starting from qualitative classification and ending up in the most rigorous forms of measurement, by way of intermediate devices of systematic ratings, ranking scales, multidimensional classifications, typologies, and simple quantitative indices. The problem of delineating social class, as yet, falls greatly in the area of qualitative classification, and the most immediate task of the social scientist is to systematize his classificatory procedures, and to be concerned, as Llewellyn Gross (44), "more with the adequacy of any and all usages (substantive and/or classificatory) rather than with the specific criteria which sustain a particular application of one of the usages."

Defining social class, when the classificatory approach to class is used as the starting point, will assume many characteristics of the techniques which are commonly employed when the analyst is faced with the problem of categorizing unstructured materials. His first task is to treat the materials with ranking, rating, and other quantitative devices as they might be used in ecological and other similar studies. In the present paper, the primary goals are the measurement in this manner of some of the attributes of social class and an attempt toward their reduction to a definition of social class in the Costa Rican town.

PRESENCE OF CLASS IN TURRIALBA

The awareness of social class distinctions has been said to be one of the features of the social organization characteristic to Latin America (45). In his summary of studies of social stratification in Latin American countries, Ralph Beals (46) postulates several social structures existing in the various countries, those to be found in Brazil, Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico being given as illustrations of the main class groupings. Summarizing on the basis of studies on social class made in Latin America, Beals makes his statements concerning the class situation in general. A condensation of these conclusions will be given immediately.

(a) Distinctions of significance exist between rural and urban, pointedly in respect to lower status groups. There have been tendencies toward free movement between rural and urban in more recent times.

(b) Barriers to upward mobility are great in all countries, probably least in Mexico. Elites in the upper class tend to form a harder core of resistance than does the upper class as a whole. Upward mobility is usually easier in the city than in the country.

(c) Most countries can be best described by a gross three-class system, each class containing a series of stratified groups. From the point of view of cultural behavior and self-identification, however, the feudal two-class system persists, despite economically intermediate groups. Middle class accepts upper class values and attitudes in regard to the lower class and manual labor.

(d) Ethnic criteria for class assignment are common in the Indo-mestizo countries and in some countries with regional Negro populations.

(e) Indo-mestizo countries are marked by relatively self-contained plural cultures and societies among the Indians, who have their own prestige and status systems.

(f) Only in the European-oriented and Euro-American oriented countries (including Costa Rica) have the feudal class system and feudal class attitudes disappeared to any extent.

Judging the community subject of this study, Turrialba, from an impressionist point of view, with respect to the wide variation permitted by these findings, it might be said that even though the town is the center of a farming canton where the effect of the colonial system with its characteristic class structure is still discernible, it is also decidedly influenced by an urban, less rigorous class system. Surrounded by a "patrón-peón" patterned rural region, a more articulate social differentiation of people presents itself in the town. Or, to take another aspect, the influence of the elite is less pronounced in Turrialba than it might be in older colonial settlements, but some traces of the attitudes of the elite are discernible. There would be no theoretical objections to the formulation of a working hypothesis from the inspection of selected dimensions like these, for example, which were derived from generalizations made in a larger universe. However, the contrary procedure was assumed and this study started with microscopic observations instead of macroscopic, with singling out and scrutinizing such dimensions which could be parted from introductory materials available about the community, most of which have been given in the first chapter of this paper.

George Homans, in his "Human Group" (47), gives a detailed account on how the process of generalization starts by (a) describing individual events, through (b) descriptions of the average behavior of a limited number of individuals in a limited area over a limited span of time, to end in (c) descriptions of behavior which may apply to many groups, and to persons in many kinds of relationship to one another. On this last level

of generalization, the analytical hypothesis is formulated. Homans postulates, at the initial stage of his analysis, three elements of behavior in regard to which all groups in his treatment act in the same way to perform the same functions. These dimensions of behavior he calls "activity", "interaction", and "sentiment".

Somehow similarly, the approach to the process of generalization in the present study involved the inspection of the postulates of societal phenomena along a limited number of dimension. It is possible to choose elements of human behavior in regard to which the observations about the particular community can be categorized, and group differences can be recorded. These can be called "social distance", "activity", and "material facilities". By making observations in the community, certain regularities can be seen in the manner these elements of societal behavior divided the population. Field laborers, for example, work and live in relative proximity to each other; they also share similar sentiments and material facilities. Other social categories could be distinguished by observing the way the selected dimensions yielded groups of people whose distinction by one criterion corresponded to the way the same groups were arranged along the other three dimensions.

In respect to sentiments this hypothetical statement was supported by data on a personal level. For example, it could be noticed that many local citizens connoted the existence of discrepancy between those who "had capital", were "acomodados" (well-to-do), and those who were poor or "humildes" (humble). Sentiments of worry or dismay were often connected with these references to social inequality, a typical example of which was the following comment made by one of the informants, "the worker of the fields is the one that works most, earns least, is the most exploited; the most indispensable in the society and the least taken into account".

In conclusion, the four mentioned elements were selected as the frame of reference in formulating the hypothesis upon which the following analysis was to be based. Inspection of these elements, social distance, activities, sentiments, and material facilities, suggested that the population was distributed in categories which could be identified by recording the coinciding group differences which labeled certain groups by attributes which were predictable on the basis of the knowledge possessed about their characteristics when divided along some other of the three dimension. The corroboration between group characteristics was to be verified by measurement fitting the obtainable data along the four dimensions.

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CHAPTER III

EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

In the development of the classification plan for this study it was considered advisable to make first an exploratory analysis from which light might be cast upon the various components of class and status prevailing in the locality. This preliminary survey comprised the stratification of individuals by prestige rating techniques applied to a sample consisting of 146 heads of families of the urban and semiurban Turrialba area. These families had been interviewed by personnel of the Department of Economics and Rural Life of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in the Fall of 1948*, in connection with a larger community research project, and materials were available from the schedules on the size and composition of families, occupation, education and income of family members, use of services and buying habits, several characteristics in housing and equipment, and visiting and participation patterns, (see appendix, p. 125). These 146 families had been selected at random, a house being used as a sampling unit. They represented one-eight coverage of the total of 1,138 families in the area. The sample had been taken blockwise by drawing every 7th house in each town block, one family in each house being interviewed**.

The following rating procedure was applied: the above sample of 146 family heads was listed by names, and these were presented individually to nineteen local individuals

* Estudio de la Comunidad. Sub-Proyecto de Sociología y Antropología. Cuestionario No. 1, I.I.C.A. - M.S.C. - pp. 1-15.

** This sampling procedure introduced some bias, since relatively more families on lower economic statuses lived in multi-family houses than was the case of families on higher economic statuses. However, the study was not aimed at the establishing of the proportions in which the population was divided in social classes, and consequently the sample of 146 could be accepted. In effect, it was necessary later to increase the representation in the sample of persons from higher economic statuses even more by stratified sampling.

who were asked to serve as judges of the prestige of the people listed. Before the names were read one at a time to the judge, the interviewers made introductory remarks explaining generally that a special sociological study was being made about the life of the community, and on the importance of such a study. "Now, for example, people are not all alike", interviewer continued. "In every place there are some people who have a higher social standing "posición social", some of them have a lower. We do not know this locality, and that is why we want your cooperation. We would like to present to you a series of names, selected at random, and we will ask you to place and compare these names so that those people that you consider are similar to each other in social standing come in the same groupings. You might do it this way: after the name of somebody that you know well enough has been read to you, you figure out, whenever possible, which of the others in the list would have the same social standing as this one. Those will be placed in the same group. You can use as many groups as you think are necessary, only try to make the groups such that people in each one are similar to each other in social standing. We will also ask you to give us the name of someone else, if possible not in the list, whom you specifically consider having the same social standing as the person whose name we read to you".

As a rule the informant did not start his work right away. The instructions were planned to create on the side of the person being interviewed verbalized reactions which would give recordable evidence of the process of thinking behind the classificatory approach. Most often, the informant began to explain his views on the matter; usually he worked out a three-class scheme and more or less roughly defined his criteria for identifying these three strata. The upper class, "clase alta" or "primera clase" would consist of those who have much money and importance. The lower class, "clase baja", would consist of those who are poor and who have to work hard. In between, there would be a middle class, "clase media", of people who are not rich but who are more well-to-do than those in the lower class, who "do not need to work on the fields" and who enjoy more independence or respect in the locality.

Often, the informant appealed to the interviewers' opinion. "I consider that there are people who do not have much money but still are respected, or who have a good education and good manners. If I place those people according to how much money they have, it would be somehow wrong. What do you think I should do about these?" In questions like this the informant was led to understand that people have on this point different opinions, and that he should use his own judgment as to what mattered most in the placement of that person.

PHRASEOLOGY RELATED TO STATUS

Soon after the actual rating process was begun, the informant was faced with the relative social positions of individuals within the three broad classes which he might have initially postulated, and would comment on this, for example: "This man is somewhat special. I would put him into this group, but still he is higher (or lower) than the rest in that group". Such considerations made the rater use sometimes four, five, or occasionally six classes instead of the three basic ones. In this stage of the procedure, the analyst was able to collect a sample of verbalized reactions, all of which apparently had something to do with the stratifying criteria of the raters. Immediately below are presented a sample of these remarks; quoted first are those expressions which

seemed to be preliminary to advanced placement in the sense that they seemed to be given in most cases, as an explanation of why certain dimensions of the status of some individual carried so much weight as to have an influence on the "total" social position of this person.

Original Spanish Form	Translation
Tiene capital	Is rich
Se levantó	Has risen up
Tiene casita (casa) propia	Owns his own house
La hija casó con el Sr. ...	The daughter married Mr. ... (who is of good standing)
Acomodado	Well-to-do
Persona importante	An important person
Miembro de la junta de ...	Is member of the ... Board
Participa en muchas actividades	Participates in many activities
Le gusta trabajar	Likes to work
Le gusta ayudar al pobre	Likes to help the poor
La señora de él es maestra	His wife is a school teacher
Bien desarrollado	Has developed
Lleva una vida ordenada	Leads an orderly life
Anda con gente que va al Rancho	Goes around with people who visit the Rancho
Muy sociable	Very sociable
Aceptado socialmente	Is socially accepted
Va a los bailes	Comes to the dances
De buenas costumbres	Person of good habits
Bastante preparado	Well trained
Bien criado	Well brought-up
Sabe mucho	Knows much
Estudioso	Studious
Muy culto	Very cultured
Tiene cultura Europea	Has European culture
De buena familia	Comes from a good family
Magnífica persona	A magnificent person
Dinámico	Dynamic
Simpático	Charming
Diplomático	Diplomatic
Muy honesto	Very honest
Muy honorable	Very honorable
Intelectual	Intellectual
Buena persona	A good person
De buenos principios	Of good principles

Following are some of the expressions preliminary to lower and retarded placements:

Original Spanish Form	Translation
Muy pobre	Very poor
Apenas vive	Barely makes a living
No es propietario	Is not a proprietor
Como una criada	Like a servant
Tiene que trabajar en el campo	Has to work in the fields
Persona que trabaja, vive trabajando	A person who toils; lives by work (refers to hard manual work)
Ha trabajado como jornalero	Has worked as a field hand
El día que no está en este negocio, trabaja como jornalero	When he is not in this business he works as field hand
Humilde	Humble
De los jodidos	Underdog
Ayudado por los hijos	His children support him
Tiene capital pero no lo usa	Has money but does not use it
Como jornalero	Like a field hand
Retraido	Retiring
Retirado del mundo	Detached from the world
Privadito	Somewhat isolated, shy
No tiene cultura	Has no culture
No tiene educación	Has no education
No sabe leer	Does not know how to read
No lleva vida ordenada	Not an orderly life
No tiene reputación	Has poor reputation
Vicioso	Given to vice
Mujer de la vida	A prostitute
Mujer mala	A bad woman
No tiene simpatía	Is not well liked
No tiene esposo	Has no husband (refers to woman with children)

It is of interest that the ratings were sometimes subjectively oriented. A judge who seemingly considered himself as a member of an upper stratum would occasionally comment about somebody else, "se acepta" (he is accepted); a farm laborer was often found to say "como nosotros" (like us). This implies, of course, that the rater had affiliated himself with one or another of the classes. No comments on this point were asked, but it was of importance to the analyst later to include the raters themselves in the stratification scheme. This was essential because the differences found in the way the classification was performed by different raters were discovered to have certain implications on the concept of social class.

WHO THE RATERS WERE

The raters were selected to include as many elements in the society as possible in the framework of the exploratory survey. The main criterion in the selection was to have individuals who were well acquainted with the community, and an attempt was made to have as many occupational, age, and income groups represented among the judges as possible. Information about the occupational, age, sex, and income characteristics of the raters are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1
NINETEEN PRESTIGE RATERS OF THE EXPLORATORY SAMPLE
BY OCCUPATION, AGE, SEX, AND INCOME

No. of Judge	Occupation	Approximate Age	Sex	Approximate Money Income Per Month
1	Office clerk, employed	42	F	¢ 250
2	Farm laborer, employed	41	M	114
3	Merchant, employer	50	M	1.000
4	Electrician, employed and wife	44 & 40	M & F	400
5	Merchant, employer	40	M	900
6	Shoemaker, employed	34	M	175
7	Teacher, employed	34	M	450
8	Teacher, employed	35	M	450
9	Daughter of farm laborer, domestic occupations	20	F	---
10	Wife of worker in industry, domestic occupations	50	F	---
11	Construction worker and wife, employed	49 & 40	M & F	124
12	Wife of farm laborer, domestic occupations	58	F	---
13	Small farmer, no employees	33	M	150 (estim.)
14	Barkeeper, wife of the owner of a cantine	40	F	---
15	Farm laborer, employed	60	M	140
16	Owner of a store	26	M	500
17	Son of a storeowner, employed by father	34	M	350
18	Owner of small industrial plant, no employees	30	M	350
19	Artisan, independent	53	M	300 - 350

Twelve of the raters were men, five women, and two ratings were made with the cooperation of husband and wife. The ages ranged from 20 to 60 years; the income from 114 to about 1,000 colones a month, and four of the raters did not have personal cash income.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESTIGE RATINGS

Frequency distribution charts of the class assignments given by the judges to each person in the sample were next prepared. When more than three social levels had been used by the estimators to place the persons in the sample in the respective groups, the margin values were arbitrarily shown by plus and minus signs placed after the corresponding class number, and the "undecided" placements in the middle of two classes (indicated by the raters with expressions like "he does not belong to either of these two classes, but is somewhere in between") were shown by the average of the class numbers in question. In order to compute the arithmetic means of the placements, the group symbols I, II, and III were changed into index values 10, 20, and 30, shown in the second column of Table 2.

Thus, a person being placed by a judge in the first class "clase alta" was assigned by I which corresponded to the arbitrary index score of 10; a person being placed in the first class but with a qualification was assigned by 1+ or 1-, depending on whether he was estimated as "belonging to the first class although higher up than those who were placed there before", or as "somewhat lower than the rest in that class". These qualified placements, where a stereotyped concept of group average seemed to be used by the judge as the reference, were given numerical index values of 7.5 and 12.5 respectively. Similarly, persons assigned by a judge to the middle class were assigned by II, II+ and II-, with numerical index scores of 20, 17.5, and 22.5; and persons placed to the lower class by III, III+, and III-, corresponding to the index values of 30, 27.5, and 32.5. "Undecided" between classes I and II, or between II and III were given index scores 15 and 25. The arithmetic means of the index scores were then determined for each individual, and the frequency distribution of those individuals who had received an assignment score by at least one judge was made in four groups comprising respectively all individuals with average rating scores of 14.8 and above into an "upper" class; individuals with 19.8 to 15.2 in an "upper middle"; individuals with 24.8 to 20.2 in a "lower middle"; and individuals with 32.5 to 25.2 into a "lower" class. When tabulating the frequency distribution of the rated individuals within these four categories, the intervals of indeterminacy from 14.9 to 15.1 between the upper and the upper middle classes, from 19.9 to 20.1 between the upper-middle and lower-middle classes, and from 24.9 to 25.1 between the lower-middle and lower classes were kept for the placement in the areas of indeterminacy of those individuals whose averaged scores fell between these limits.

An additional score, equal to that of the person with whom they were compared, was next added to the rating of the individuals who were compared with persons within the sample whose class position was already established, or with somebody outside the sample who had been compared at least twice with a person within the sample whose class position was established. However, this was done only if all comparisons offered on the person outside the sample were in agreement, i.e., he had not been compared inconsistently with persons from more than one class. The additional scores obtained

by inspecting the names given as comparison during the rating procedure were then added to the individual distribution chart of rating scores, and a new average was computed.

The analysis of the names given as comparison was undertaken mainly in order to place the twelve persons in the intervals of indeterminacy into one of the four classes. As can be seen in Table 2, the greatest part of these, or nine persons were in the interval of indeterminacy between the upper-middle and lower-middle classes, and three of them in the interval between the lower-middlde and lower classes. Besides the placing of these twelve individuals, seven persons were removed as a result of this procedure. Thus, the exploratory class distribution of the 146 persons took the following form:

Upper class	5 persons
Upper-middle class	12 persons
Lower-middle class	50 persons
Lower class	75 persons
Unidentified	4 persons

The above class distribution was shown to one of the judges (No. 7) who had recognized a great part of the sampled individuals. This judge criticized the placement of one person in the upper-middle class instead of the upper;otherwise he did not object to the allotments.

It is necessary to consider that, at this stage of the analysis, there were several alternatives open to the analyst in regard to the class limits to be chosen. The frequency distribution of the prestige scores obtained allowed for only a rather arbitrary selection among the possible alternatives of division into the four above-named classes. The difficulty involved in the selection of class limits was partly raised by the limitation of the sample. Since the class distribution was based on a random sample of the community, the layers of the society corresponding to the upper and upper-middle classes are represented in a proportion which for purposes of comparison with the other classes, carries a large standard error.

To appraise briefly the results of the analysis of this exploratory rating, the trichotomous conceptualization of the class structure by most judges must be realized. The frequency distribution of the sampled individuals according to class assignments as presented in Table 2 has a four-fold classificatory basis, but essentially the upper-middle class seemed to be constituted of individuals whom some judges had placed in the upper class and some others in the middle class. Although the term "upper-middle" class will be employed provisionally in the following discussion, it will refer to a category whose establishment seemed to be partly due to disagreement between judges in regard to the placement of certain individuals in the classificatory scheme.

Secondly, although the weighing of various status aspects of an individual offered certain difficulties to a judge, the incongruity between conflicting status aspects was largely limited, since the alternatives in placement were usually within a relatively narrow range.

Thirdly, the judges were inclined to select their reference groups apparently on different social levels. This finding seemed to suggest that the rating procedure should be supplemented by having the judges sort the individuals in the sample in rank order.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF 146 INDIVIDUALS BY CLASS ACCORDING TO CLASS ASSIGNMENTS GIVEN THEM BY 19 RATERS

Assignment	Score	Social Class	Break Points	Interval of Indeterminacy	Persons Between Break Points	Persons in the Interval of Indeterminacy
I+	7.5		7.5			
I	10.0	Upper			5	
I-	12.5					
Between I&II	15.0		14.8	14.9		0
				15.1		
II+	17.5	Upper Middle	15.2		15	
II	20.0		19.8	19.9		9
				20.1		
II-	22.5	Lower Middle	20.2		34	
Between II and III	25.0		24.8	24.9		3
				25.1		
III+	27.5		25.2			
III	30.0	Lower			76	
III-	32.5		32.5			
				Total	130	12

Persons identified	142
Unidentified	4
Total	146

CLASS CHARACTERISTICS

The next step was the inspection of the individual and family characteristics of the 142 heads thus placed. Information from the questionnnaires concerning their income, nationality, mobility, civil status, family composition, age, occupation and occupational background, education, conveniences and equipment at home, use of certain services, buying habits, participation, and interpersonal relations and other data, was analyzed and correlated with these class placements. For the reasons mentioned previously concerning the small size of the two upper groups, the comparisons were mainly limited to those between the lower-middle and lower classes.

INCOME

The monthly cash income of the heads of families in 1948 is presented in Table 3 where income groups are selected to divide between nine income categories. Uneven class intervals were selected to give more detailed information for the groups having lower monthly earnings.

TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME OF 142 HEADS OF FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Colones Per Month in 1948									
	Under 60	61-115	116-160	161-265	266-370	371-480	481-700	701-1100	1101 &over	To-tal
Upper						1	1	1	2	5
Upper Middle			1	1	1	2	4	3		12
Lower Middle		5	6	13	16	5	2	2	1	50
Lower	12	38	9	13	3					75
Total	12	43	16	27	20	8	7	6	3	142

In the upper class, the monthly income of the heads of families ranged from 371 to 1101 and more colones, in the upper-middle from 116 to 1100, in the lower-middle from 61 to 1101 and more, and in the lower class from 60 colones and less to 370 colones. Data on income were not obtained directly from seven informants in the sample, but rather the figures were received as estimations of local people who knew these persons closely. A few corrections were also based on the tax declaration schedules of the respective year.

Total monthly family income in colones per person ranged from 171 to 400 and more in the upper class, from 61 to 400 and more in the upper-middle class, from 11 to 300 in the lower-middle class, and from 11 to 200 in the lower class. These figures are given in Table 4.

The coefficient of correlation between the head's prestige placement and the income of the head was .55, and between the prestige placement and the total family income per person it was .60 (ungrouped data). The income figures, at this exploratory stage, were taken as given by the informant or in some cases by another person in town, without being compared with data on family expenditure as was done during later stages of this survey.

NATIONALITY, PLACE OF BIRTH AND MOBILITY

As to nationality, foreign heritage was markedly present in the upper class. Two of the five upper class heads of families had a foreign nationality, and all five descended recently from foreign families. Purely Costa Rican descent had been reported by five of the twelve upper-middle, 66 percent of the lower-middle, and 88 percent of the lower class heads of families. Spanish, German, Italian, and British origins appeared in the upper class; other Latin American, Spanish, German, Lebanese, and Jamaican appeared in the upper-middle class; Latin American, Spanish, Chinese, German, Jamaican, and French in the lower-middle class; and the same, excepting French, in the lower class. Purely Costa Rican immediate national background was found somewhat more prevalent among the wives in the families.

None of the five heads of families in the upper class had been born in the Canton of Turrialba, whereas one among the twelve upper-middle, twelve, or 24 percent of the lower-middle, and ten, or 13 percent of the lower class heads had been born there. One out of the four wives of heads in the upper class, none of the eight in the upper-middle, twelve, or 29 percent of the 41 lower-middle class wives, and 20, or 38 percent of the 52 wives in the lower class had been born in the Canton. These figures indicate the high rate of physical mobility which is characteristic of Turrialba as a relatively new settlement. A greater part of lower class heads of families (87 percent) had been born outside the Canton than of lower-middle class family heads (76 percent). Many of the lower class heads came from rural areas in Costa Rica, while proportionally more lower-middle class heads had been born from families of the earlier settlers in the Canton. Wives of the male heads of families in both classes had more often been born in the Canton than the heads. The lower class wives, in contrast to the family heads, had been born there more often than those in the lower-middle class.

However, with respect to the length of residence of the sampled families in Turrialba, the differences in physical mobility were leveled off. Three of the five upper class families, ten of the twelve upper-middle families, 32, or 64 percent of the lower-middle families, and 44, or 59 percent of the lower class families had lived in Turrialba for ten years or more. As an index of mobility, the length of residence did not show marked differences between classes. The proposition could be made, therefore, that physical mobility, if at all taken into consideration as a factor of status among the lower-middle and lower classes, should possibly be viewed rather as a property of the previous generation than the present.

TABLE 4
TOTAL FAMILY INCOME OF 142 FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA;
COLONES PER MONTH PER PERSON

Income	Social Class Position of the Head			
	Lower	Lower-Middle	Upper-Middle	Upper
11- 20	8	1		
21- 30	17	5		
31- 40	11	7		
41- 50	13	10		
51- 60	9	5		
61- 70	5		3	
71- 80	3	5	1	
81- 90	2	6		
91-100	4	6	1	
101-110	1	1		
111-120	1		1	
121-130			1	
131-140		2	1	
141-150				
151-160				
161-170			1	
171-180				1
181-190				
191-200	1			1
201-210				
211-220				
221-230				1
231-240				
241-250			1	
251-260				
261-270				1
271-280		1	1	
281-290				
291-300		1		
301 and over			1	1

CIVIL STATUS, SIZE OF FAMILY, AND CHILD MORTALITY

Four of the five heads of families in the upper class, eight of the twelve in the upper-middle, forty, or 80 percent in the lower-middle, and 44, or 59 percent in the lower class were married. Since the interviewers were not asked to check whether there had been an official wedding or not, the number of common-law marriages, "convivientes" which were reported voluntarily on the question in the schedule referring to the civil status of the family head, came rather low, only one in the lower-middle and three in the lower class. The percentage of heads of families presently in marital relation, including the "convivientes", was 82 in the lower-middle and 63 in the lower class. Ten, or thirteen percent of the lower class heads of families were separated or divorced. In addition to these, two female lower class heads of families, though singles, had children of their own living at home. Three of the twelve upper-middle heads, three (6 percent) in the lower-middle class, and thirteen (17 percent) in the lower class were widows or widowers. Marital instability, thus, seemed to pertain more closely to the lower class than to the lower-middle. The lower class also contained a higher ratio of widowed heads of families than the lower-middle.

The average number of members per household was as follows:

Upper class	4.8
Upper-middle class	4.9
Lower-middle class	5.4
Lower class	5.1

An apparent factor contributing to the somewhat smaller size of the lower class households as compared with those in the lower-middle class was, as it has been shown above, the higher rate of divorce, separation and widowhood in the former. But differences in mortality were undoubtedly also related to the size of households.

Of the three marriages with children in the upper class in two no children had died but six children had died at the age of ten years or less in the third. Of the nine marriages with children in the upper-middle class, seven children in one of the families had died within the same age limits. In the lower-middle class, the proportion of dead children to the number of families which had had children was 1.2, whereas the corresponding figure in the lower class was from 2.8 to 3.3, the margin depending here on the inclusion or exclusion of three families reporting a total of 29 children having died at unknown ages. Stillbirths were included in the previous calculations. Among the families in the sample who have had children, thus, the differences in mortality during the ten first years of life alone account for the loss of an average of almost two family members more in the lower class families than in the lower-middle class families.

AGE

The age distribution of the heads of families is given in Table 5. The ages of upper class members ranged from 31 to 60 years, those in the upper-middle from 31 to 76 and over, in the lower-middle from 20 and less to 70 years, and in the lower class from 20 and less to 75 years. The chi-square test applied to the age distribution in lower-middle and lower classes, the data being grouped in ten-year periods, showed that age was related to class beyond the .05 probability level. There was a tendency

for individuals to lose social status in the locality with growing in age during the late fifties and after. Some young heads of families, on the other hand, had not yet been entitled by the prestige judges to the status they possibly were to gain during their late twenties.

TABLE 5
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 142 HEADS OF FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Age in Years												
	20& under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76& over
U				1	1	1		1	1				
UM				2	1	4	1	2	1				1
LM	2	2	8	11	11	7	5	2	1		1		
L	1	6	6	6	14	9	9	9	8	3	1	3	
Total	3	8	14	20	27	21	15	14	11	3	2	3	1

OCCUPATION

The heads of families were given occupational designations according to Alba Edwards' classification (1). Three of the five heads in the upper class belonged to proprietors, managers, and officials; one to professionals; and one to farmers. The upper-middle class was represented by the same occupational categories with correspondingly six, three, and two heads in each, plus one head in the clerical, sales and kindred workers' category. Lower-middle class heads of families fell into the craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers' category (15 persons); into the proprietors, managers and officials (15 persons); operatives and kindred (7 persons); clerical, sales and kindred (6 persons); protective services (3 persons); services (2 persons); farm laborers (1, "a capataz" or foreman); and into the laborers except farm category (1 person). The majority of 40 heads of families of the lower class belonged to the farm laborers; nine to laborers except farm; five to domestic servants; five to clerical, sales and kindred services; four to craftsmen; three to operatives and kindred workers; three to farmers; one to protective service; one to proprietors. The occupations of four heads of families were unidentifiable. It was noted that certain occupations, for example that of farm laborer and domestic servant, were exclusively characteristic to certain social classes, whereas some others, like that of farmer and proprietor (merchant) appeared to some degree in all social classes.

With respect to the previous occupation, only partial information was obtained. One head of a family in the upper class, and one in the upper-middle class reported having previously had an occupation different from the present one. Fourteen persons (28 percent) in the lower-middle class reported having made occupational change in

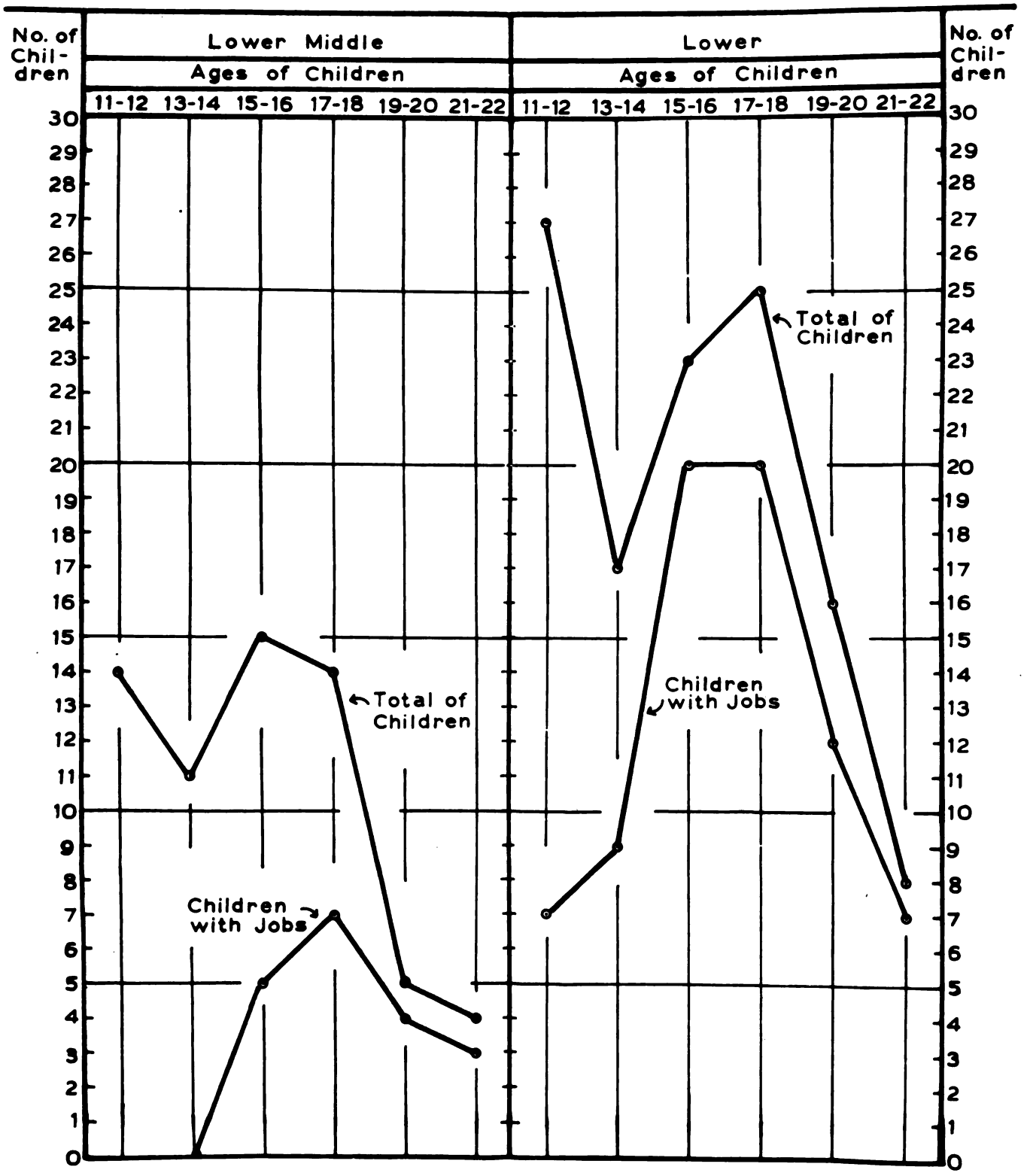
the past. Nine of these (18 percent) gave farm labor as their previous occupation. Only six (8 percent) of the lower class heads of families stated that they had formerly had different occupations than the one in which they were presently engaged.

Since it would also be interesting to know about the approximate ages at which gainful employment was assumed in various social classes, a total of 200 children and grandchildren of the 142 heads of families between 11 and 22 years of age and living at home were surveyed. Ninety-three of these were boys, and 107 were girls. None of the seven boys and girls in the upper class between these age limits reported any occupations. Three of the fourteen in the upper-middle class, at the ages of 21 and 22 years, occupied themselves in gainful work. Two of these were boys, and one was a girl. In the lower-middle class, out of the 25 boys, ten who ranged in age from 15 to 22 were gainfully occupied; out of the 38 girls in the lower-middle class; nine whose ages ranged from 15 to 22 were also occupied in gainful work. In the lower class, out of the 60 boys, 45 had gainful work at the age range of 11 to 22, and out of the 56 girls, 30 between ages 12 and 22 were similarly engaged in occupations.

The proportion of children and grandchildren of the lower-middle and lower class families between 11 and 22 years of age who lived at home and were engaged in gainful work in relation to the total number of children between the same ages at home is given in Figure 4. The upper curve in both parts of the graph indicates the total number of children and grandchildren in the families of the interviewed heads of families living at home, by two-year age groups; the lower curves indicate how many of these are gainfully occupied. Although based on scarce statistical materials, the proposition could be made that lower class children have assumed gainful work approximately four years earlier than children do in the lower-middle class. Since this material is based on those children and young people holding jobs already at the time of the interview, it does not actually reflect the ages when the employment was initially assumed, although it serves for comparison between the two classes.

FIGURE 4

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN WITH GAINFUL WORK IN LOWER-MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS FAMILIES OF TURRIALBA IN RELATION TO ALL 179 CHILDREN AT HOME



EDUCATION

Education received by the individuals in the sample depended, among other factors, upon the age of the person. The younger people enjoyed more extensive educational facilities than did their parents. A gross demonstration of differences by class in formal schooling was brought about by analyzing the educational levels in a population including all 562 members of the sampled families seven years of age and above (Table 6). Since those children presently in school were included in this population, the value of analysis is restricted mainly to comparison between the classes. If only those persons are considered who have completed their formal schooling, the average educational status in all social classes would be somewhat higher than that based on the figures in Table 6.

TABLE 6
EDUCATION LEVELS OF 562 FAMILY MEMBERS OF SAMPLED FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA

Social Class	No. School	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P6	S1-2	S3-6	U1-3	U4-7	Total
Upper				3	1	2	5	3	3		2	19
Upper Middle	2	2	5	3	4	6	12	3	4	2	1	44
Lower Middle	16	25	23	43	26	30	33	6	4			206
Lower	65	33	60	67	27	23	15	2	1			203
Total	83	60	88	116	58	61	65	14	12	2	3	562

(P - Primary School; S - Secondary School; U - University; numbers - years completed).

It can be seen in Table 6 that all of the nineteen members of upper class families had passed at least three grades in primary school, eight of them had at least entered the secondary school, and two of them had univeristy education. Two of the total of 44 persons in the upper-middle class had no formal schooling, half of them, or 22 persons had finished six grades in primary school, and 10 had at least entered secondary school. Three of the 44 had carried on studies at university. . Sixteen persons out of the 206 in the lower-middle class had had no formal schooling, 43 of them had at least finished primary school, and 10 of them had entered secondary school. Nobody in the lower-middle class had entered a university. Sixty-four persons out of the 293, or 22 percent in the lower class had no formal schooling, eighteen, or 8 percent had at least

finished primary school, three of them had entered secondary school, and none had entered a university.

The chi-square test applied to educational status in the lower-middle and lower classes showed that education and social class position were dependent on each other at a high degree of significance. The coefficient of correlation between the grade of education of the family member with highest formal education and the social class placement of the respective head was .58, and about the same, .57, between the average formal schooling received by all family members seven years and older and the social class position of the head. Similarly, the social class position of the head correlated with the educational levels of different family members. For example, a coefficient of correlation of .61 was obtained between the educational level of the child above and nearest to 14 years in age and the social class position of the head.

HOUSING AND EQUIPMENT

The houses of all the upper class families had outside paint; so did 83 percent of the upper-middle, 53 percent of the lower-middle, and 13 percent of the lower class homes. Whitewashed houses were found in 17 percent of the upper-middle, 33 percent of the lower-middle, and 52 percent of the lower class family homes. Without any paint were 35 percent of the lower class, and 14 percent of the lower-middle class dwellings.

Seventy-seven percent of the lower class families did not have any bathing facilities; the same was true about 22 percent of the lower-middle families, whereas all families in the two higher classes had a bathroom in their houses.

There were only three electric refrigerators in the 146 families in the sample. These belonged to upper class families. Besides, there were three iceboxes, one in an upper, one in an upper-middle, and one in a lower-middle class family.

Ninety-one percent of all the families had a room in the house used especially as a kitchen. The remaining 9 percent who did their cooking in a corner of the living room were found in the lower class.

In the upper and upper-middle families, the use of iron stoves, "anafres", (locally made small tin-covered clay stoves, using charcoal), and electric ranges was found about equally often, although the use of an "anafre" was regularly combined with the use of one of the two other cooking conveniences. In lower-middle families, the "anafre" appeared most commonly (in 52 percent of the families). The majority of the lower class (77 percent) did the cooking on a "fogón" (an arrangement in which the cooking pots rest upon a brick, stone, or iron bar support placed on a cement stand). There were no families in the lower class making use of electricity for cooking.

In the five upper class families, the living room did not have equipment for sleeping; in the upper-middle class, in only one case of the twelve the living room was used also as a sleeping room, whereas this was the case in 43 percent of the lower-middle class and 79 percent of the lower class families.

The floor of the living room in the upper and upper-middle class homes was made of even and uniform boards. In the lower-middle families 83 percent of the living rooms had a floor of rough, unfinished wood. Three percent of the lower class families had earth floors.

The walls in the living rooms of lower class families were without paint in more than half of the homes; one of every five lower class families had covered the living room walls all or partly with paper, and the rest had whitewashed walls. In the lower-middle class the habit of covering walls with pieces of paper virtually disappeared, and the walls were either without paint, whitewashed or painted with water-base colors. In the upper-middle class whitewash appeared only seldom, in the upper class not at all, and water-base paint became prevailing.

All the upper and upper-middle families had furniture sets in the living rooms. In the lower-middle class sets of simpler quality were commonly found, plus simple benches and chairs; 80 percent of the lower class families had only odd pieces such as tables, benches, boxes, and chairs of rustic quality.

Only 4 percent of the lower class families had glass windows in the living room, whereas the percentage was 34 in the lower-middle, 92 in the upper-middle, and 100 in the upper class.

Curtains of low quality were used by 5 percent of the lower class families, 26 percent of the lower-middle class, and 17 percent of the upper-middle class families. Window curtains of better quality were used by 60 percent of the upper class, 50 percent of the upper-middle, and 4 percent of the lower-middle families.

There were radios in three of the five upper class, in three, of the twelve upper-middle, in 28 percent of the lower-middle, and 7 percent of the lower class families.

Books possessed by the families in each class were distributed as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7
PERCENT OF FAMILIES POSSESSING DIFFERENT NUMBER OF BOOKS BY SOCIAL CLASS

	No Books	1-10 Books	11-99 Books	100 or more Books
Upper	--	--	40	60
Upper-middle	--	8	42	50
Lower-middle	20	46	28	6
Lower	47	47	7	

(Numbers indicate percentages of families in each category from the total of families in that social class).

It became apparent that loose issues of magazines or pamphlets were often reported by the informants as books.

Four of the five upper class families had a domestic servant; correspondingly seven of the twelve upper-middle, six (12 percent) of the 50 lower-middle, and two (3 percent) of the 75 lower class families had household aid. Some of the informants reported as domestic servants persons outside the family who were not paid in cash but who worked for the family in exchange for room and board.

USE OF SERVICES

Every other interview was completed by questions on the use of certain commercial services. This limited survey showed, among other things, that weekly purchasing of most of the food stuffs was a prevalent pattern in the lower class (66 percent out of 35 families) and decreased in the higher social levels of the community. The fruit and vegetable stores were visited daily by 15 out of the 35 lower class people and by the great majority of persons in the higher classes.

Approximately one half of the lower class families bought some meat every day, a pattern assumed by a great majority in other classes. Six of the 35 lower class families (17 percent) bought meat only once a week, whereas only a minority of families in other classes (one of the 22 in the lower-middle, two of the six in the upper- middle class) bought meat as seldom as three times a week.

More than one third of the lower class families bought in a textile store once or twice a year, and only two of the families more frequently than twice a month, whereas the majority of families in other classes bought textile articles twice a month or more. It was common in the upper, upper-middle and lower-middle classes to buy textiles in San José or Cartago.

Four of the 75 families in the lower class did not buy shoes at all. The majority of lower class families bought shoes once a year; in the lower-middle class the majority of families bought shoes three times a year. In about one half of the families of the other classes some shoes were regularly bought in San José or Cartago.

Lower class families were found to buy at the pharmacy more frequently but in smaller quantities than the families in other social classes.

Class differences were also found in the frequency of the use of mail, telegraph and bank, whose services were mostly used by the upper classes and rarely by the lower class.

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES

Soccer games were attended by someone in the family at least three times a month, without much difference between classes. Bars or cantines were frequently used by some member in more than one half of the lower class families and in a great majority of the families of the other classes. Almost one half of the lower class families did not visit movies, whereas the members of a majority of families in other classes visited movies at least once a week, and almost all the members occasionally.

The Masons' and Lions' clubs had an exclusively upper and upper-middle class membership. The same was true about the "Cámara de Comercio", the local businessmen's association. The local commercial recreational club, El Rancho, had members from the three higher classes. The local sports club recruited its members from all social classes, the representation of the lower-middle class being numerically greatest; more than one fifth of the lower-middle class families had some member or members participating in it. The members of local religious organizations (p. 14) were also found to come from all four social classes, roughly one of every three families having a membership. There were no marked differences between social classes as to the participation in religious organizations.

Weekly attendance at the local church was reported by a great majority of people in all social classes without class differences.

Approximately one fifth of the lower-middle and lower class families had participation in labor union activities.

Every other informant was also asked about the habitual place of meeting with friends. More than one third of the lower class people said they met their friends in the stores, nearly a second third in the streets, in the "plaza" or just "outdoors". Half of the lower-middle class persons also met their friends in the stores, but only a small proportion gave open-air places as their regular meeting place.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

The extent to which persons of the four social classes were identified by the prestige judges of the rating procedure was also analyzed. The nineteen raters could identify an average of four of the five upper class heads of families, seven of the twelve upper-middle class heads, nineteen, or 38 percent of the lower-middle class, and ten, or 13 percent of the lower class heads of families.

There were seven questions in the questionnaire used in this first survey which referred to contacts between the sampled individuals and other persons within and outside the locality. These questions were:

a. If you had to leave for a few days, whom would you choose to take care of your affairs?

b. Whom do you invite for baptisms, Christmas, weddings or any other festivities?

c. In the case of misfortune in the family, whom would you consult first?

d. Indicate the families you would ask to lend you money if you should need it. (In the case the informant hesitated to answer this question, it was rephrased to include the borrowing of tools, equipment, seeds, and similar items).

e. Which families do you visit most often?

f. If you should become ill, which of the friends or relatives would be the first ones to come and see you?

g. Who are the persons with whom you deal with all confidence and with whom you discuss your personal problems?

In most of the cases, three names were expected from the informant on each of these questions. It was considered necessary to augment the number of community members for whom the class position was known so as to be able to use a greater proportion of names for the analysis of interpersonal relations than that in the original sample. Thus, before analyzing the data on interpersonal relations, a new sample of 299 adult persons of the locality was taken at random from the census files of 1948. This second sample was subjected to a similar rating procedure as the first sample of 146 heads of

families. Only four raters were used this time, however, and consequently the percentage of unidentified persons was higher than in the first sample. The class distribution of the 299 new heads of families resulted as presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8
CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF 299 PERSONS OF CENTRAL TURRIALBA AREA IN FOUR SOCIAL CLASSES; SECOND SAMPLE

Upper class	10 persons	3.3 percent
Upper-middle class	14 persons	4.7 percent
Lower-middle class	76 persons	25.4 percent
Lower class	163 persons	54.5 percent
Unidentified	36 persons	12.0 percent
Total	299 persons	99.9 percent

Since the farm laborers and domestic servants had been found to belong exclusively to the lower class (p.43), persons of these occupations in the second sample, if no other member of the family had an occupation different from these, were placed in this class and not among the unidentified even if the raters had not recognized them. This has made the second social class proportional distribution incomparable with the first one on page 37.

The information from the seven questions on interpersonal relations was used as an index of the degree of interchange within and between three social levels, the combined upper and upper-middle which will be called here the "upper"class; the lower-middle which will be called here the "middle" class; and the lower class. If the names given by individuals appeared in one of the two samples stratified by prestige, they were recorded. This permitted classification of the answers in respect to the social class of both the informant and the persons with whom there was a reported contact. This material is presented in Table 9 where the social class position of the informant is stated by the division in horizontal rows, and the social class position of the person with whom the contacts were established, in vertical columns, the number before the title of each square indicating the number of the respective question in the questionnaire (see p. 50). The numbers in the first column in the body of the table show the actual number of

contacts within and between the three social classes; the numbers in the second column indicate the percentage of the actual number of contacts from the total number of informants in each social class. The total number of informants in each class is given in parentheses after each class title in the column "Class Status of the Informant". The reported contacts were not evenly distributed among the informants, and therefore the number of contacts could theoretically exceed the number of informants in each class. This, however, was not found to be the case in regard to any of the questions, apparently due to the contacts that fell outside the two samples and outside the locality.

Inspection of these tables shows, that the reported interpersonal relations are in a great degree intraclass contacts. There is only one case (question c, consulting in misfortune) where the upper class informants have an equally high index of interchange between individuals from the middle and lower class as from their own class. In this case, however, there is only one contact in each position, and the person reporting a relationship with a middle class person was the same who also had reported the relationship with a lower class individual. Relatively few upper class individuals appear in connection with the third question because the great majority of people of this stratum consulted people outside the locality, usually the relatives, in case of misfortune.

Next to the relations preferentially within the class, the index of interchange shows contacts with persons from the strata near one's own status. Thus the contacts of upper class individuals, excluding those within the same stratum, are more frequently with middle than with lower class individuals. Similarly, outside of the intraclass contacts, the contacts of lower class individuals are more frequently with middle than with upper class persons. To a certain extent, the middle class plays an intermediary role between higher and lower social strata of the society. Middle class informants' contacts, however, tend to reach upward, toward the upper class more often than downward, toward the lower class.

TABLE 9
INDEX OF PERSONAL INTERCHANGE WITHIN AND BETWEEN THREE SOCIAL STRATA IN TURRIALBA

(a) Trusteeship of Affairs

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	5	29.4	1	5.9	1	5.9
Middle(50)	3	6.0	34	68.0	--	--
Lower (75)	4	5.3	11	14.7	38	50.7

(Table 9, cont.)
(b) Inviting for Festivities

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	7	41.2	3	17.6	1	5.9
Middle (50)	4	8.0	32	64.0	3	6.0
Lower (75)	7	9.3	12	16.0	34	45.3

(c) Consulting in Misfortune

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	1	5.9	1	5.9	1	5.9
Middle (50)	4	8.0	13	26.0	--	--
Lower (75)	2	2.7	11	14.7	28	37.3

(d) Borrowing of Money

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	7	41.2	3	17.6	--	--
Middle (50)	4	8.0	27	54.0	--	--
Lower (75)	3	4.0	15	20.0	43	57.3

(Table 9, cont.)
(e) Visiting

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	8	47.1	3	17.6	--	--
Middle (50)	7	14.0	27	54.0	1	2.0
Lower (75)	4	5.3	16	21.3	42	56.0

(f) Visitors in Illness

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	10	58.8	1	5.9	1	5.9
Middle (50)	1	2.0	28	56.0	1	2.0
Lower (75)	1	1.3	17	22.7	34	45.3

(g) Confidence Relations

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Named					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	6	35.3	2	11.8	1	5.9
Middle (50)	7	14.0	20	40.0	1	2.0
Lower (75)	9	12.0	18	24.0	28	37.0

(Table 9, cont.)
Averages of Sections a-g.

Class status of informant	Class Status of the Person Names					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent	No. of persons	Percent
Upper (17)	6.3	37.1	2.0	11.8	0.7	4.1
Middle (50)	4.3	8.6	25.9	51.8	0.9	1.8
Lower (75)	4.3	5.7	14.3	19.1	35.3	47.1

The trends discussed can be seen summarily in the last section of the table where the numbers of interpersonal contacts for individuals of the three social strata are averaged from the seven preceding sections of the table.

Visiting patterns follow more closely the class lines than do such other forms of interpersonal relations as consulting in case of misfortune, discussing personal problems, or trusting affairs during absence. It could be noticed that in these latter questions formal relations with a judge, priest or a community official were sometimes reported.

It has been discussed that the upper class persons had relationships with people from outside the locality more often than the middle and lower class persons. The distribution of reported contacts for all classes according to the place of residence of the persons named as answers to the seven questions on interpersonal relationships is given in Table 10.

TABLE 10
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS OF 142 INDIVIDUALS OF TURRIALBA BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE NAMED PERSON

(a) Trusting of Affairs

Place of Residence of the Person Named	Social Class of the Informant					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts
Central Turrialba	32	84.2	131	95.6	203	96.6
San José	--	--	1	0.7	--	--
Cartago	--	--	1	0.7	--	--
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	4	10.5	4	2.9	2	1.0
Canton of Turrialba	2	5.3	--	--	5	2.4
Foreign Countries	--	--	--	--	--	--

(Table 10, cont.)
(b) Inviting for Festivities

Place of Residence of the Person Named	Social Class of the Informant					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts
Central Turrialba	43	84.3	126	84.6	206	86.9
San José	1	2.0	4	2.7	--	--
Cartago	2	3.9	1	0.7	1	0.4
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	1	2.0	13	8.7	16	6.8
Canton of Turrialba	4	8.0	5	3.4	14	5.9
Foreign Countries	--	--	--	--	--	--

(c) Consulting

Central Turrialba	23	46.9	74	49.0	138	59.7
San José	7	14.3	24	15.9	9	3.9
Cartago	5	10.2	10	6.6	2	0.9
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	9	18.4	32	21.2	64	27.7
Canton of Turrialba	2	4.1	9	6.0	18	7.8
Foreign Countries	3	6.1	2	1.3	--	--

(Table 10, cont.)

(d) Borrowing of Money

Place of Residence of the Person Named	Social Class of the Informant					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts
Central Turrialba	36	87.8	121	92.4	200	93.5
San José	1	2.4	1	0.8	1	0.5
Cartago	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	1	2.4	4	3.1	6	2.8
Canton of Turrialba	3	7.3	5	3.8	7	3.3
Foreign Countries	--	--	--	--	--	--

(e) Visiting

Central Turrialba	42	95.5	132	95.0	221	93.2
San José	--	--	2	1.4	--	--
Cartago	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	--	--	2	1.4	4	1.7
Canton of Turrialba	2	4.5	3	2.2	12	5.1
Foreign Countries	--	--	--	--	--	--

(Table 10, cont.)
(f) Visiting in Illness

Place of Residence of the Person Named	Social Class of the Informant					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts
Central Turrialba	44	84.6	121	86.4	204	86.1
San José	3	5.8	2	1.4	—	—
Cartago	—	—	3	2.1	—	—
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	3	5.8	7	5.0	20	8.4
Canton of Turrialba	2	3.8	7	5.0	13	5.5
Foreign Countries	—	—	—	—	—	—

(g) Confidence Relations

Central Turrialba	38	76.0	105	80.8	191	86.4
San José	3	6.0	6	4.6	1	0.5
Cartago	3	6.0	4	3.1	1	0.5
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	5	10.0	11	8.5	16	7.2
Canton of Turrialba	1	2.0	4	3.1	12	5.4
Foreign Countries	—	—	—	—	—	—

(Table 10, con.)
Averages of Sections a-g

Place of Residence of the Person Named	Social Class of the Informant					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts	No. of contacts	Percent of all contacts
Central Turrialba	36.9	79.5	115.4	82.9	194.4	85.8
San José	2.1	4.5	5.7	4.1	1.6	0.7
Cartago	1.4	3.0	2.7	1.9	0.6	0.3
Other areas in Costa Rica except the Canton of Turrialba	3.3	7.1	10.4	7.5	18.3	8.1
Cantón of Turrialba	2.3	5.0	4.7	3.4	11.6	5.1
Foreign Countries	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.2	--	--

An inspection of these tables shows that the upper class individuals have, on the average, contacts in a wider geographic area than those in the middle and lower classes. Visiting and inviting is mainly a local affair in all social strata, but the answers to question "c" show the clear tendency of upper class people to contact persons from other localities in consulting on personal matters.

It was further interesting to know whether there were any class differences as to the relationships with kin. The reported contacts were analyzed in respect to their being limited to (a) consanguineal kinship groups, including parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren, sisters and brothers, aunts or uncles, and cousins; and to (b) the ceremonial kinship including in-laws, godparents, and other ceremonial relations.

A summary of interpersonal relations within kin and ceremonial kinship held by the informants in the three social classes is presented in Table 11. It can be seen that almost one third of the upper class families and a little more than that from the middle class families would select persons of their kin to take charge of their affairs during an absence. Twenty percent of the lower class individuals would do the same. Persons invited for festivities would be of kin in 36 to 37 percent of the upper and middle class families. Persons of kin invited by lower class families would be about 30 percent. Relatives would be consulted first in misfortune by more than 60 percent within the two higher classes and 55 percent in the lower class. Upper class persons depend on their relatives in a higher degree (44 percent) when they would need to borrow money or equipment than the persons from the other two classes. In these latter classes, 25 to

30 percent would rely on persons of their kin. As to visiting relatives, however, upper class persons visit their kin somewhat less, 20 percent of the visits, in comparison to the 24 and 27 percent of visits within kin in the middle and lower classes. Thirty-six to 43 percent of the visitors to see the sick would be relatives in all classes, the first figure referring to the upper class. Thirty-one to 40 percent of the people confided in concerning personal problems would be of kin, the two higher classes being also here more exclusively dependent on their relatives, and the lower class people asking for other persons' advice relatively more often.

TABLE 11
PERCENTAGE OF ALL INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS OF 142 INDIVIDUALS IN TURRIALBA HELD WITHIN CONSANGUINITY GROUPS AND CEREMONIAL KINSHIP GROUPS

Kind of Relationship	Social Class					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Consan-guineal	Cere-monial	Consan-guineal	Cere-monial	Consan-guineal	Cere-monial
a. Trusting affairs	31.6	5.3	34.9	3.7	20.2	6.2
b. Inviting	37.2	5.9	35.5	12.7	29.9	10.4
c. Consulting in misfortune	61.2	14.3	60.2	13.9	55.2	13.0
d. Borrowing	43.9	7.3	29.8	7.7	25.1	4.6
e. Visiting	20.3	15.9	23.6	9.4	26.7	9.1
f. Visiting the sick	36.4	11.5	42.9	9.2	41.6	8.8
g. Asking for advice	40.0	10.0	39.9	8.6	30.9	10.4

All forms of interpersonal relations taken into account, the upper class persons had an average of about 39% of these with kin, the middle class had about 38 percent of the reported contacts with kin, and the lower class about 33 percent of the total of reported relationships with kin. These figures do not indicate as high a degree of familism as has been found by Loomis in several older communities in Latin America where families engaging in mutual aid were related by blood kinship in proportion over 4/5

(2). As a newly settled area, Turrialba's social relationships are less markedly influenced by familism. Within the transient elements among the population of Turrialba, especially lower class individuals maintain blood relations in a lesser degree than individuals in other social classes.

As to the relationships held in ceremonial kinship groups, some individual forms of relationship showed differences between the three social classes which were statistically significant. However, the percentage of contacts with ceremonial kin from the total number of contacts, combining the seven studied forms of relationship (upper class -- 10%; middle class -- 9%; and lower class -- 9%) did not reveal significant group differences. Considering a probable source of error in getting the information on this topic (there were reasons to believe that an interpersonal relation was not consistently reported by the informant as related to ceremonial kinship) it is considered not justified to make conclusions here as to relation of ceremonial kinship to interpersonal contacts by class in greater detail.

Distance as a selective factor influencing interpersonal relations was analyzed by the use of the map of the town. The blocks where the persons dwelled whose names were given as answers to the questions on interpersonal relations were compared with the place of residence of the interviewed persons. The distance between the two residences was classified according to proximity into three groups, namely, (a) that of the residents in the same house, that of the next-door neighbors, of the residents in the same city block or in the same semi-urban section, and of people living in houses opposite to each other along the same street; (b) a distance between neighboring or cornerwise blocks, or a distance corresponding to about 500 meters; and (c) longer distances. A score of one to three was given the sampled persons in correspondence with the three categories of distance. The average scores were 2.0 in the upper class; 1.9 in the middle class and 1.6 in the lower class. These values were based on 389 relationships reported by 16 upper class individuals (one did not report any relationships held with towns people), on 1,127 relationships by the 50 lower-middle class individuals, and on 1,508 relationships reported by the 75 lower class individuals. Only inter-personal contacts with people from the town were included.

It has been shown earlier that the upper class individuals had their interpersonal contacts in a wider geographic area outside the research site than those in lower classes. Now it appeared that the lower class people, even in the limited area of the study where no transportation facilities and cost for the fare are needed, are more inclined to adhere to the neighborhoods, whereas the other classes appear to be more selective and to contact people with less regard to distance. Since there are numerically more lower class people in the locality than middle and upper class people, the lower class persons have proportionately more opportunity to contact more of their peers within a smaller geographical radius than the others.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the initial exploratory analysis along four dimensions of societal phenomena, "activities", "sentiments", "social distance", and "material facilities", of a representative sample of families in the area of research has been presented. These four dimensions were defined by a selection of criteria along each aspect of inspection, and tentatively measured by group characteristics along each. Thus, it has included

data on occupational, recreational, and educational "activities"; "material facilities" in terms of housing and equipment, income, purchasing and consumption patterns; data on "social distance" in terms of interpersonal relations; and data on "sentiments", obtained from the information offered by local judges on how they placed individuals into social classes according to class sentiments. The division on "sentiments", measured by judges' ratings, was used as the first principle of determining the units of analysis, and the characteristics of the social classes thus delineated were studied along the other three dimensions of inspection.

The evaluation of the relations prevailing between various social phenomena and the social classes was partly handicapped by the fact that the two smaller units of analysis, the upper and the upper-middle classes were too narrowly represented in the sample for purposes of comparison.

The findings from this preliminary analysis have shown that the class assignments performed by local citizens on individuals they knew well enough yielded units of population which differed from each other in the possession of numerous commodities pertaining to the levels of living of the families. Not only material traits like the furnishing and equipment of homes, and income, but also such traits as education, physical mobility, purchasing habits, use of services, selection of occupation and age of first employment, child mortality and participation in many organized and unorganized activities (not in those related to religious organizations or sports) were related to the class position given these persons by the raters. Such items as ethnic factors, age, marital status and occupation were also found to be related to class. Certain aspects of interpersonal relations and communication also differed between classes, and thus classes were found not to be mere nominal groupings, but connected with close mutual contacts between members in one class, with relatively lesser contacts with individuals from other classes.

Many of the characteristics which were found to be related to an individual's class position had been verbally stated by the raters during the process of rating people according to their local social standing. For other characteristics which the raters mentioned, information had not been gathered in the questionnaires. Some expressions about attributes of the persons rated, as for example "leads an orderly life" and "is not well liked", seemed to refer to qualitative differences which could not be readily measured. However, it is proposed that although in this particular society an individual's status within a class is modified by attributes connected with the many aspects of his personal life, good or bad habits, attractiveness, intelligence, and, on the other hand, such factors as age or sex, in short the display of characteristics making up the individual's personality, his belonging to a certain social class may be adequately determined by a narrower selection of characteristics which are principally of economic or socio-economic nature. Possession of economic or socio-economic class characteristics would determine where the individual belonged in macroscopic terms, the "personal" attributes then modifying his place within that class. In order to test this finding that an individual's social class position is largely independent of many of the qualitative personal characteristics, an analysis was made of a sample of individuals according to objective socio-economic possessions as a classification alternative to the subjectivistic classification obtained by the rating method.

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION

FINAL SAMPLE

In the exploratory analysis of social class by the use of raters, four subpopulations had been delimited within the initial sample of 146 heads of families. For the next part of this study, these subpopulations, tentatively called the upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, and lower class, were approximated to each other in size by (a) assigning additional heads of families to the upper and upper-middle classes through choosing additional subjects at random among those names which had been given as comparisons to individuals in these two classes by the raters of the original sample; (b) by eliminating at random some families assigned to the lower-middle and lower classes; and (c) by selecting eight names at random from two local charity organizations' lists. This quota sampling procedure was employed because the strata themselves were to become the objects of study, whereas the estimation of what proportion they were from the entire population was only of secondary importance. The names from the charity lists had been added in order to insure that an adequate sample would be obtained from the lowest prevailing stratum of the community (1).

It was planned to study 100 families in this quota sample, with about 25 heads of families in each of the four mentioned social classes. These families would be interviewed thoroughly so as to cover the socio-economic aspects of their family life in the greatest possible detail. Information on the following main aspects was to be gathered: (a) home facilities and condition of houses, (b) use of money, (c) furnishing and equipment of the living room, (d) cultural practices, (e) diet, (f) clothing, (g) amusement, (h) health practices, (i) other socio-economic traits (e.g. credit, home production of goods, and source of income), and (j) expressed aspirations and felt needs*.

The field work was carried on during June, July and August 1950. The interviews were made personally by the writer and an assistant, who visited together the subjects in their homes. Ninety-nine interviews were completed, 81 of these were on single families, and 18 came from nine twin families.

* Some of the materials will be presented in a forthcoming publication.

SELECTION OF BASIS FOR DIVISION

The criterion of money income which would seemingly be one basis of division, was found inadequate for application singly as the index of the economic status of families. In the first place, the datum can rather easily be computed for employed persons who work for wages or salaries, but a great proportion of owners, either farmers or businessmen, are often able to give only a rough estimate of their money income. Occasionally in the present study the income data were not available at all, as was sometimes the case when the informant was the wife, and was not able to estimate her husband's income, and also when the informant was found reluctant to give information on this point. Both cases were found more often in the upper income brackets of the community.

Besides this limitation, the monetary income criterion overlooked some important aspects of behavior deviations which frequently existed in the socio-economic sphere even in spite of the similarity between the budgets of some families or some individuals. Certain individuals were found to be able to maintain a higher level of living with a relatively lower budget, and, generally, the use of money seemed to be partly conditioned by situations which apparently could be subjected to analysis only in non-monetary terms.

Thus the external stimulus of monetary income could not be treated as a functionally independent promoter of behavior, for in this respect as in others an individual does not always seem to respond to a simple external stimulus, but to his own, very often emotional evaluation or interpretation of the stimulus in the complex total situation.

To illustrate how the monetary income used singly was inadequate as a criterion of division for the Turrialban society, mention is made of the trait found to exist of supplementing monetary income by a system of satisfactions derived from own effort, from non-commercialized sources, from nature, society, and from the existing social institutions. As this finding has had some essential implications in this study, it appears indicated to survey it here in detail.

SUBSTITUTIONAL INCOME

The difficulties in estimating the latent components of the total net income, such as rental value of owner-occupied houses, profits from boarders and lodgers, and value of home produce are familiar to every student of family budget (2). In an industrially but little developed country such as Costa Rica the problem of giving monetary values to satisfactions which fall outside the family economic budget becomes even more important than in other more developed regions (3), if the total net income is to be measured. Satisfactions of this type to Turrialbans varied widely, the lower income groups being typically more dependent on non-monetary sources, and the upper income groups meeting their needs more and more with commercially afforded items. Examples of satisfactions from non-monetary sources were the following:

(1) Endowments from the Employer Outside the Money Income

This included often a rent-free house, house repairs and some proportion of the utilities needed for home operation, like electricity, fuel wood from the employer's forests, sometimes free meals or food articles and donations of clothing.

(2) Needs Met by Own Effort

Such were, for example, wood collected for fire or construction, water carried from rivers without using the taxed water system of the town, preparing foods at home from basic ingredients rather than consuming them in their ready-made forms, or in forms where paid labor has increased the expense. An illustrative example here would be the preparing of "tortillas", corn cakes, at home instead of buying the prepared article. Other rewards from own effort would be cigarettes rolled out of home-cut tobacco, homemade furniture, oil lamps, mattresses, stoves; the use of tin cans as flower pots, clipping color pictures out of magazines to replace commercial pictures for the walls, homemade playtools and toys, sewing the family clothing, use of home-made medicines or superstitious treatment, use of friends' or relatives' aid at childbirth instead of paid midwives, walking distances without using buses or train, building homes with own manual labor, home gardening and raising domestic animals.

(3) Needs Met by the Community

Many of the medical needs of those carrying the Social Security card were generally met by the local hospital. There was a tendency, however, for the persons of the middle and upper income brackets not to use these services even if they often paid to the Social Security funds. This would indicate benefit for those in the lower income brackets and burden for those in the upper income brackets. The services rendered by the Health Unit, by organized charity, the money and aid-in-kind received from begging, possible bonuses or certain compensations from public funds (like those paid for the compensation of losses suffered in the flood in 1949), renting of community grounds on easy terms to poor families, free school meals, school health service and school supplies are other instances of meeting needs outside of the family money economy.

(4) Needs Met by Informal Social Institutions

Under this title would come the benefits which are sometimes derived from the joint family system, the Latin trait of familism, and from neighborhoods. These benefits are enjoyed when rooms are shared to accommodate friends or relatives, or when a relative in the capital city gives a college student temporary room and board free or for a nominal payment, and, generally, when guests are taken so as to free them from paying a hotel. Borrowing of tools from neighbors and other forms of mutual aid would be additional forms of income under this heading.

CONTENT OF LIVING

Because of these findings it seemed, then, that the content of living as the "quantity of goods and services actually consumed, whether purchased or received without direct money payment" (4) should be the continuum on which the economic aspect of social stratification should be based. Scales would have to be made which would consider adequately those sections of the society in which the substitutional income seemed to play an important role.

In the existing scales, the goods and services pertaining to an individual's content of living have customarily included items from a wide area. Among those most often used, Chapin's scale for socio-economic status includes, besides the effective income and material possessions, components of cultural possessions, and participation in group

activities (5). In Sewell's scale (6) some non-material cultural practices and accomplishments are included as well as material cultural equipment. More exactly, Sewell's scale has 36 items measuring the following socio-economic components:

1) Cultural possessions
   a) Cultural practices and accomplishments
   b) Material cultural equipment

2) Effective income as the actual money spent for living in terms of ammains*

3) Material possessions
   a) Housing
   b) Home conveniences
   c) Home equipment

4) Participation in organized group activities
   a) Husband's participation
   b) Wife's participation

Application of Sewell's or other scales in another culture than that for which they were standardized would not be valid. A tentative test of the Sewell scale showed that it did not seem to discriminate between families whose level of living was so low that the basic difference between them might be the amount of benefits derived from own effort or from substitutional sources; many of the material items in the scale were so rare in Turrialba that they could differentiate only between a few rich families; the participation items did not correspond to the prevalent cultural patterns in this Latin community.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF LIVING

A tentative list of more than one hundred items or recorded components of the socio-economic status of the 99 families was prepared. This list was inspected, and items which gave special dificulties of definition as well as those on which the information was partly lacking and those which belonged almost universally to all 99 families or those items which appeared only sporadically in the sample, were eliminated. Certain others were eliminated because they referred closely to the same socio-economic item, whereas in some cases two or three items were accepted to indicate varying stages of the same property; this was mostly the case when some degree of the possession of an item applied inclusively to all or to the great majority of the families.

This inspection resulted in the following 56 items being taken as a sample of the families' socio-economic characteristics.

1. At least one member in family earns 250 colones or more a month.

2. Value of immovable property 30, 000 colones or more (family's estimation).

* The net spendable income per ammain was later removed by Sewell from the scale.

3. Family owns house where it lives.

4. Family owns two or more houses.

5. Rental value of house (owned, rented, or ceded) where family lives 100 colones or more a month (family's estimation).

6. Minimum one room per person in dwelling (porch, corridor, bathroom, toilet, garage, and rooms used only for business, workshop or storage purposes are excluded).

7. Exterior walls of dwelling painted with other than whitewash.

8. Exterior wallsof house finished, even, mill-sawed and tightly constructed wood, or of concrete or brick.

9. One or more glass windows in living room or in the façode of the house.

10. Family has farm (10 manzanas or more) in addition to non-farming principal occupation.

11. Family owns car other than truck, bus, or taxi.

12. Electricity used in dwelling.

13. Three or more electric bulbs used in dwelling.

14. Sewing machine.

15. Electric refrigeration or icebox used.

16. Paid domestic help.

17. Do not use free firewood for cooking.

18. Cooking done mainly with charcoal.

19. Electric or Esso-gas stove used for cooking.

20. Heavy iron stove, using wood.

21. Separate living room.

22. Living room not used for storage of firewood, farm implements or work tools, horse saddles, nor having personal apparel (hung on nails, on

clothes ropes, or on floor) or other conspicuous articles not concerned with the furnishing or decorating of the room.

23. Finished even floor in living room (polished, waxed, painted, or covered with inlaid linoleum or all-over carpet).

24. All interior walls of living room finished or painted (whitewash and pasted newspapers, and similar publications excluded).

25. Living room walls partly or all covered with pasted newspaper pages or other paper excluding commercial wallpaper.

26. Unframed cards or clipping of photographs, pictures or text from newspapers or magazines used as decoration in living room.

27. Doilies, runners, or mats placed on tables or other furniture tops in living room.

28. Living room furniture all or mostly composed of rustic or inexpertly made pieces.

29. All or most of the furniture in living room painted or finished.

30. Living room furnished with a set of at least three pieces of ordinary, commercial, matched furniture.

31. Furniture in living room all or mostly of cabinet-maker type, finewood, style and/or period furniture.

32. Seats or backs of furniture all or partly upholstered or cushioned.

33. Set of furniture (at least three pieces) of heavy, overstuffed, spring-and-filling type.

34. Radio owned.

35. Fifteen or more books owned.

36. Newspaper (s) subscribed.

37. One or more persons in family finished primary schooling (six years).

38. One or more persons in family entered secondary school.

39. One or more persons in family entered university.

40. Some member (s) in family belong to Lions' or Masons' club.

41. Present membership in Community Council or in directive boards such as those of school, bank, and hospital by some member (s) of the family, or other similar public responsibilities.

42. Private physician or dentist used.

43. Estimated expense for clothing minimum five colones a month per person over six years of age.

44. All members of family sixteen years or over wear shoes all day.

45. Cost of food consumed 15 colones or more per person per week (family's estimation, checked upon detailed data on food expenditure).

46. Butter consumed during the week.

47. Butter consumed at least 1/4 pound per person per week.

48. Milk consumed during the week.

49. Milk consumed per day equivalent to at least 1/4 liter per person.

50. Milk consumed per day equivalent to at least 1/2 liter per person.

51. Eggs consumed during the week.

52. Eggs consumed three or more per person per week.

53. Potatoes consumed during the week.

54. Potatoes consumed one pound or more per person per week.

55. Meat consumed at least one pound per person per week.

56. Meat consumed at least 1 1/2 pounds per person per week.

The most important addition to the socio-economic scales of the type developed by Sewell or Chapin was the inclusion of dietary habits and clothing. The former was represented by items No. 45 to 56 referring to the total cost of food consumed, and to the consumption of butter, milk, eggs, potatoes and meat, consumption of which in the locality seemed to be sensitively connected with socio-economic status. One of the two clothing items, No. 43, referred to the total expenditure on clothes, the other, No. 44, to regular wearing or not wearing of shoes.

In order to rank the 99 families according to their socio-economic possessions, a technique used by Herman Beyle (7) to identify and analyze attribute cluster blocs was employed. This technique is appropriate for measured quantitative as well as for

unmeasured qualitative data, and can be used irrespective of the sampling methods and the size of the sample.

Using this technique, the first step was to determine the number of paired agreements in respect to possession and non-possession of the items in the previous list between each pair of families in the sample. The comparison of pairs was mode by passing the coded information into hand punched cards. Leaving a hole unopened indicated the non-possession of a trait, a punched hole the possession of the corresponding trait. The agreements for each pair of families were found by counting the number of opened as well as the unopened holes which both of the families had for a particular trait. The process required the inspection of nearly 10,000 pairs of cards and the inspection and counting of the 56 punch positions for each comparison.

When the same socio-economic characteristic was common to a pair of families, it was called a prevailing agreement; each pair not possessing a characteristic was called a negative or non-prevailing agreement. If the possession and non-possession of a characteristic is distributed randomly through the population, the probability of a pair of families having either a prevailing or non-prevailing agreement is 1/4, and consequently the statistical probability for each pair of families was to have 14 prevailing and 14 negative agreements for the total of 56 item possessions. Twenty-eight prevailing or negative agreements, or two times the number of agreements possible by chance was selected to indicate significant cohesion between each pair of families in respect to the selected socio-economic characteristics. Numbers of agreements of 35, 42, and 49, corresponding to 2 1/2, 3 and 3 1/2 times the chance probability, were selected to indicate different degrees of cohesion between pairs of families, the maximum number of prevailing or negative agreements being 56 in the case two families possessed either all or none of the 56 items.

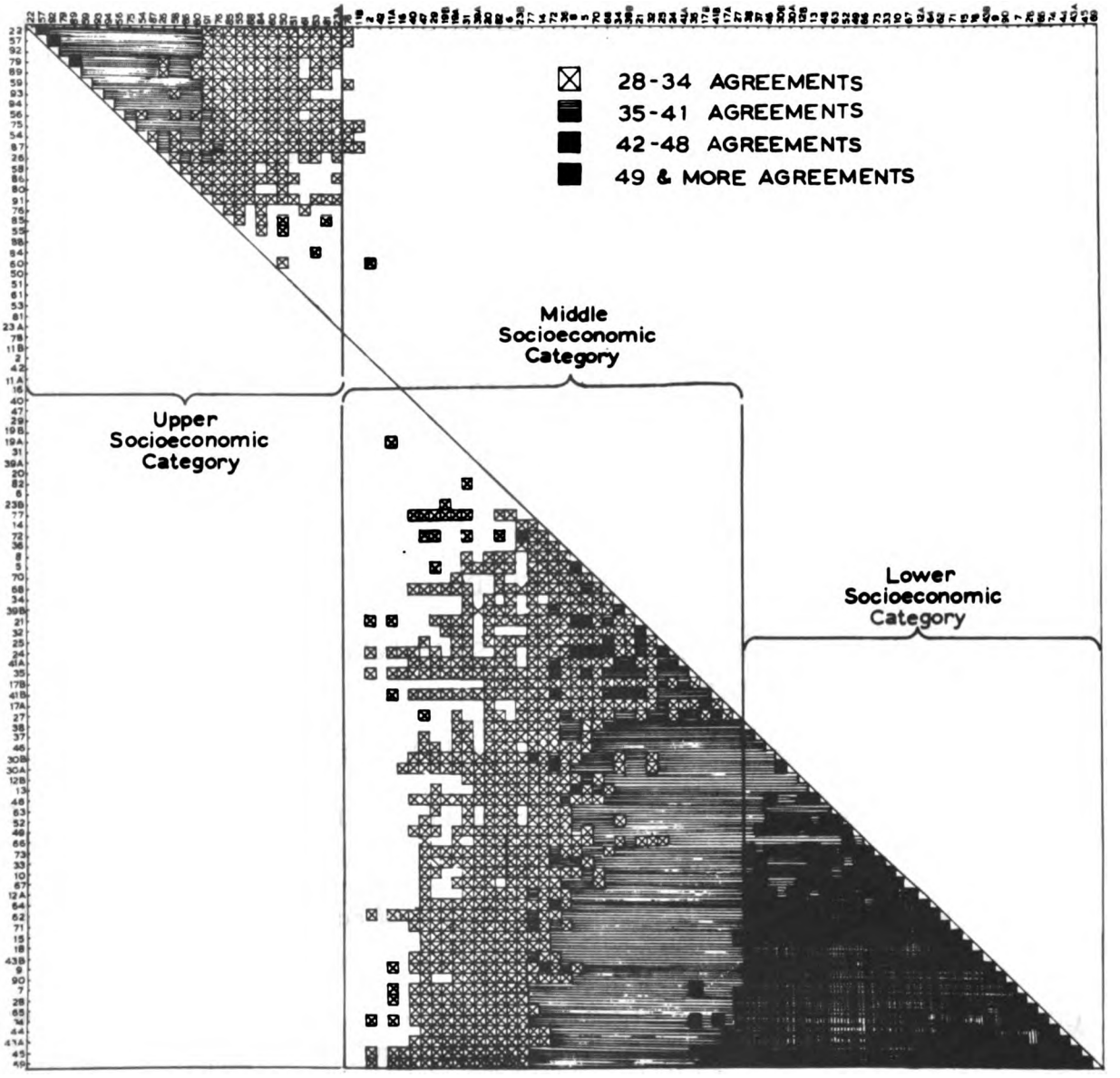
The numbers indicating agreements between the pairs of families were placed on a tabular work sheet, where the families were arranged in the same order horizontally and vertically, and where the number of agreements on the positive end of the range were placed on the right side of a diagonal extending from the upper left corner to the lower right corner, and the number of agreements on the negative end of the range to the left from this diagonal.

From this work sheet the families were rearranged according to the degree of significance of their agreements as shown in the chart on Figure 5. Different marks were used in this chart to show whether the agreements between pairs were 2, 2 1/2, 3, or 3 1/2 times bigger than the chance probability. The families in the sample were arranged in this second chart by placing the pairs with the greater number of prevailing agreements toward the upper left corner of the chart, and the families with the greater number of non-prevailing agreements toward the lower right corner. The rest of the families were then placed in gradually diminishing order by the prevailing, and increasing order by the negative agreements along the horizontal axis from left to right and along the vertical axis from the top to the bottom.

It is important to realize that the order of families in this chart corresponded to the consecutive order in which the relative dominance of prevailing agreements between families gradually changed from prevailing agreements into the dominance of non-prevailing agreements simply because of the fact that the 56 socio-economic characteristics had been chosen so that more possessions of most of them were to be expected in

FIGURE 5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIVISION OF 99 FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA BY ATTRIBUTED-CLUSTER ANALYSIS



socio-economically more advanced families, and a smaller part of items (see, for example, items No. 18, 20, 25, 26, 28, and 30 on pages 69 and 70) were such that relatively more families on lower socio-economic levels were likely to possess them. Since the method of analyzing attribute clusters is based on similarity of trait possession and does not involve any weighing of different items, such graded shift from possession to non-possession is not essential in the analysis by attribute-cluster blocs. On the grounds presented above, the results from chart 2 can be taken as a rank order of families.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES

There were 29 families at the upper left corner of the chart with prevailing agreements between each other mostly more than twice the chance and with fewer negative agreements than that with any of the other families in the sample. These 29 families were delineated for this study as the upper socio-economic category. At the lower right corner of the chart, there were 33 families with mostly non-prevailing agreements with each other of more than three times the chance. These were taken as the lower socio-economic category. The remaining 37 families were marked off as the middle socio-economic category.

Twin families came generally into the same socio-economic categories, and had often (11 A and B, 19 A and B, 17 A and B, 41 A and B, 30 A and B) relatively near positions. While twin families, as a rule, were related to each other by blood or marriage, lived in the same building, but cooked apart, 23 A was not related to 23 B; the former had allowed the latter to move into the same building in exchange for certain domestic services and companionship. This was the sole case of twin families appearing in different socio-economic categories.

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CHAPTER V

PRESTIGE, CLASS, AND MOBILITY

CORRELATION BETWEEN OBJECTIVISTIC AND SUBJECTIVISTIC STATUS

An analysis was made next of how the socio-economic rank order of the studied families in the quota sample, obtained by the attribute-cluster technique compared to the prestige order of the same people as resulting from ratings by judges.

In the exploratory class analysis on the 146 heads of families it was assumed that the raters were aware of the existence of social classes in the community and that the process of class assignment performed by them meant that the judges made explicit their class sentiments by direct class affiliation of individuals. This time, however, the analysis was aimed at the establishment of a rank order of individuals according to their relative superiority-inferiority positions along a "prestige" continuum. As it has been pointed out before, this prestige approach involves a composite frame of reference of the total of statuses that an individual has gained in the community.

For the prestige ratings of this third sample, 119 separate cards with the subjects' names and addresses were prepared. Among these there were the 99 heads of families whose socio-economic rank had been previously analyzed, and the rest were arbitrarily chosen names of persons from the same families other than those listed as heads in the census. These were added for checking purposes only, and were taken from those families where, by observation, there were indications that the census head of family had a considerably different prestige status than that of another member of the family, and also from families where the head worked outside the locality and was apparently not well-known in Turrialba.

The cards were presented individually to nine raters who were asked to arrange the names of people they recognized in individual rank order according to prestige. However, the raters of this third sample as a rule worked much in the same manner as the first judges had done; by first marking off subpopulations within the sample and then arranging the names in each subgroup according to the estimated individual prestige rank. The number of subgroups made by the judges varied from three to nine, some groups containing occasionally only two or three persons.

In the selection of the nine judges used in this study, care was given to use persons well acquainted with the local people and who also represented different occupational,

age and sex groups, and different social classes, using the exploratory analysis here as reference. The work of these judges was careful and deliberate. The rating interviews lasted a minimum of 1 1/2 hours, and were in some cases made in repeated sessions. The characteristics of the raters appear immediately:

Judge 1 was about 45 years old, married, and the owner of a central store. His estimated income was at least 1000 colones a month. He was himself in the present sample and was found to belong to the upper class.

Judge 2 was about 56 years old, married, and a community official. His estimated income was about 750 colones a month. He had been named as a contacted person by an upper-middle class member of the first sample and was likely to belong to that social class.

Judge 3 was 23 years old, single. He worked in his father's business store. The father had been assigned to the upper-middle class in the first rating process.

Judge 4 was about 35 years old. His estimated income was 360 colones a month. He worked as a carpenter, and had been named as a contacted person by three lower-middle class men of the first sample, and was likely to belong to this class himself.

Judge 5 was a craftsman, single, about 25 years old. His estimated income was about 250-300 colones a month. He had been named as a contacted person by two lower-middle class persons of the first sample, and was likely to belong to this class.

Judge 6 was also a craftsman, married and about 50 years old. His estimated income was about 300 colones. He was analyzed in the second rating as belonging to the lower-middle class.

Judge 7 worked in a garage storeroom, was 22 years old and single. His income was about 170 colones a month. His father was one of those included in the present third sample, and in the first sample as belonging to the lower class.

Judge 8 was a barber. He was about 50 years in age and single. His estimated income was about 200-250 colones a month. He had been named as a contacted person by several lower-middle class persons of the first sample, and it seemed likely that he belonged to that class himself.

Judge 9 was the wife of a farm laborer, about 38 years old and belonged to the lower class.

Six of the 99 heads of families whose socio-economic rank had been established by attribute-cluster block analysis could not be identified by any of the nine prestige judges; four of these unidentified names had been taken from the charity lists to insure representation in the sample of the socio-economically lowest levels of the society. Thus there were 93 heads of families ranked by prestige on whom the socio-economic information was also available.

In order to determine the composite prestige rank order resulting from the ratings of the nine judges of these 93 family heads the Composite Standard (CS) method of J. P. Guilford (1) was applied. This method assumes that each individual in the group is judged in comparison with the group as a whole. From the proportions of placements given to each individual as compared with the composite standard, the group as a whole, the final scale values are computed using a formula for determining the probability that a given specimen has of being judged superior to the composite standard. The deviates for areas under the normal curve corresponding to these proportionate values of probability are then determined, and all the scale values are finally made positive by placing

the zero point at the lowest scale value. Since not all the judges were able to rank the 93 individuals, Guilford's adjustment for combining incomplete sets of ranks was used. The final order of scale values ranging from 0.00 to 3.87 was taken as the final "pooled" rank order into which the 93 individuals fell according to their community prestige.

In Table 12 is given the rank order of the 93 heads of families whose socio-economic as well as prestige rank was now established. A coefficient of rank correlation of .85, as determined by Spearman's formula, was found between the ranking of the 93 family heads by the two methods. This indicated that the local prestige was generally in conformity with families' content of living as defined by the selection of socio-economic characteristics, and that it could be satisfactorily equalled by measuring, in an appropriate way, the level of material and cultural possessions, education, participation, and the use of services. Only in a few cases did it appear that the judges' estimations had been led by considerations about the subjects's moral standards, his family affiliations, past lives, or other prestige factors which were not embodied in the list of socio-economic characteristics. The finding of socio-economic characteristics being in close correlation with the main determinant of class consciousness thus leads us to perceive that social class status in the site of the research is predictable to a great extent by how people live in terms of tangible material goods and services, by individuals' levels of living.

STATUS-INCOME DILEMMA

It is useful to survey some of the persons in the sample with the relatively greatest difference between the socio-economic and the prestige rank in order to study the types of incongruity in status.

No. 36, a separated woman, ranked 50th by the socio-economic analysis and 93rd, or the last, by the prestige score. She had been earlier the owner of a hotel; the rights for hotel keeping had been withdrawn due to disreputed morals of the place, and she lived on obscure resources and was referred to as a prostitute by some of the judges. When interviewed, her housing, clothing and dietary standards appeared relatively high. She was found to put special emphasis on eating well, and reported a deliberately large food expenditure because "the safest way of saving is to buy food and eat it; then nobody can take it." She was notoriously discredited in the locality, and was given the last prestige placement by all judges.

No. 23 B ranked 46th by socio-economic analysis and 88th by the prestige rating. She was a woman of over 70 years. Earlier, she made her living by making "tortillas" and bread for the bakeries and by renting and cultivating a piece of land of 1/4 manzana. Later, shortly before the interview, she made an agreement with 23 A, who also was an elderly woman so that she would live with the latter, clean the house, make the purchases, and perform similar duties in exchange for housing. Both women cooked apart and were considered separate families in the survey. Since 23 B shared most of the conveniences of 23 A, her socio-economic status was relatively advanced due to the conveniences and equipment at home.

No. 28 had until recently been a farm laborer. He ranked 87th by the socio-economic analysis and 47th by the prestige rating. His housing, clothing and dietary habits were typically those of the lower class. One of his brothers, owner of a medium-

TABLE 12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND PRESTIGE RANK OF 93 HEADS OF FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA

No. of Family	S.E. Rank	Prestige Rank	No. of Family	S.E. Rank	Prestige Rank	No. of Family	S.E. Rank	Prestige Rank
22	1	11	2	32	49	41B	63	74.5
57	2	6.5	42	33	33	27	64	43
92	3	15	11A	34	52	38	65	73
79	4	5	16	35	35	37	66	54
89	5	1	40	36	38	46	67	83.5
59	6	4	47	37	42	30A	68	36
93	7	10	29	38	34	12B	69	77
94	8	2	19B	39	30	13	70	80
56	9	8	19A	40	66	48	71	50
75	10	6.5	31	41	45	63	72	74.5
54	11	17	39A	42	51	52	73	59
87	12	3	20	43	32	49	74	60
26	13	28	82	44	37	73	75	53
58	14	16	6	45	62	33	76	70
86	15	14	23B	46	88	10	77	44
80	16	20.5	77	47	61	67	78	86
91	17	18	14	48	72	12A	79	83.5
76	18	20.5	72	49	71	64	80	87
85	19	23	36	50	93	71	81	81
55	20	19	8	51	67	15	82	85
88	21	12	5	52	56	18	83	79
84	22	29	70	53	77	43B	84	91
60	23	25.5	68	54	39	90	85	90
50	24	31	34	55	46	7	86	82
51	25	9	39B	56	68	28	87	47
61	26	22	21	57	55	65	88	77
53	27	24	32	58	40	74	89	92
81	28	13	25	59	69	44	90	65
23A	29	25.5	24	60	64	43A	91	89
78	30	27	41A	61	57	45	92	58
11B	31	41	35	62	48	69	93	63

sized business store, had recently employed him as credit sales collector in the district. Since this change of occupation had not yet affected his income, it seemed possible that the judges took his brother's social status into consideration when giving this person a relatively high prestige ranking. The only judge to comment verbally on him referred to the change of occupation: "I used to know him as a "peón"; now he is a little better off."

No. 45 had recently abandoned his family, and did not support it in any way. The family's socio-economic status was very low, 92nd in rank, while the husband's prestige rank was 58th. It is probable that the discrepancy in this family's placement would have been corrected by having the prestige position of the wife or the oldest son analyzed. However, none of the raters identified the names of other family members who were included in the cards.

In the case of No. 10, 77th by socio-economic status, 44th by prestige, no obvious reasons seemed to explain the incongruous status. The head of the family was a farm laborer, had had no occupational mobility, and his housing was typically that prevailing in most ceded farm workers' living areas. Only one judge had recognized this person, and this case should perhaps be taken as a misjudgment or misidentification.

No. 30 A enjoyed a relatively high prestige position (36th) in comparison with his relatively low socio-economic status (68th). He had recently moved into a house owned by his father-in-law. This house was furnished more poorly than in most cases of equal community prestige; it was crowded, the walls covered with scrap paper in the manner of many farm workers' homes, and had a rough and dirty floor. The lowered socio-economic condition was partly due to the loss of his previous job as a carpenter. A new job in construction works was received a week before the interview. Living in a house which was not equipped according to his standards and presently having economic difficulties there seemed to be a clear income-prestige dilemma.

No. 69 was a farm laborer, had the type of housing and furnishing of most in his occupation. The only wage earner in a family of six, his daily expenditure and the standards in food and clothing were cut to a minimum. "At times I cannot leave the house because I have no clothes," he explained. To see his mother in Cartago about once a year he said he "has to buy at least a raw-sugar loaf less the week the trip is made." Last in the sample by socio-economic measurement and 63rd in prestige rank, the incongruity of his status might have been affected by the generalizing tendency of the judges to overlook individual differences in farm laborers' levels of living. On the other hand, he was recognized by only one rater who commented on him being a "musician". It is therefore also possible that this status dimension weighed relatively much in the judgment of the rater, and explained the high prestige rating.

No. 19 A was the young, 27-year-old head of one of the twin families. He equalled socio-economically his half-brother, No. 19 B, but lagged behind him in community prestige. He had considerably lower wages than 19B, and did not have the same occupational training as the last mentioned. When No. 19 A's mother commented on the two males, she said: 19 A is "the unsophisticated one; he likes simple manners." The verbalized responses of the raters characterized him as "timid and lacking in initiative", "unassuming and humble in dress and appearance". He was less known in the locality than 19 B.

No. 70, 53rd in socio-economic rank and 77th in prestige, was the female head

of a family, widow of a carpenter. She was supported by two sons, one a store clerk, the other a teacher. Neither of these men lived at home, but they sent money for the mother and the rest of the family.

No. 72 was 49th by socio-economic rank and 71st in prestige. He worked earlier as a communal garbage collector and was identified by many raters in this capacity. However, he had recently become employed as oxen driver at a nearby farm where he was gaining less now than he did before. Although it could not be verified, it appeared likely that his relatively low prestige position was due to his earlier manual and to many "dirty" work.

No. 14 was a 40-year-old woman, more than ten years ago a "conviviente" to a wealthy "finquero" (farm-owner). Since the latter had died, she had made her living by renting rooms, washing clothes, and later by working as a servant in a coffee shop. The owner of a large and relatively well furnished house she was able to maintain a level of living in terms of housing well beyond her prestige peers. She was 48th by socio-economic status and 72nd in community prestige.

From the foregoing examples it appears that the cases in which instabilities in status occurred, as determined by discrepancy between an individual's socio-economic position and his prestige position, disregarding the cases where these were apparently introduced by individual judge's misplacements, seemed to be of the following main kinds: (a) when an individual's source of income was judged disreputable; (b) when an individual's relatively higher socio-economic status was due to the support he received from other people, or when he shared commodities of individuals from higher socio-economic statuses; (c) when relatively recent changes affecting an individual's socio-economic status had occurred; (d) when an individual's economic status in terms of housing and other properties of permanent nature reflected more his earlier economic status than the more flexible indices of changed economic status; (e) when an individual's morals, manners, intelligence and other personality characteristics gave reasons for these factors to be prominently considered; and (f) when the judges' estimations on prestige were concerned with the individual's sex or age.

HOW INDIVIDUAL JUDGES DID THEIR RATING

Each rater's groupings were compared with the rank ordering of the individuals according to their composite prestige. This was done in the following manner:

(a) The names of persons recognized by each judge were placed in the order into which they came according to the composite prestige rank order. (b) The names in these lists were then replaced by the number of the group into which each judge had placed the respective individual. Since different judges had used different numbers of groups, the numerical classifications of judges did not correspond to each other. (c) The resulting series of indices according to class assignments of a judge in the order of the composite prestige rank order were divided into deciles, shown in Table 13, maintaining the individual indices in the composite order. (d) The group assignments made by each judge in the different deciles were plotted in schematic graphs (Figure 6). In these graphs, the numbers from one to ten along the vertical axis of the graphs indicate deciles in Table 13, and the span of the horizontal axis represents the proportions of different numbered class assignments within the respective decile. The chart of Judge 1, for example, would be read in the following manner: this judge

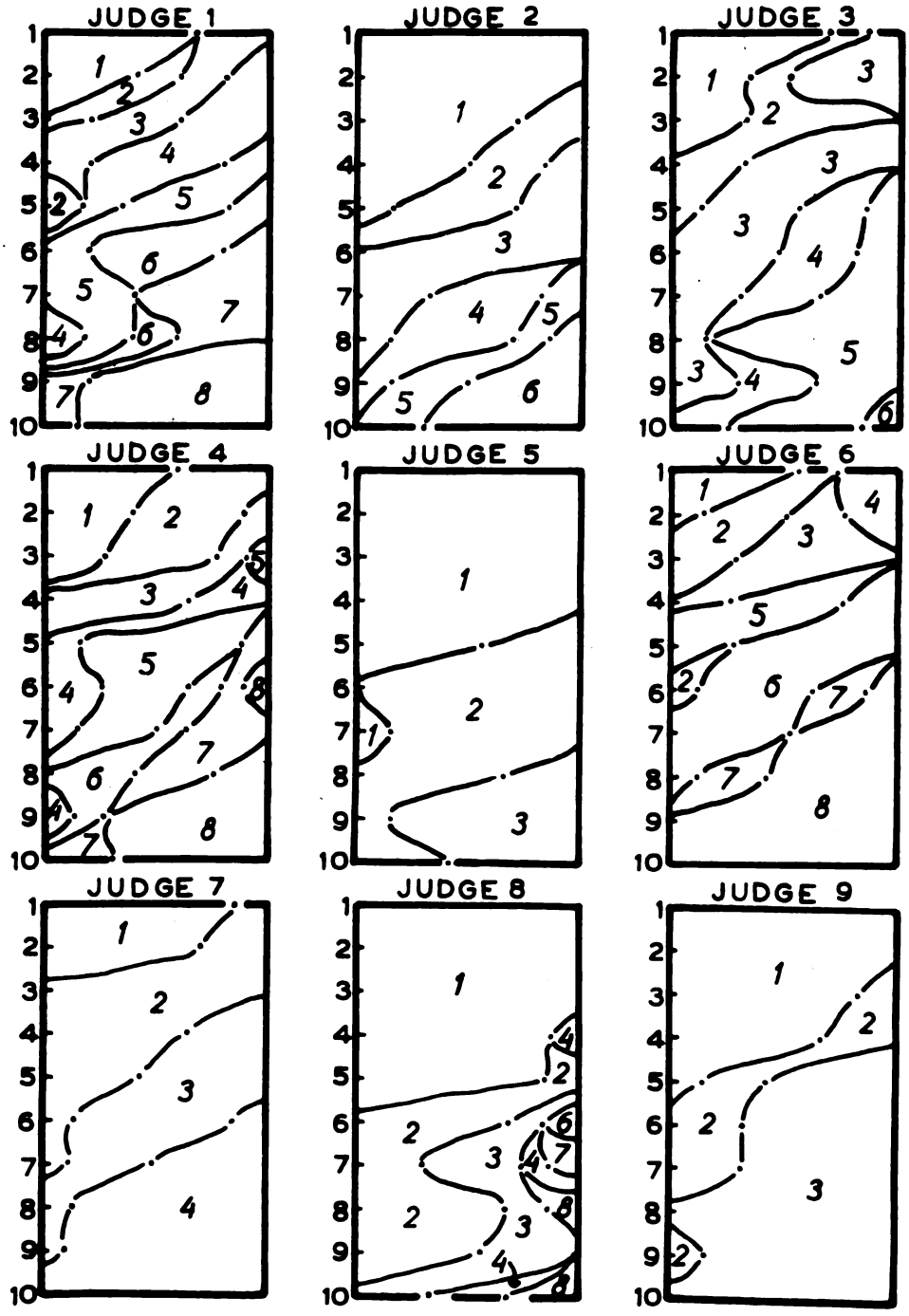
TABLE 13

GROUP ASSIGNMENTS GIVEN BY NINE JUDGES TO 93 INDIVIDUALS ARRANGED IN DECILES IN THE ORDER OF COMPOSITE RATING OF THE SAME INDIVIDUALS

Judge	Deciles										Total of Individuals Recognized
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	
1	113113	31142	23434	34454	265455	56676	77755	45776	88788	888788	53
2	1111111	111111	1221111	112321	2213322	3333333	434354	6444543	654665	6566566	66
3	1311112	323131	221212	233323	3334245	353443	534354	553555	435345	4555456	63
4	2112211	12121322	23212125	43333344	57555554	47648555	47756575	77687686	68488888	7878888	78
5	1111111	111111	111111	111111	1122112	222222	222221	322322	233333	3223233	63
6	2114411	24132342	3333322	55355366	5666566	77668266	6668868	86888678	8888888	88888888	75
7	1111211	12111211	2222222	23222323	2323332	3323334	33442434	4444443	44444344	4444444	74
8	111111	1111111	111111	1111114	111211	632222	3723423	232282	3222332	844338	64
9	1111111	111111	112111	111122	2231333	333322	323323	333333	332333	3333333	63

FIGURE 6

SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF PRESTIGE RATINGS GIVEN BY NINE JUDGES TO 93 INDIVIDUALS IN TURRIALBA



placed four sixths, or 67 percent, of the first decile into his first group, and two sixths, or 33 percent, into his third. Two fifths, or 40 percent, of his second decile he also put into his first group, and the rest of the placements in the second decile were divided between his second, third, and fourth groups. The reading of the graphs, therefore, is identical to the reading of Table 13 broken into deciles.

When inspecting how the nine judges made their ratings, an individual judge's bias, or the "misplacements" made by him, will be defined as against the composite ranking of all judges. If a judge had divided those individuals of the sample to whom he was able to give a rating in subsequent groups so that the rank ordering implied corresponded to the composite rank order of these individuals, without overlapping, the ratings of this judge would then be schematically shown in the graphs by slightly descending straight lines from the right of the diagram to the left. If a judge again had placed an individual into one of his groups whom the other judges had placed into relatively higher or lower prestige positions, the line would bend upward or downward, respectively; and if the difference in placement would correspond to more than one decile (i.e., a misplacement beyond the prestige position of 5 to 8 other individuals), his bias would be seen in the emergence of broken group areas on the chart.

If the combined estimations of the nine judges are taken as the reference, Judge 7 appeared to be the one whose assignments of persons most closely corresponded to the order resulting from the composite scorings. He differed noticeably in giving higher placements to individuals in his second and third group to whom the others had given lower positions. These misplacements can be seen in the drop toward the left end of the lines dividing his second group from his third and his third from the fourth. This rater showed apparently keenest interest in the task of estimating the ranks, and he spent with it more time than any of the other judges, more than four hours divided in two sessions.

Judge 2 made a clear-cut division into six groups. His chart shows that he had some difficulties in keeping his fourth group differentiated from the fifth. In contrast to other upper class judges, judge 2 placed considerably more individuals into his first group. Later he divided this group into two subgroups which are not shown in the chart since they were not postulated at the earlier stages of grouping.

Judge 5 misplaced one person in his first group to whom the rest of the judges had given lower placements. Similarly, two persons in his second group had been given by others lower placements. These relatively too high placements were accompanied by statements emphasizing the past performances of these individuals in the community; one "had several houses and has actively promoted the welfare of the community"; the other "had been a land owner and was able to start a profitable business", and this judge neglected to mention the economic decline both of these persons had experienced according to the judgments of some other raters.

Judge 9 misplaced one person in her second group whom the others considered as having notably lower status, and made a narrow second (middle) group. It was evident that this judge, the only one of the lower class among the judges without tendencies to "marginality", was affected by the dichotomic pattern of thinking in terms of "patrón-peón" relations more clearly than any other judge, resulting in a weak middle class.

Judge 6 had differences from the combined judges' ratings in regard to his second, third, and fourth groups. Excepting one placement in his second group whom the other raters had placed relatively lower, his division between groups 1–4, 5–6, and 7–8

correspond closely to the trichotomic pattern of some other judges.

Judge 1 divided the upper levels of the sample in three or four further divisions, based on considerations of these persons' business principles, respectability, and morals. He had difficulties in keeping his sixth and seventh groups clearly apart, and made a conspicuous misplacement of one person into his fourth group whom the others had considered as belonging to relatively lower levels. The judge stopped his ranking for a while before this estimation was given to tell how he had lent money to this individual, and how since then this person has in many ways expressed her gratitude. Another misplacement was the assignment of a person in group 2 to whom other judges had given a considerably lower placement.

Judge 4 defined his three upper groups more accurately than the lower levels. His fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eight groups are intertwined and show that many of his criteria for placing individuals in these groups are not recognized by others.

Judge 8 formed a clear-cut first group which was more ample than that of any other judge, but was virtually unable to define especially his four lower groups 4, 6, 7, and 8. (Group 5 was combined, during the operation, with groups 4 and 6.)

Judge 3, who was from upper-marginal category, showed a rather low degree of correlation in his estimations with the combined scores of all raters. His remarks concerning the first group referred to education, possessions and social position; the second group was referred to with essentially the same attributes to a lesser degree. Persons in his third group were referred to with varying remarks such as "The son at least has more education, but the father has political influence", "He has a farm and employs many people", "Is like X., has many houses and supports the church","Employs labormen, and has his cars", "Is engaged in active agriculture", "Is a good man, very ugly, though", "Offers cheap food for the villagers", and "Just an employee". His fourth group was composed essentially of craftsmen. The fifth group included for the main part farm laborers, but also persons toward whom the rater seemed to feel antipathy were placed in this group with remarks such as: "This and the like should be eliminated from the lists" and "they are low in morals". As well as the fifth group, his third, fourth and the small sixth group seemed to contain persons referred to with morally discriminative criticism, but also persons who were morally unstained but economically or occupationally on lower levels than the discriminated persons.

The tendency of upper-class judges to place relatively fewer people into the upper class than the judges from the middle and lower social classes had become apparent already in the analysis of the first sample of 146 heads of families, and was now exemplified by the prestige ratings of Judge 1. In order to draw conclusions on how a judge's social class position was reflected in his ratings both rating procedures will be inspected from this same point of view.

If the 19 judges of the first sample are divided into three categories according to the social status of the judges, the class composition would have resulted much differently in accordance with the estimators' belonging to the upper class or to the two lower categories. When only the six upper class raters of the first sample (No's 3, 5, 7, 8, 16 and 17) were taken into account, only two persons out of the 146 would have been placed into the upper class; whereas the combined estimations of middle class judges No's 1, 4, 6, 18 and 19) would have made an upper class of ten persons, and the estimations of lower class judges (No's 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15) an upper

class of eight persons. In addition to the ten persons placed by middle class judges into the upper class and to the eight persons placed there by lower class judges, two and one persons respectively would have had the prestige score of the interval of indeterminacy between the upper and the upper-middle classes, while the upper class judges had placed all except two into the upper-middle category.

Upper class judges thus seemed to be inclined to draw a class line between their own class and another class below theirs but above the middle class. This class would correspond most nearly to the "upper-middle" class of the exploratory analysis, the belonging of which to a wider upper class is instead postulated by middle and lower class judges.

Similar tendencies cannot be as easily discerned on graph 3. This time the raters' approach was that of rank ordering, while the number of groups used played a minor role. So Judge 2, for example, made his large first group first, after which he divided it in two, not shown in the graph. The selection of judges also had an apparent upper and middle class bias which makes it impossible to generalize on such tendencies as shown in the charts of Judges 5, 8 and 9 who made large upper groups. However, the conclusions based on a larger selection of judges in the exploratory rating are distinctly not contradicted by those made during the ranking process in the final study.

This trend of upper class judges making more exclusive upper groups can be connected with these explanations: (a) the upper class people applied more exclusive criteria to the acceptance of people into a status equal to their own. To quote Sorokin "the groups of the rich are nearer to closed groups while the groups of the poor are more nearly of an open type" (2); (b) the upper class judges knew the people of their own status more intimately and were in possession of such information about the latter which enabled them to draw more delicate distinctions; (c) the upper class judges seemed to understand the task of estimating social statuses of persons more fully than most of the other judges; (d) the upper class judges might have felt less inhibited than did the other judges in the actual interviewing situations about making definite statements concerning the prestige of some individuals.

The estimations of most of the judges seemed to be concerned with two different aspects: the one defining an individual's social position in the framework of the society, and the other defining his prestige status within the respective social class. The only judge, No. 3, in the final prestige analysis who did not keep these two aspects of status consistently apart, distinguished himself from most of the others by his ill-defined groupings. In his opinion, the defective but successful person, for example, whom the rest of the raters considered as a restrictively qualified member of the upper class, appeared comparable with the solid types of lower social strata.

This finding emphasized the difference between the "macroscopic" criteria of stratification which seemed to be mainly connected with economic or socio-economic and occupational characteristics of individuals and the "microscopic" criteria, such as morals, manners, individuality, and the age-graded gains or losses of status, which modify individuals' prestige ranks within the main classes. The author of Plainville has commented on these different aspects in the rating process as follows, "What he (the rater) usually really accomplishes by this process (of rating) ... is not the assignment of class status, but the designation of the 'respect' which he feels is due that person within the ranks of the class where he 'belongs'. Respect and class are separate aspects of the prestige system ..." (3).

WHICH WERE THE SOCIAL CLASSES

The preliminary analysis in the present study dealt with group characteristics which would divide the same population into the same groups along the principal dimensions of inspection, "sentiments", "activities", "material facilities", and "social distance". In the rating procedures, the class sentiments of local judges were reflected in their class placements of individuals. The groups resulting from the judges' placements were found to differ in their activities, material facilities, and social distance in relation to each other. Later, in the analysis of the final quota sample, "activities" and "material facilities" were combined in a "socio-economic" measurement of status excluding occupation which was studied independently as a component of activity.

The question of which were the social classes in Turrialba should be framed against the degree in which the aspects of inspection, now narrowed down to individuals' socio-economic and occupational status, their prestige status, and their sociometric status, coincide with each other, and against the finding of "natural" breakpoints, should there be such, along the measurements of these continua.

A high degree of correlation was found to exist between individuals' socio-economic status and their prestige status as studied respectively by attribute-cluster analysis and prestige ratings by judges. Among the prestige factors that appeared involved in the cases with a discrepancy between prestige and socio-economic status were, e.g., age, sex, personal traits, manners and morals of individuals. In some cases, the discrepancies could have been introduced partly by the choice of socio-economic indices which might have given weight to such aspects as housing and furnishing more than they are given in the scale of values prevailing in the community.

The breakpoints in the measurement of the socio-economic categories were established on the basis of different degrees of statistical chance probability in respect to the possession or non-possession of selected indices. Occupational status showed relatively diffuse zones of separation on the basis of whether the occupation was skilled or not, specialized or unspecialized, manual or non-manual, on hourly wage basis or not, independent or not, and whether the person was an employer or not. The measurement of prestige status offered breakpoints if such expressions of the judges reflecting class divisions as "clase alta", "clase media", and "clase humilde" were considered, and also in the consensus with which farm laborers and domestic servants were placed into the lower class.

The scope of the final study did not cover the sociometric status of individuals. From the exploratory analysis, however, it was seen that social distance was not easily breakable into "natural" units. Indeed, there was a tendency for individuals to reach toward such elements in the community which, by analysis of class sentiment, were their superiors in status. But there were also innumerable social constellations based on ties on the personal level. These two tendencies might often overlap, and only an extensive study can reveal the dynamic synthesis and interpenetration of the two. (4).

On the basis of the points discussed the class system postulated in the preliminary study (p. 32 f.) was revised, and three societal poles, the upper, the middle, and the lower class were assumed to be the matrix of the social class structure in the community. Deviations from expected behavior on the respective social class level as well as mobility from one societal pole to another were, among others, responsible for the existence of marginal areas between the three main classes. The term upper-marginal category was

applied to those individuals whose assignment to the upper or the middle class would vary according to which aspects of status were considered, on whom there was a disagreement among the judges as to their assignment into one or the other of these classes, or who were marginal cases in the socio-economic measurement. An analogous term, lower-marginal category, was applied to those whose placement into the middle or the lower class was similarly ambiguous.

In the postulation of the three classes, they have been defined in reference to situations occurring in the field of inquiry, not as "entities". It should be realized that despite the close correlation found in the community of this study between the studied status aspects, mutually exclusive class categories in the strict sense were not found, and that many persons would have different class positions depending on which status aspect was being measured. However, since the class divisions by prestige were to a great extent predictable on the basis of the knowledge of individuals' socio-economic status, for expediency in the comparisons presented on the following pages, the term "class" is used in reference to the socio-economic categories resulting from the attribute-cluster analysis. However, the point cannot be stressed enough that the relatively large degree of status equilibrium hypothesized in this use of the term class might be a phenomenon which may not be found in other and more complex societies than the one now under study.

COMPASIRON OF THE THREE CLASSES

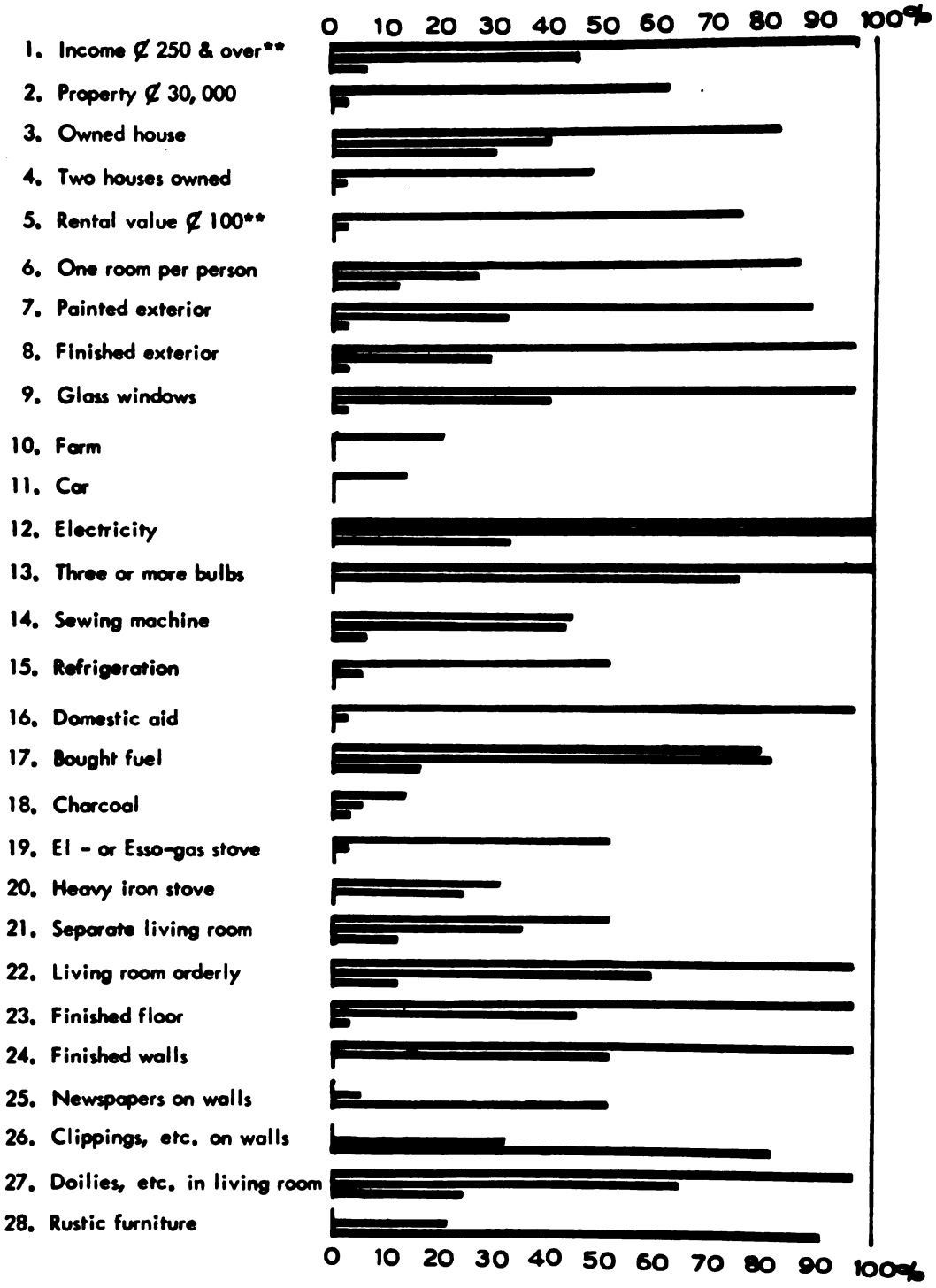
The characteristics of the classes in reference to the selection of items used to measure socio-economic status are presented in Table 14 and graphically in Figure 7*. The marginal cases have been distributed here in the three main class divisions resulting from the attribute-cluster analysis. The definitions for the 56 items have been presented previously on pages 68-71.

The following item possessions were all or almost exclusively upper class traits: value of immovable property 30,000 colones or more, ownership of two or more houses, rental value of housing 100 colones a month or more, farm owned in addition to non-farming principal occupation, car, refrigeration, domestic help, electric or Esso-gas stove, fine period furniture, spring-and-filling type furniture, university education, membership in Lions or Masons, public leadership. A set of ordinary upholstered furniture was predominantly a middle class trait; having the walls covered with newspaper or decorated with clippings, as well as having rustic furniture were found

* The percentages in Table 14 and Figure 7 offer several points of comparison with the socio-economic analysis of the 146 families of the exploratory study. However, the following facts should be remembered when making comparisons from one study to the other. (a) Several socio-economic items have been defined in different ways in the two instances: for example, income of the head vs. income of the member in family who earns most, domestic servants vs. paid domestic servant, and books and pamphlets vs. books. (b) The sample used in the exploratory study was selected at random; the one in the final study was a quota sample. (c) Class divisions in the exploratory study were based on judges' class assignments, in the latter study on the socio-economic cluster-bloc analysis where class differences in possessions are naturally maximized.

FIGURE 7

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSSESSIONS OF 99 INDIVIDUALS IN TURRIALBA BY SOCIAL CLASS

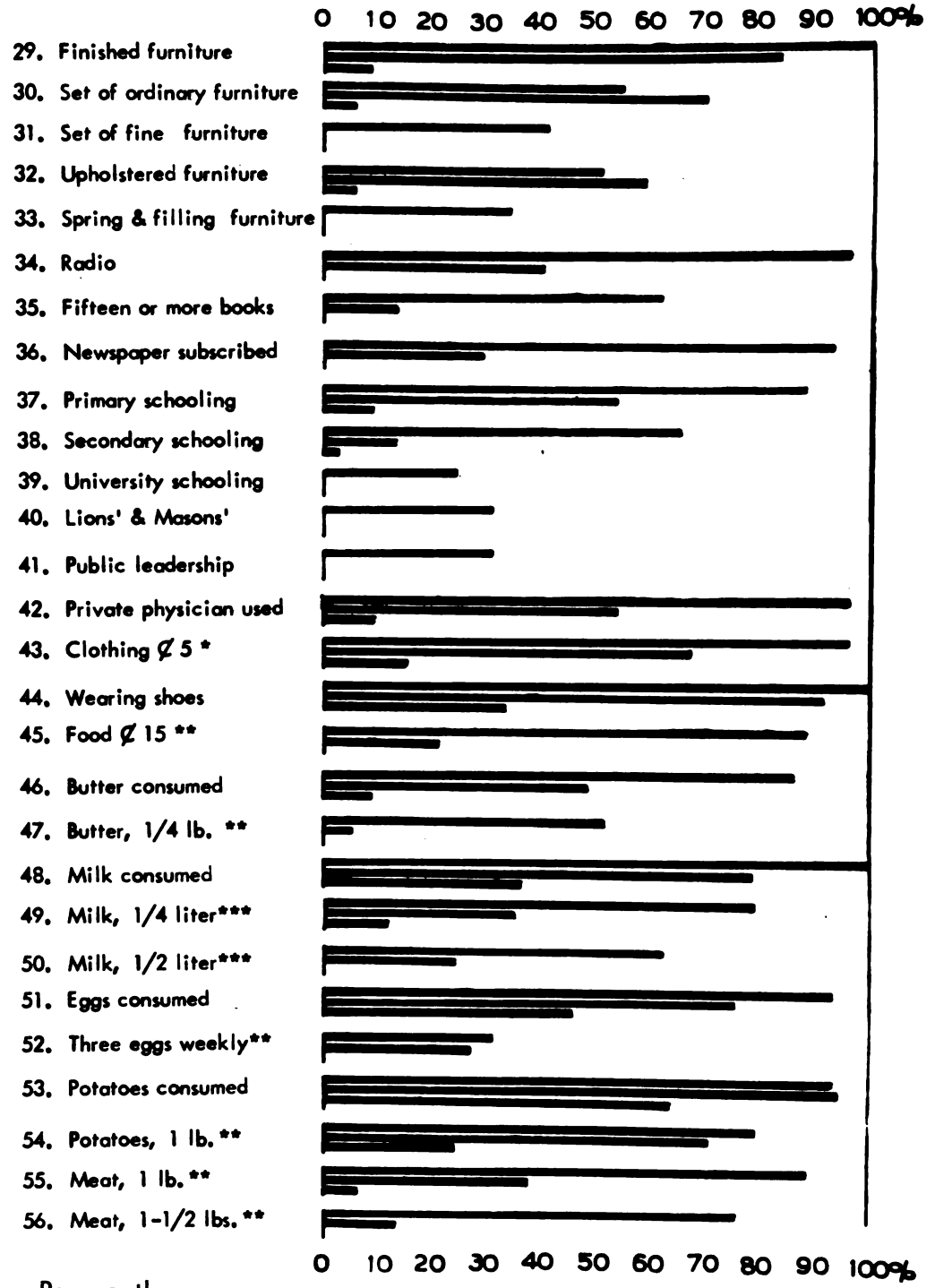


* Upper horizontal bar after each socio-economic item refers to the upper class, middle bar to the middle class, and lower bar to the lower class.

** Per month

FIGURE 7 (Cont.)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSSESSIONS OF 99 INDIVIDUALS IN TURRIALBA BY SOCIAL CLASS



* Per month per person
** Per week per person
*** Per day per person

TABLE 14

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSSESSIONS OF 99 FAMILIES IN TURRIALBA BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Item	Social Class		
		Upper Percent	Middle Percent	Lower Percent
1	Income ₡ 250 and over	97	46	6
2	Property ₡ 30, 000 and over	62	3	-
3	Owned house	83	41	30
4	Two houses owned	48	3	-
5	Rental value ₡ 100 and over	76	3	-
6	One room per person	86	27	12
7	Painted exterior	90	32	3
8	Finished exterior	97	30	3
9	Glass windows	97	41	3
10	Farm	21	-	-
11	Car	14	-	-
12	Electricity	100	100	33
13	Three or more bulbs	100	76	-
14	Sewing machine	45	43	6
15	Refrigeration	52	5	-
16	Domestic aid	97	3	-
17	Bought fuel	79	81	15
18	Charcoal	14	5	3
19	Electric or Esso-gas stove	52	3	-
20	Heavy iron stove	31	25	-
21	Separate living room	52	35	12
22	Living room orderly	97	59	12
23	Finished floor	97	45	3
24	Finished walls	97	51	-
25	Newspapers on walls	-	5	52
26	Clippings, etc., on walls	-	32	82
27	Doilies, etc., in living room	97	65	24
28	Rustic furniture	-	22	91
29	Finished furniture	100	84	9
30	Set of ordinary furniture	55	70	6
31	Set of fine furniture	41	-	-
32	Upholstered furniture	51	59	6
33	Spring-and-filling furniture	34	-	-
34	Radio	97	41	-
35	Fifteen or more books	62	14	-

(Table 14, cont.)

	Item	Social Class		
		Upper Percent	Middle Percent	Lower Percent
36	Newspaper subscribed	93	30	-
37	Primary schooling	90	54	9
38	Secondary schooling	66	14	3
39	University schooling	24	-	-
40	Membership in Lions or Masons	31	-	-
41	Public leadership	31	-	-
42	Private physician used	97	54	9
43	Clothing expense ₡ 5 and more	97	68	15
44	Wearing shoes	100	92	33
45	Food expense ₡ 15 and more	90	22	-
46	Butter consumed	86	49	9
47	Butter, 1/4 lb.	52	5	-
48	Milk consumed	100	78	36
49	Milk, 1/4 liter	79	35	12
50	Milk, 1/2 liter	62	24	-
51	Eggs consumed	93	76	45
52	Three eggs weekly	31	27	-
53	Potatoes consumed	93	95	64
54	Potatoes, 1 lb.	79	70	24
55	Meat, 1 lb.	90	35	6
56	Meat, 1-1/2 lbs.	76	14	-

predominantly in the lower class. The lower class was also lacking several possessions which belonged, in varying degrees, to the upper and to the middle classes.

The separations existing between classes in the aspects of income, education, housing, furnishings, other property, diet, clothing, and other items can further be appreciated by comparisons of the items referring to these aspects in Table 14. It can be seen, for example, that the member of the family with highest income had had ₡ 250 or more per month in nearly all the upper class families (97%), less than half as many of the highest paid members in the middle class families (46%) were in this income category, and only 6% correspondingly in the lower class. Thus, 94 percent of the highest paid members of lower class families had incomes of less than 250 colones a month.

As to education, whereas in the upper class 24 percent of the families had a member who had had schooling up to the university level, and 9 percent of the lower class families had a member who had completed primary schooling. In the middle class no members of families had had university schooling, but 54 percent of families had members with primary schooling.

The several indices concerned with housing and furnishings show that the middle class did not reach the levels of living of the upper class but nevertheless maintained a level of living on a commercially afforded basis without resorting to such substitutional consumption patterns as the use of rustic furniture, gathering firewood, and papering the walls with newspapers to the large extent that the lower class did.

All members of families 16 years of age or over wore shoes all day in all the upper class families and in almost all (97%) of the middle class families, but only in one out of every three families in the lower class.

Present membership of some member of families in the Community Council or in the directive boards of the school, bank, hospital or other similar public trusts was limited to the upper class where nearly one out of every three families had such responsibilities as contrasted to the fact that no members of the middle class or of the lower class in the sample appeared with such membership.

The characteristics of the classes as to occupation, which was studied as a separate component of the socio-economic status, showed that the following occupations were represented in the upper class:

(a)	Businessmen	20 persons
(b)	Professionals	4 "
(c)	Farmers	3 "
(d)	Administrators	1 "
(e)	Sales clerks -- in father's store	1 "

Middle class occupations were:

(a)	Craftsmen (e.g. electricians, shoemakers, carpenters, mechanics, painters)	14 "
(b)	Sales and office clerks	7 "
(c)	Small-business owners (small-bar keepers, store-owners with monthly transactions less than 1,000 colones)	4 "
(d)	Farm-industry laborers	3 "
(e)	Farm laborers	3 "
(f)	Policemen, guards	2 "
(g)	Minor officials	1 "
(h)	Non-farm laborers	1 "
(i)	Mandadores -- helping hands of farm administrator	1 "
(j)	Unoccupied	1 "

Lower-class occupations were the following:

(a)	Farm laborers	19 "
(b)	Personal service workers (servants, cooks, laundresses)	4 "

(c)	Non-farm laborers	4 persons
(d)	Craftsmen	3 "
(e)	Policemen, guards	2 "
(f)	Sales and office clerks	1 "

The upper class was mostly composed of large-business owners with monthly transactions usually over 4,000 colones, commonly with two to four employed salesmen, and with trimestral communal tax for business rights of 100 to 200 colones; professionals; and farmers. The middle class was mostly characterized by craftsmen and sales clerks. The most typical lower class occupations were those of farm laborer, domestic servant, and non-farm laborer. Some occupations such as policeman and non-farm laborer were found in both the middle and the lower classes. These and certain other, such as farm overseer or foreman "mandador" and farm-industry laborer seemed usually to belong to those in the lower-marginal category.

CLASS AND SOCIETY

On the basis of the materials hereto presented about the two studies, the exploratory and the final, the following generalizations are made to combine the characteristics of the three classes summarily into definitions of their roles as structural elements of the total society.

UPPER CLASS

The upper class persons had, generally, the following assets in common:

(a) They were able to accumulate property through investments or savings.

(b) They were able to dedicate themselves to large-scale buying and selling operations and to extend themselves in areas of commerce left without competition by the medium or small-sized business enterprises; or they were capable of undertaking large-scale rational farming, farm or other industry; or they could dedicate themselves to professional or specialized employment. These characteristics accounted for the four main sub-groups within the broad upper class, the large-commercial, large-farming, industrial, and the professional group.

(c) The proportion of economic profits used for family living in the upper class enabled them to maintain a higher level of consumption than was the case in lower social classes.

(d) Being the primary targets of taxation, they also were the primary sponsors of some community institutions like the schools and the hospitals. They also carried the main responsibility in the supervision of such public institutions.

(e) They were able to control the hiring and firing of a considerable proportion of the local employable personnel in different fields; and their authority in

this respect did not encounter significant restrictions due to the relative lack of unionized policies among the employed. Especially in farming, but partly in other main fields, these last privileges can be identified as "patronizing".

(f) They were likely to be rewarded by the locality for these services in terms of political power and prestige.*

Besides the fact that the four types of upper class persons essentially coincided in points (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f), there were other bridges between these subgroups which seemed to unite them into one social class. Examples of these ties were: the interest of the town's businessmen in investing in farming, thus making the businessman-farmer combination common in the locality; the big-farmer's frequent interest in commercial enterprise in their areas through their own business establishments; the trait common to both types of being equally interested in commercial rental house construction in the town; and finally the similar clique membership was a token of social proximity. Significant bridges were to be found between the higher professionals and the other elements in the upper class: certain professionals engaged themselves in commercial investments; several members of the commercial upper class families dedicated themselves to professions, and a few commercial upper class heads of families had a part-time profession (e.g. teaching, juridical); the professionals were responsible for the administration of some communal institutions, e.g. the schools, hospitals, and the church which other upper class members often supported financially.

Some professionals in the two samples did not show as much affinity with other upper class persons and were consequently considered by the judges as restrictively qualified upper-marginal men. Most teachers, other than the school directors, serve as examples of professional elements of the society, the inclusion of which into the upper class did not ordinarily occur. Thus only higher professionals in the locality appeared as upper class members with characteristics fitting the upper class definition, the patronizing position of an upper class commercial, farming, or industrial member substituted for the authority inherent in professional specialization.

Generally, the upper-marginal men showed the same but restrictively qualified traits as compared with the upper class persons. The tendency of the upper class judges to discriminate against people corresponding to the status of upper-marginal men by placing them commonly into the middle class was evidence of the class consciousness of the solid upper class persons, and evidence that the study deals with a real dynamic social group, "legally open, but actually semiclosed" and "partly aware of its own unity and partly not" in Sorokin's description of social class (5).

MIDDLE CLASS

(a) The middle class individuals depended for making their living mainly on occupations which required skill and specialization. The specialization of middle class persons, however, was acquired at the work plant, and continuously tested against competition from practitioners of the same crafts or occupations. The middle class enterprises especially required direct personal

* On definition of social classes see Max Weber's Theory of Social and Economic Organization, ed. Talcott Parsons, N.Y., Oxford Uni. Press, 1947.

qualifications of skill, enterprise and thrift, but did not enjoy the multiplication of rewards in the same degree possible to many of the upper class men who had the advantage of ability to invest accumulated capital.

(b) Middle class persons were concretely bound to their source of income. The upper class farming, industrial and commercial elements in the site of this study, although participating in the management of their properties, administering, and even commonly replacing a part-time or full-time worker by their own labor, did not rely as much on their personal human labor force as on the non-human and employed alien human sources. The contribution of an upper class member, if not a professional, was not immediately (acutely) indispensable to the respective enterprise and could be separated from some of the assets of the larger enterprise, whereas it was indispensable to the practitioners of occupations in the middle class to occupy their time, skills or specialization wholly to the enterprise. Against this difference, possibly, could be understood the common phrase about the lower and middle class Turrialbans: "works for a living", or "he has to work". These comments would seem otherwise senseless, because there was no concrete "leisure class" in Turrialba.

(c) The middle class persons were able to rely on material returns from their work big enough to distinguish themselves from the lowest prevailing levels of living in the community, but were not able or willing to afford "luxuries" without endangering the fundamentals of their well-being or exceeding their capacities for credit (6). This characteristic is related to the general tendency for well-measured and sound family economy within the middle class.

(d) They were usually aware of their social roles as something "superior" to the lower class and were attached to their relatively higher living standards. This was particularly apparent in situations where the money income was endangered, e.g. when the earner of the family lost his ability to earn as much as before in case of illness, or old age, or when he had died. In these cases was seen a definite effort to maintain the standards of living unchanged. This coincides with what Marbach says, "In the case of proletarian or nearby proletarian income derivation (they) are inclined to burgeous living content and try to avoid the threatening hazards inherent in their proletarian-like being" (6).

(e) Middle class persons were likely to be accepted by the local citizens as something not substitutionable in their respective occupations, and therefore to be qualified as respected and substantial members of the community.

The inheritance of upper class status seemed to be taken for granted by the judges, whereas the sons of middle and lower class families were rated in respect to their individual achievements. The two sons of upper class individuals in the final study were treated as upper class individuals even if their occupations (both were sales clerks in

father's store) were typical of the middle class. Sons of middle class members, on the other hand, had to face the same competitive obstacles as their fathers, and a youth from a middle class family was occasionally considered by the raters as belonging to the lower class. Similarly, the son of a lower class family was often estimated as belonging to the middle class if his personal characteristics approximated the middle class definition.

The historical origin of middle classes is sometimes considered to be in the independent trade emanating from the later stages of feudalism, "modifying, disrupting, and finally supplanting the feudal culture from which it emerged" (7). Analysis of this study would suggest, however, that the middle class in Turrialba was based on availability of specialized crafts and skill, whereas trade appeared only as a secondary characteristic of that class. But it would undoubtedly be misleading to make comparisons between Turrialban middle class and that of societies with different economic structures and different stages of industrialization. It suffices to say that the middle class in the site of research appeared to be the first societal formation which was clearly emancipated from the lower class through its own characteristic assets. Penetration of the middle class elements into the ranks of the old upper class, as equals to the colonizing and often foreign-born large-farm owners and large-scale commercial dealers has been a fact since the outgrowth of the town into a commercial center of the Canton, and the upper limit of the middle class has thus grown together with the upper class. Further, the middle class in the town could be seen best in the relative sharpness with which its lower limit was drawn by the local minds to exclude from it, in normal circumstances, the elements of the society who were making their living as farm laborers, i.e., remaining subjects to the rigid and demanding "patrón-peón" relationship of the agricultural and economic system prevailing in the neighboring countryside.

The lower-marginal category did not show qualitatively new characteristics from the middle class. The retardedness in their placements seemed to be connected mainly with the following considerations:

Certain occupations did not seem to be valued as much as more specialized or skilled middle class occupations. Examples of these community deference patterns were the occupations of non-farm laborer, railroad and construction worker who were considered lower than the solid middle class but still higher than the lower class farm laborer; policemen whose jobs were occasionally belittled, "they are just plain 'peones' "; independent small farmers whose occupational prestige was somewhat ambiguous: their "hard work" being commonly compared to that of wage-earning farm laborers, but their "industry" or "enterprise" to that of the middle class men; and also the occupation of farm overseer "mandador".

Other reasons for a person being placed into the lower-marginal category often referred to an inferior way of performing occupations or duties which otherwise belonged to the middle class, or to the failure of meeting the requirements of an expected middle class living standard as often found in downward mobile careers.

LOWER CLASS

The lower class combined characteristics which bring out most clearly the peculiarity of the Turrialban society.

(a) Lower class people relied on rewards into which they changed their unspecialized manual labor in the labor market.

(b) They were rewarded for their labor on a more or less standardized wage-basis, and individual differences in work performance, save when due to the purely physical condition of the worker, did not have an essential effect on their returns. Their principal means to increase wage-returns, therefore, were the lengthening of working hours or the increasing of the labor force per family.

(c) Their material returns from labor fell below the "poverty line" where the substitutional forms of income assume by necessity a significant role.

(d) They characteristically lacked awareness of being unsubstitutionable to the employer or to the community, their principal assets being the minimum thinkable, that of unspecialized manual labor.

The two main occupations of the lower class, that of farm laborers and of domestic servants reflect mainly the traditional employment of different sexes in different activities, and it was leveled off by bridges found between these occupational groups: The sons of lower class families were frequently employed as farm laborers while the daughters of the same families worked as servants. Similarly, lower class women often took up seasonal farm labor to pick coffee, notwithstanding their principal occupations as domestic servants.

The families living on relief incorporated in the final quota sample were not estimated by the raters to differ decisively from the solid lower class. "There are people who cannot work; otherwise there is no difference between workers generally", explained a farm laborer rater of the first sample. Curiously enough, even families whose income was partly based on donations received by begging were given prestige ratings which did not warrant them to be treated as a separate lower-lower stratum.

One of the most crucial problems in Latin America, according to many observers is the question of landownership. There is only little prospect for the inherited land to be divided among larger classes, because the upper landowning classes are increasing but slowly, and the lower class is likely to increase more speedily as soon as the health problems can be overcome. The question of the status of the lower class is closely connected with the existence of large land holdings. Charles Loomis and Reed Powell, in their study of two communities in the Canton of Turrialba, show the proportion of lower class people to be greater in a community where the "hacienda"-type agricultural economics system is prevailing (8). Biesantz' thesis in their "Costa Rican Life" (9) on the increasing gap between the wage-earning laborers and other social classes as measured by levels of living, the "freezing out" of the peasant proprietors into a diminishing number of what independent small farmers could be found in Costa Rica half a century ago, and the inability of farm laborers to raise their socio-economic status, challenges undoubtedly serious discussion on the future of the lower class. It seems unquestionable that the analyst of Costa Rican society, concerned about the future of the underpriviledged, unskilled agricultural laborer cannot work

out fruitful schemes of generalization if he does not consider the lower class in connection with and as the function of the two other societal poles; the upper class which, insofar as large land holdings are concerned, has contributed to the existence of a highly stratified society, and the middle class which stands on guard of its elevated position in regard to those emerging from the inferior social class, by offering competition in different fields of creative skills. It will also be important to understand the main channels of social mobility available to members of different classes, for these are, indeed, the peaceful instruments with which the society can adjust itself to changing situations brought forth by pressures and needs arising in some of its layers.

SOCIAL MARGINALITY

There was evidence that a vertically mobile person was likely to be considered as a marginal case. Immediately will be reviewed some cases whose marginal assignment in the two samples could be most distinctly related to upward or downward mobile careers. Because of the heterogeneity of the marginal men, an individual description of them, rather than group description, seems desirable.

Case 1 was of the upper-marginal category. He had strenuously climbed in the course of 16 years from wage-earning laborer to his present position as an independent businessman. He was of Costa Rican descent; had had four years of elementary schooling; had a money income which was only slightly inferior to the level of 1,000 colones which marked roughly the prevalent top levels in the locality. His housing and household conveniences were more near to the middle than to the upper class standards, and he showed a tendency to subject his living standards secondary to promoting his business investments; presently, he had a plan to change his living room into a store. He began his commercial career by buying and ambulantly selling small articles and animals, and he still liked to trade watches and other items in addition to business transactions made in his store.

Case 2, an upper-marginal man, was of Latin American descent. He had had five grades of elementary schooling; had a money income lower than the previous upper-marginal man. He had been previously an artisan, but had in recent years become the owner of a well-known and central if not very profitable business establishment. His housing conditions were also exceptional, and gave the impression that the business interest were a matter of prime concern. He was not found to belong closely to any clique formations, and did not enjoy political influence.

Case 3 of the upper-marginal category was of Costa Rican descent. He was only 22 years age, unmarried. He had had four years of primary schooling. Like the previous individuals, he was a businessman, and had recently opened his own rather popular business establishment. His housing arrangement, a room behind his business, was not typical of any class. He did not own any reading matter; was found to be rather unattached to local cliques. He did not enjoy local influence. Judges from the lower class had given him considerably higher ratings than judges from the upper class. In contrast to the two previous upper-marginal men, he did not employ any sales personnel.

Case 4 of the upper-marginal category was about 30 years old, formally employed as a salesman by his father. He had only elementary school education. He belonged to dominantly upper class cliques in which some other marginal men were also embodied.

He had in comparison to his father and other solid upper class individuals, considerably less public influence.

Case 5, an upper marginal, was a businessman and had most characteristics of the upper class, except schooling. He had had an active role in local politics, but had lost it as a result of the recent armed revolution. His clique attachments were typically those of an upper-class person, and he still had considerable local prestige among a sector of the population, but the disagreement among the judges placed him in the upper-marginal category.

Case 6 of the upper-marginal category was an 87-year-old woman of Costa Rican descent, the widow of a foreign-born large landowner. Her educational and present economic statuses were lower than in the majority of cases in the upper class. She was quite inactive in relations with the outside world but her several children were well-known as influential and well-to-do citizens.

Case 7 of the lower-marginal category was a woman of about 60 years. She was the widow of a businessman from another locality. She had had an extraordinary career, having earlier worked as a domestic servant and now being the owner of a rooming house. Educationally, she resembled those in the solid lower class, but her children had received an education typical of the middle class. Her reported money income was that found commonly in the lower class, but the housing features were those typically found in the middle class. She reported highly unusual clique connections which penetrated all social layers of the community. Her personal reputation was defended by some and questioned by others.

Case 8 of the lower-marginal category was about 30 years in age. He had worked until 9 years ago as a sales clerk in his father's store. Since the small business could not occupy him, he took up farm labor. He was used to doing some extra work on weekends to acquire a money income somewhat higher than was common in the lower class. He had passed three grades in the elementary school. As owner of his house he differed from most in the lower class by tenure, but the furnishings were closer to the standards in the lower class homes. He belonged to cliques patronized by his late father's middle class friends, and he was respected and rather well-known in the locality.

Case 9, of the lower-marginal category was an aged man who had recently sold his middle-sized farm to buy a business establishment and let his children administer it. He had retired from most activities. His housing corresponded more to that typically found in the middle class; in his clothing and personal appearance he refused to make any changes from what he was used to when farming, being still constantly barefoot and in peasant costume. He did not belong closely to any cliques. He was respected as an honest and good citizen, and credited to have substantial economic resources.

Case 10 was an overseer "mandador" in agriculture; his income and housing (except that he lived a house ceded by farm-owner) corresponded to that found in the middle class. He had begun his career as a farm laborer, and close relatives of his had remained wage-earning farm laborers. His education corresponded to that most often found in the middle class, and he was active in self studies to broaden his technical skills in farm industry. He had essentially remained a member of lower class cliques, but his clique role was manifestly that of an informal leader. In contrast to the rule in the lower-marginal category, he enjoyed political influence among parts of the lower class.

Case 11 was the son of a family which had been assigned to the lower class. While his father worked as a farm laborer, the son had passed the primary school and selected an occupation which indicated middle class status. He carried on self studies in English and in typewriting.

Case 12 was colored; he had shown occupational mobility, from farm laborer in his early years to paying clerk in a big farm, now, in his later years he had an occupation as a night guard likely to appear as well in the lower as in the middle class; he had a salary slightly higher than that common in the lower class; his housing was typically of the middle class; he had passed only three grades in elementary school, but his children had completed full elementary schooling. Even if he had resided in the locality for many years, he was not closely attached to any local cliques except a neighborhood clique where middle class elements were dominant. He was generally held in great esteem for his upright and honest character and was well-known to most local citizens.

Social marginality, in the frame of the foregoing examples, can be inspected from at least the following points of view: (a) Social marginality as an aspect of social techniques. In this connotation marginality is introduced when an individual acts for the purpose of achieving gains along one social ladder while another status aspect is seemingly left without as much concern. Expansion of business might go before cultivating means of personal convenience; or interpersonal relations with status superiors might be maintained as an instrument for social climbing. (b) Social marginality as an aspect of inconsistent losses in status. Economic status might sometimes appear more concerned in social decline than prestige status, especially in regard to the upper-marginal area. (c) Social marginality as occupational deterioration, e.g., in old age and sickness. The occupational disability might show in the discrepancy between an individual's occupation and his earnings from it, or in the discrepancy between an individual's occupational designation and his community prestige. (d) Social marginality as ambiguously ranked occupational groups. This type of marginality involves community deference patterns, and it has been referred to in the foregoing pages where the social classes were described from the structural point of view. (e) Social marginality as reflection of conflict between prevailing overt and latent value systems in the society. Among the cases presented above, there was one case of the effect of political controversy. This type of social marginality will be reflected in disagreement in status ascription to the individual by judges. (f) Social marginality as related to considerations upon "norms" of behavior expected on each class level and deviations from these. This kind of marginality is also likely to show in the inconsistent placement of an individual by judges' ratings.

Out of the presented types of marginality, those connected with social techniques of advancement, with inconsistent losses of status, with occupational deterioration, and with considerations upon class norms can be clearly related to vertical mobility. However, the forces responsible for moving individuals from one social position to another are hypothetically at work on all levels of the society. But the mobile tendencies are likely to be intensified in those individuals who appear inconsistent as to their class statuses in the analyst's measurement, be this seen either in the lack of internal consistency within the items combined in one measurement (socio-economic scale, prestige rating, or marginal positions in sociometric constellations) or in the lack of

external consistency between the different measures of status. Class marginality, therefore, is a relative term, the definition of which will be fully possible only after more accurate measures of status have been developed.

The marginal cases which have been presented in this section were selected to exemplify different types of mobility in the marginality areas, and thus they illustrate some of the ways in which the concept of class marginality leads to that of social mobility. Vertical mobility, like class status or class marginality, can be measured and thus defined along the same aspects of inspection. In accordance with the social class analysis in this study, the social mobility phenomenon also can be focused from the following aspects: first, as socioeconomic mobility, or the process of assuming new traits of participation, consumption patterns, etc., within the framework of the selected socioeconomic items used to define individual's socio-economic status. Second, vertical occupational mobility, implying the existence of hierarchical systems of occupational categories, the superiority or inferiority being based on such principles as whether the occupations are skilled or unskilled, independent or dependent, etc. Third, reputational mobility which implies gains or losses of an individual in community prestige. Finally, sociometric mobility referring to an individual's movement from one sociometric constellation to another. Before inspecting social mobility in the total community, some observations will be presented here on mobile upwards and downwards tendencies within the family group, which is an essential part of the social controls affecting vertical movement from one social level to another.

SOCIAL HETEROGENEITY OF FAMILIES

In some families in the samples there were relatively wide differences to be found between the prestige status positions of the various members. This became evident by inspecting the prestige ratings given to some other family members who were added to the sample of heads in the final study and who thus could be checked against and compared with the prestige statuses of the heads. The socioeconomic, occupational, and sociometric statuses of members of the same family were generally found to be relatively more consistent than the prestige status. Especially consistent was the socio-economic status, the measurement of which was based on many items shared by all in the family unit.

When inconsistencies of status occurred within a family, it was usually found to affect the family life in essential ways. There was a conflict to be found usually in those upper and middle class families where some member failed to live up to the expectations on the social class level of the family, or where clique memberships on lower social levels were held by a member of the family, or where some member was not capable of assuming an occupational status consistent with that of the head, etc., whereas gains in prestige status, occupational or socio-economic improvements by some member above the levels of the others in the family were generally regarded with pride and satisfaction. Whereas "Thanks to God, they are very good children" or a similar phrase was often used by parents who seemed to consider that their children had met the expectations placed on them, one of the family conflicts introduced by the failure to keep up on the same social level can be illustrated by the words of a mother from the upper-marginal category about her son who "is mentally different" from the rest of the family: "I really do not know what to do with him, because I am not good in educating

boys. He is so restless in his work; once we found a job for him in P. But he came back and told me: "How could I go on with it, because they paid 4.20 a day, and I had to pay five colones a day for the hotel only?" -- I made him finish the primary school, but he told me that he does not have the interest in studying further. On the streets he is polite and finds easily company, but at home he is quite unbearable. Imagine that we even have to check that he has taken off his dirty work clothes before going to bed".

The family mechanisms for controlling downward deviations, as observed in the study, showed class differences in the authority patterns assumed by the parents. Lower class families tended to the patriarchal pattern. Middle class families appeared to have a more itemized code of behavior, and more elaborate techniques were apparent to encourage such characteristics as skills, thrift, industry and social manners than in the lower class. While it was generally up to the husband of a lower class family to do the purchasing and to decide upon the use of money, the wives and older daughters participated with the male head in matters determining the families' socioeconomic behavior. In comparison with the previous two classes, the family pattern in the upper class was the most democratic. In some instances, the upper class wife's role in family economic control seemed to be lessened, as often a large part of the husband's income was not accountable to the wife and as servants might often be delegated to manage food and other purchases.

Not uncommonly in the lower class the father would take his son to work for his own employer at the age of 9-12 years, while the parents in the other classes were less pressed by economic necessity and thus were able and willing to defer the gainful employment of their children and to consult the children about their future with more reliance on the child's judgment. In the middle class and more so in the upper class, parents appeared to follow their children's play and study more closely, and the parents' ambitions seemed projected on the children.

CLASS AS STEREOTYPE

The points on the normative behavior patterns on the family level have given further evidence of the possibility of approaching social class from a functional point of view. In this dimension, social class consequently can be seen as a reference group from where values and motives of people can be explained to a great extent. The functional determinants of class in norms of behavior is presented here without subjecting it to measurement in the same manner that other, more tangible aspects of class status have been previously reported.

The norms of individual behavior are taken from the reference group with which the individual identifies himself. When explaining the behavior of others, such reference groups are also often postulated: one person will explain the behavior of another in reference to how the first judges the social class status of the second. For example, the upper class interviewed were sometimes found to refer to the large category of laborers with a single collective phrase, e.g., "this class of people", "wage-laborers", and to generalize to include the whole group as under one law: "They are not interested in improving themselves", or "They are spoiled by the Unemployment Security Act", etc. Similarly, the lower class people were prone to such generalizations about the upper class as: "People who do not work", "They do not suffer for tax increase, because

they know how to get the money through paying less wages", etc. These tendencies to stereotype, postulating the existence of major social interest groups only, contributed to the sharpening of social class cleavages despite of the sometimes modifying and harmonizing objective facts of marginality and mobility.

CHANNELS OF MOBILITY

An important function of social class lies in its potentiality to stimulate upwards mobile tendencies among the population. Since this aspect, besides of its many theoretical implications upon the class concept, is of specific interest to those agencies whose interest is dedicated to the improvement of living conditions in the Latin American countries, the following section will be presented as an attempt to appraise the existing types of mobility, in different fields, the most common assets available for a mobile career, and the limits of mobility noticeable in the scope of the final study.

While the origin of behavior norms and stereotyped generalizations on the motivation and behavior of people on other class levels could be related to reference groups on a high level of abstraction in popular minds, the evidence gathered with respect to the ways social upwards mobility was motivated did not frequently include similar allusions to broad societal groups. People were seldom, if ever, found to give a verbal expression to their aspiration levels as desired affiliation with middle class, upper class, or other major social segments of the community which nevertheless have been found to be identified by class sentiment. The closest generalizations along these lines might probably have been those directed to the children's future: "Only that they would be able to make an easier living than the father": "That they would be able to get more education and to get ahead in life", etc.

A somewhat more precise form was given to aspirations along occupational status. In a school meeting the author administered a questionnaire to twenty-five parents of children on the lower grades. Because of the limitedness of this survey, only 20 interviewees whose lower class status was established were considered. The majority of these were found to aspire to the following occupations for their children upon answering the question of what occupation they would like to be chosen by their children: mechanic, carpenter, seamstress, teacher, office clerk, and telegraphist -- skilled crafts or semi-professional occupations pertaining to the Turrialban middle class or upper marginals.

An analysis of the aspirations of the heads of families along socio-economic status was made by asking each of the 99 individuals in the final study the following question: "If you had ₡ 1, 000 colones (about $125) extra at your disposal now, how would you use it?. Table 15 shows the distribution of answers given in major headings. It will be noticed that the lower class people gave clothing the first place, followed by food, buying land, and purchasing or repairing the house. In the upper and middle classes the wish to purchase or repair the house and to invest in business were dominating. The middle class emphasis on clothing was also noticeable.

As to the aspirations along sociometric measurement of status, it was found during the exploratory study that there was a tendency of individuals to contact their status superiors in preference to their status inferiors. The vertically oriented preference patterns coinciding with the arrangement of people according to their class status, we might add, would be established through this analysis irrespective of whether the informant had actually the sociometric status he reported or he selected from his more numerous contacts those with relatively highest statuses.

TABLE 15

ANSWERS GIVEN BY 99 PERSONS IN TURRIALBA TO THE QUESTION "HOW WOULD YOU USE 1000 COLONES" BY SOCIAL CLASS*

	Social Class of the Respondent		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
Purchase or repair of house	10	12	8
Investing in business	9	10	1
Paying debts	5	3	-
Clothing	3	9	16
Furniture	3	3	3
Education	1	1	1
Buying land	1	3	9
Kitchen utensils	-	3	5
Textiles for house	-	2	4
Food	-	2	9
Domestic animals	-	1	3
Trip	1	1	-
Obstetric treatment	-	1	1
Casket	-	-	1
Deposit in bank	2	3	-
Others (suitcase, transmitter for rodio)	-	1	1
Too general or no answer	4	2	4

* Since alternatives were offered by many respondents, the number of entries exceeds the number of interviewees.

Methods to study social mobility include most often ex post facto information on individuals' or families' occupational or economic changes. Their main weakness lies in the bias towards such criteria of status which are easily expressable by the interviewee, or which he remembers best. Empirical studies on social mobility are therefore often equivalent to studies on occupational mobility. The following approach -- although some case histories are used -- is to be taken as an attempt to alleviate this handicap through appraising social mobility by making a working hypothesis which involves the assumption that on a composite prestige scale, those individuals appear as having approximately close prestige positions with each other who represent consecutive social changes that the judges recognized to follow commonly each other in the normal course of socially mobile careers. This assumption is based on the previous findings on the correspondence of the various aspects of the measurement of status. By making it, we identify individual "typicality" or "normality" in mobile careers

with societal prestige deference patterns, but recognize the limitations of such an assumption. In the following discussion, our main interest will be directed to the inspection of agricultural, commercial, technical, and professional fields.

THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER

Farm laborers in the lower class displayed a tendency to follow relatively immobile careers in terms of occupation, economic status, or other social characteristics, and their children were likely to present careers similar to their parents'. It should not, however, be omitted to notice the potentialities for vertical mobility of a wage-earning laborer within the range of opportunities in the Turrialban society. In the first place, there were the aspirations, even though vaguely formulated, of having the children trained in skills or of sometimes being able to own a "finquita" (small farm), "ranchito" (small house).

Secondly, certain tangible characteristics divided the farm laborers of the sample into positions regarded by many of the raters as vertically differentiated. This realization would suggest that there is a margin for mobility within the farm laborers' occupational category expressable in socio-economic, socioemetric, or prestige terms.

(a) Wage Returns

The chance of an individual laborer to get more wages per working hour were limited to the possibility of choosing the employer who pays more, an asset which was weakened by the power of the employers to command the labor market and wage standards. Of clearly more realistic value for the farm laborer appeared his access to increased wage-returns per family by working extra hours, and especially by increasing the sold labor force per family. The sons of farm laborer families were commonly sent to work at the age of 9 to 12 years, the daughters maybe one or two years later. The average number of children employed per family among the 25 farm laborer families of the first sample and the 11 families of the final quota sample with male heads of families with children at home was 1.6 in both cases. This number was usually increased in the coffee picking season. Consequently, the great demand of family labor force blocked away opportunities of the children to devote themselves to the learning of other occupations or to get a satisfactory schooling which would in the long run permit a greater improvement in the socio-economic situation.

Loss of labor force per family was closely linked with social decline, as has been pointed out previously, when the head of family had lost some of his working capacity in old age or sickness, adult children left a parental family which still included minors, or, pointedly, when the male head had died or abandoned the family.

An illustrative case from the sample is No. 69 who ranked last by socio-economic analysis. He was 40 years in age, married, with four children at home. Two years ago, his two older daughters were at home and earned 4.15 and 2.50 colones a day respectively in addition to the father's daily earnings of 4.15. Both of these daughters got married and moved away from home, and since then the father supported his family alone with his 4.80 a day (in 1950), 0.90 of which was paid weekly to the Social Security funds. He was aware of the fact that the lowered economic status was partly due to the decreased labor force of the family, but mainly accused outside factors: "Now the proletariat has to live with a half of what he had earlier, and the situation

is getting worse every day. The foreman does not give me any respect and has put me in the category of aged workers, so that I am not able to work extra hours".

Increased wages per family were not found, within this sample, to strengthen a farm laborer's social position enough to allow him into the lower marginal category, if other factors were not also involved. This is possibly related to the fact that a farm laborer family tends to undergo a certain family cycle in its economic ups and downs; a family who had gained a relatively better economic position when it was able to employ several children is likely to drop again in the old age of the parents and the departure of the grown-up children from home. It is possible that judges' ratings were framed to anticipate such fluctuations in farm workers' economic status by ignoring the effect on their status, of heightened economic capacity in the mature age of families.

(b) Substitutional and Additional Income

The additional income that might be derived from cultivation of ceded land was apt to raise a farm laborer's prestige and socio-economic statuses within the lower class but not usually above it. In most cases, the cultivated piece of land was given free by the employer, and the laborer worked on it on his "own time", the afternoons and Sundays, keeping still full-time work as a wage-earning farm laborer. The following case illustrates the fact that this asset of increasing the income by cultivation of land on "free time" was limited by the physical weariness and exhaustion resulting from a full day at farm work and by the smallness of the economic returns from the produce.

No. 10 in the quota sample was 44 years old, married, and had four children at home. He had been working for the same farm since he was nine years old, and two of his sons, 20 and 14 years in age, had also worked there since they were ten and nine years respectively. The father was payed 4.50 colones a day, the older of the sons had the same wages, and the younger made 2.00 colones a day. One-fourth of a "manzana" of land had been allowed them for cultivation by the farm owner. This was planted in corn, tomatoes, green peppers, fruit trees, etc., and the produce was mainly sold, but the income from this was small and irregular. The interviewed seemed to be concerned with the fact that there was too little time available for the cultivation of the land. "The employers need all my time and labor, and they can do it, because they pay me. I have no time to rest or to read newspapers, because I work from six until 2 o'clock and then in the plot until 5 o'clock. And at that time there is seldom a chance to get a ride in an automobile of the farm to get back home without needing to walk the long distance. For a "peón" who wants to work, the "finca" gives a little land for maybe two years, and then they might take it back to plant sugar cane in it. Having own land is the only way to better one's conditions, only provided that one is accompanied by luck".

The instances of more effective climb were through the purchase of land and the consequent diversion of a part of the family's labor force to work it. This channel was likely to lead into the category corresponding to the lower marginals', and in favorable circumstances into the middle class small farmers'. Some "parásitos" (squatters) who settled on some sections without permission, assumed roughly the same potentialities. As compared with other channels of social mobility, land acquisition played a rather limited role in this community, the primary obstacles being the almost inaccessibility to credit, the great degree in which all capable hands in a farm workers' family were tied up in making a bare living which did not allow for saving enough money for the

direct buying of land; lack of enterprise and farming skills in many farm laborers. A case of breaking these barriers is given below.

No. 46 was 51 years old, a farm laborer. He made 4.80 a day in 1950. He had a wife, two sons and two younger daughters living at home. Both sons, 19 and 18 years in age respectively, worked as farm laborers; the former made 5.20 a day, the latter 4.80 a day. The boys paid about 14.00 colones a week for their food to the father. Seven years ago the interviewed bought the house and 450 "varas" of land for 225 colones. This purchase was financed by a loan of 500 colones guaranteed by a son-in-law. Later, another loan of 400 colones was obtained from a private person. This money was used for the repairs of the house. Both loans were repaid in three to four years. The grounds were mainly used to cultivate coffee, which had produced an income of about 1,000 colones in the year 1949. A house on the same piece of land was constructed by own labor for an older married son. A few hens were kept, but did not produce enough eggs for selling. Lottery tickets were regularly bought, and four months before 400 colones had been won, and later 200 colones more. The winnings were put aside "to improve the situation and for medical treatment of the wife, because the lottery is the only way for the poor to make savings".

Other forms of additional income existed among farm laborers in the lower class. Minor business transactions were made, certain services given. Many laborers of the samples raised such domestic animals as hens, pigs, or rabbits to sell, or kept small vegetable gardens. In some, the lottery chances brought in some extra money, or some money was received by begging.

No. 9 was 41 years old, married, with no children at home. At the time of the interview he got 5.50 colones as a farm laborer in regular working hours from 6 A.M. to 2 P.M., and 7.50 the days he worked until 4 o'clock. He liked to play mandoline in bands, for the fun and for small economic gains, and frequently used to go out to play in "fiestas". His wife had nine hens which she intended to sell for 5 colones each.

No. 7 was a farm laborer, 55 years of age, married, and had seven children at home. He was payed 4.80 colones a day; a daughter of 16 made 2.40 a day, and a daughter of 15 two colones a day, both as farm workers. There was a pig which had been bought for 20 colones, and the owner speculated its being worth now 70 colones. The pig was fed with the little that was left over from the meals, and with sugar cane, banana, etc. which were collected or occasionally bought from the farm where the owner worked.

No. 37 was 29 years old; he was married and had two children. In 1950 he earned 4.80 per day. He made extra gardening and farm work in his own piece of land and reported earning about 6 colones weekly from this. In addition, eggs were sold for about 9 colones weekly. He also reported the buying of "chances" as a form of income and told that "I have to buy them in order to earn extra. I have good luck and have always won something". The father of this interviewee used to have a vegetable garden, and the son learned about farming at home. He reported having interest in going into agriculture of his own. The lot he had was bought from the community seven years ago with his father's financial aid at the time the son got married, and it consisted of 1/8 "manzana" given to plants of coffee, banana and other fruits.

No. 90 was 42 years old; he lived with his old mother. He had worked as field hand since he was 8 or 9 years old. He was married but had now lived separated for

several years. He made 4.25 a day as farm wages. In addition to this, the mother was receiving 0.25 colones from the church every week, and "friends give some more 'pesetas'". She knew which persons in the town used to give money, so that about one colon was usually gathered by her routine weekly round-up in these families.

(c) Prestige

The following factors of prestige were found to influence the farm laborers' social positions:

(1) Prestige as a good worker and advantages derived from long stay in work for the same employer. This was expressed by statements of the laborers themselves as follows: "I worked before for X. and I have always had a good name there"; "The owner knew me well"; "I have more responsibilities than the rest of the laborers"; "I am well recommended by X.", etc. The asset of having prestige as good worker was sometimes found to lead into a farm overseer's position, and so into the lower marginals.

(2) Leodership in cliques. This factor was not mentioned by the lower class people themselves, but instead was inplied by others: "This person is something interesting; he is only a "peón" himself but has much influence among other "peones". Clique leadership was usually found to exist in connection with other mobility characteristics like plans for occupational change of some of the children, higher substitutional income derivation, interclass marriages of children, etc., so that it could not be appraised alone as a status factor.

(d) Family Relationships

All three wage-earning farm laborers who had been assigned to the middle class, and who appeared as marginal men with respect to their prestige statuses, had close relatives in the middle class. The occupational backgrounds or certain other status characteristics of these persons, however, differed from the rule among the farm laborers of the lower class and made it difficult to appreciate the role of family relationships alone. The fact that a successful member of a family was often found to help economically the retarded relative, showed that the relatively higher socio-economic and prestige status of these persons might have been partly due to this relationship.

(e) Children's Occupations in Farm-Labor Families

Twenty-five farm-laborer families in the lower class of the first sample had adult or minor children at home; in seventeen of these, some children were gainfully occupied. The occupations chosen by the total of 41 children in these families were farm work in more than three-fourths of the cases, domestic service by five girls, and other occupations (sales clerks, farm-industry laborer, non-farm laborer, and craftsman) by five sons. Thus it can be seen that while the lower class farm laborers' children were generally found to assume the same occupations as their parents, a small proportion of them moved into occupations which were typical of the lower marginal men and of the middle class. That

children's improved occupational status was related to farm laborer head's social status was suggested by the fact that one of the two farm-laborer families of the first sample assigned to the lower-middle class had two children who had chosen occupations as office clerk and craftsman.

In summary, of the various assets available to a lower class farm laborer, the increase of labor force per family was found to be practiced most widely. This asset commonly brought about that farm laborers' children had to withdraw early from school and thus had to dedicate themselves to unspecialized farm labor for long periods if not all their life afterwards, thus blocking out education and diversified occupational training as possible channels of mobility. Credit was found of effective value in supporting upwardly mobile tendencies, but other mobility means found in the sample among people who worked as farm laborers were of little significance.

There was not enough material within the scope of these urban samples to survey the possibilities of a middle class person advancing into the upper class along the agricultural ladder. Instead, there were six families in the final sample who had previously been engaged as independent medium or small farmers, and had moved later into other occupations.

The change from farm ownership was found likely to happen into commerce. This occupational change did not seem to be considered a form of vertical social mobility, but it was often connected both by the interviewees themselves and by the raters with differing evaluations on farm living as contrasted to urbanized patterns of life.

Of the six heads of families in the final sample who formerly had been independent farmers, four had chosen commerce as the new occupation; one had chosen commerce originally but having met difficulties had taken up farm labor and was presently a construction worker; and one had retired from farming and become a policeman. In two cases, the interviewed let it be known that business did not meet the expectations held at the time the farm was left. "We have been talking about it several times, and my husband agrees with me to go back to farming, but the children do not want it. But these are bad times nowadays, and the business has been very slow; sometimes no gains are made", explained the wife in one of these families. Occasionally, values connected with earlier farm life were mentioned: "I can never forget my origin as farmer; every time I need to cut a tree, I remember those times. If I should have the money, I would certainly buy a farm to make my own independent life".

THE COMMERCIAL LADDER

Independent commerce appeared first among the lower-marginal and middle class men and was found to lead in the case of successful careers to the upper class. Except for those business owners who had earlier worked as farmers, the sampled lower-marginal or middle class businessmen had mostly either an inherited business establishment or they had moved their business from another locality to Turrialba.

The role of familism was seen in the organization of the business activities of most of the interviewed tradesmen. Using credit from relatives to open a store and other forms of family cooperation, such as giving employment to relatives, training relatives in business as apprentices, letting of storerooms or grounds, patronizing each other's stores, consultation between members in business matters, and partnership in the same business, etc., were found.

An example of the mutual cooperation in business families was case No. 22 of the second sample. He was born in Europe from where his father emigrated to America; three of his brothers and the old widowed mother were now living in Turrialba, each brother representing a different field of commerce. The three men exchanged commodities and articles from each others' stores for family consumption, and were so far self-sufficing that there was a family joke that "somebody should now open a bar in order to have the missing service in the family". The mother met frequently with the sons and appeared as being lent an attentive ear in business matters by the sons.

The survey on the commercial and industrial entrepreneurs climbing from the middle class to the upper class suggested that the present upper class* in Turrialba continuously recruited elements which were ideologically not far removed from the attitudes towards the principal assets making up the life chances in the middle class. In this relatively newly settled community, an upper class member did not hold it discriminating to handle the daily transactions in his store, drive personally new supplies for his store from the capital, work together with his employees in the shop of the factory, etc. His wife, although aware of her elevated social position in the community, did not hesitate to aid the husband, since she was inclined to think, as an upper class merchant's wife said: "The times have passed when the wife could just sit home indoors". In contrast to what might be found in older settlements, the study on Turrialba has therefore been a demonstration of the influence of middle class thinking on the total society. Although given the relative opportunity for the building of isolated elite life patterns by their wider economic capacities, there are not many indications of this visible among the upper class families. In this sense, the often presented claim of Costa Ricans of their land being free of class prejudices seemed supported to a great extent by data on Turrialba, and we might say with Rafael Segovia: "It is certain that the difficulties of passing from one class to another result before all from the prevailing economic conditions. A person can always enter to form part of a class superior to his, having an economic-cultural basis to be admitted in the immediate class" (10).

THE MANUAL ARTS LADDER

The occupations demanding technical abilities and skills appeared with the lower-marginal category and the middle class. Craftsmen, such as electricians, carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, mechanics, painters, shoemakers, tailors, etc., belonged in the Turrialban society invariably to the middle class, unless their working capacity was damaged and they had undergone social decline.

The importance of apprenticeship as an asset on the manual arts ladder could be seen in many of the occupational histories of the middle class craftsmen. Learning of skills was left mostly to informal arrangements, such as an employer took a young apprentice who would work for only small wages; or to the parent or relative who trained him without paying wages. There were no instances in the samples where the occupational skills had been acquired in vocational schools. However, the desire for occupa-

* The term "upper class" as well as the terms "middle" and "lower" class in the present study have been used in reference to the differentiations found to prevail in the scope of the studied locality and are, of course, not to be taken as a universal usage of the terms.

tional schooling was evident when observing the enrollment of relatively many young people of the samples families in correspondence courses from San José and some in foreign correspondence schools.

Case No. 31, a widow, about 60 years old, living with three adult children at home, two sons, one of whom was a brick layer, the other a mechanic, and a daughter who was a seamstress, was a typical instance of this interest in vocational training. The girl had learned her work as an apprentice in San José, the boys had taken correspondence courses in the "Escuelas Internacionales de América Latina". The brick layer had studied construction, and the other son automobile mechanics. The courses lasted two or three years, beginning after the boys had left school at the fourth grade, and had cost the family 500 colones each, which had been payed in monthly installments. The mother had borrowed money to be able to finance this training period. The boy who had studied construction planned to go on with further courses to get a correspondence diploma in civil engineering. At the time of the interview, the sons were building mostly with own labor a house for the family which was planned to be larger and more convenient than the present rental one.

Artisan careers were likely, when successful, to end up from employee's position into an independent enterpriser's on the respective field and into enlarged activities with hired help. In the framework of the final sample, several such cases were found to link the craftsman's career together with that of an industrial entrepreneur.

Case No. 54 learned the manufacture of a product from his father who had had a small plant in the locality. The son enlarged the enterprise and was now employing three workers. He paid his workers according to their skill from 2 to 6.60 colones a day, and considered it important that the same workers should stay for long periods of apprenticeship and employment. Gifts of clothing worth about 50 colones were distributed monthly among the workers to further this purpose. He also had a young relative working in the factory in exchange for room and board. Besides learning the trade, the latter could thus attend night courses of the primary school. The interviewed, who earned approximately 1,000 to 2,000 colones a month, was interested in extending his activities to other areas of industrial and commercial enterprise. He also had plans to make a trip to another country in order to learn improved techniques in his present field.

Case No. 86, the son of a European father, moved to Turrialba five years ago, worked for three years as mechanic, after which he joined with a local transport businessman to run a mechanic repair shop. Later, a gasoline station was added, and the company employed at the time of the interview three workers including an apprentice. The shop was now valued at 30,000 colones, with an equipment of 4,000 colones and yearly investments of about 2.500 colones. As was the rule among the upper class in Turrialba, the interviewed ran the business himself, managing it daily and taking part in whatever work was at hand.

These cases also illustrate the fact that the interests of an upper class industrial entrepreneur coincide with those of a mobile individual in the lower class, insofar as the industrial entrepreneurs offer opportunities for skilled jobs and for encouraging the development of middle class assets. The process of industrialization -- as far as small industry is concerned -- seemed to bring about an effective strengthening of the middle class.

THE PROFESSIONAL LADDER

The professions in the rigorous sense of that word appeared at the upper-marginal level and in the upper class. Opportunities to enter a profession were restricted to those offered by training in formal schools and institutes. This increased the cost of specialization as to limit the feasibility of professional training mostly to the children of the upper class, upper marginal category and, in case some money saving measures or credit had been found, of some middle class families.

It was characteristic in the professional ladder that a relatively long and costly training period was covered either by parental aid or -- as it has been observed to be the case with business -- by mutual aid in families. Loans, scholarships, etc., were not found to be common forms of sponsorship within the sample. An example of mutual aid in family education was No. 85. He had been earlier a carpenter, now was a business dealer. He had five University educated sons; three of them had earlier worked as primary school teachers and progressed into higher professional positions. They contributed to the younger brothers' college schoolings, and one of them was studying in a foreign country, sponsored by the brothers.

There were exceptions to this rule of the prerequisites of formal specialization only in the case of certain semi-professionals. Laymanly juridical services were represented in the sample in the upper class and in the upper-marginal zone, as well as medical services were rendered by self-taught persons. This latter practice had wide proportions, and mainly the professionals themselves appeared to be aware of the dangers involved in this.

A nearer inspection would possibly disclose a hierarchy of professions according to occupational prestige in the community. Our survey showed that the most respected person in the locality was a physician, while a wealthy businessman and an active politician ranked next. Teachers of the local schools tended to obtain upper-marginal placements. On the whole, the professional career was highly esteemed as a token of education, culture and prominence, and many parents in the upper class were found to desire various professions for their children.

CONCLUSION

This analysis was designated to test the hypothesis that the community under study had a population which could be divided vertically in various ways of measurement which would allocate the same individuals largely in the same groups. Measurements were undertaken along the aspects of "activity", "social distance", "sentiments", and "material facilities". Later during the work, these aspects of measurement were re-grouped and redefined into the following status dimensions: socioeconomic, occupational, prestige, and sociometric status. Techniques to measure socioeconomic status were developed to fit the culture patterns of the community, while prestige status was measured according to current prestige rating techniques. The correspondence of the other two aspects of status, sociometric and occupational, with the arrangement of individuals in the socioeconomic and prestige measurement was established by relating individuals' occupational status subsequently to two independent variables, namely to the distribution of heads of families according to judges' ratings in the "exploratory study" and to the distribution of them according to socioeconomic attribute-cluster analysis in the "final study", and by relating individuals' sociometric choices to the distribution of heads according to judges' ratings in the exploratory study.

The degree to which the selected measurements of status appeared to measure the population in the same ways was accepted, by definition, to imply that the term "social class" was warranted in reference to groupings of individuals who received similar ranks irrespective of the measurement employed. The structure of the social classes was perceived in three class formations, the "upper", the "middle", and the "lower" class. A tentative description to yield a definition of the three classes with respect to the total society was made.

The relationship between social class and class marginality was studied, and in this connection the need for refined techniques for the measurement of class deviations became evident. Cases which appeared as occupying ambiguous positions in the arrangement of individuals along the various measures -- be the ambiguity shown in the lack of internal consistency among individual components of each measuring instrument or in the lack of external consistency between the different measures -- were inspected. It was shown descriptively that social class had functional properties which often linked with social marginality. One of these properties, namely the function of class norms on the community level as well as on the family level of inspection, was reflected in the judges' norm-bound considerations on individuals' prestige. Another functional role of social class was identified in its possibility to offer a frame of reference against which the behavior of others was interpreted. Finally, the functional role of social class as the promoter of social mobility was discussed with special consideration to the limits to mobile careers and to the characteristic assets available along different fields of occupational and economic activity.

As subject of social class analysis, Turrialba has been gratifying, since it offers opportunity for comparison between farm labor elements and industrial or semi-industrial elements present in the same community. The demarcation line between these two spheres seems to be sharply reflected in the local attitudes, and it is also supported by clear discrepancies in the measurement of other phenomena. In a situation where rural laborer elements reside in the same community with industrial labor, there is likelihood

in the Latin American setting, for the lowest class of the society to be constituted from farm laborers, while the emphasis on industrial or semi-industrial skills or on commercial and other non-farming economic activity is likely to constitute the basis for the middle class.

In the present semi-industrial or pre-industrial stage of community development, for the upwardly mobile person to pass the line between the middle social layers of the community to the highest social positions appears to need money and energy, but it can be made without undergoing the much more demanding process of far-reaching change in the total orientation of an individual with mobile tendencies from the lower class farm laborer group to the middle class. Some resistance to newly emerged elements in the Turrialban upper class appeared to be offered by those whose upper class affiliation had been established by previous or earlier generations, but taken in the whole, the affinity of middle class skills to the upper class life chances was evident. In this respect, possibilities for democratic cooperation and harmony are present.

The crucial paint in action programs are the problems of the farm laborers. At the present state of farming system and techniques, the agricultural ladder does not offer a hierarchy of skilled employment corresponding to that existing in non-farming fields which would absorb the mobile elements within the agricultural ladder. Land acquisition is relatively hard for the farm laborer, and the hazards in independent cultivation of own land are acutely felt by the small farmers. This and the strenuous quality of farm work might explain that such fields of enterprise as commerce are represented in the community to an extent beyond of what might be desirable. There are not enough industrial entrepreneurs to engage great numbers of the mobile elements of the lower class, but in the degree this was found to happen, the interests of upwardly mobile lower class persons were found to coincide with those of the upper class industrial member. The tension prevailing between the upwardly mobile tendencies within the lower class and the barriers hindering this movement seem to be of a nature to be rather increased than alleviated by the present societal development. In this respect, the Turrialban society bears some resemblance to many areas of Europe before the industrial revolution.

It is considered that the findings presented about Turrialba indicate the need of prompt action along the following main lines:

(a) Evoke social upward mobility by increasing job opportunities for middle class skilled persons, and by enabling new elements from the lower class to obtain middle class statuses through vocational schooling and credit to buy land or develop industries. Effort should be directed to obtain that the vertical mobility be mode as easy through the agricultural ladder as it is through the manual arts ladder. Otherwise the urbanized forms of life would receive a too emphasized value position.

(b) Effort should be made to strengthen the middle class philosophy of thrift, skills, and competence through education. Otherwise the increased economic status might lead into the weakening of the fundamentals of the spontaneously arisen middle class thinking which is now greatly oriented towards the feeling of independency, competence, and respectability.

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COMMUNITY STUDY: SUB-PROJECT IN SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Questionnaire No. 1.

Interviewer _____ Form No. _____

Address _____ Date _____

Name of the chief of family _____

Name of the informant _____

General Information

I. Location of the house

A. Number of the house _____

TABLE 1
DISTANCE TO THE PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF SERVICE AND ACTIVITY, KIND OF ROAD AND THE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION WHICH ARE MOST COMMONLY USED

Place (1)	Kind of road					Distance		Means of transportation (9)
	Pavement (2)	Macadam (3)	Earth (auto) (4)	For carts (5)	Foot path (trail) (6)	Hours (7)	Kilometers (8)	

II. Information on family

A. 1. Nationality of the chief _____
2. Origin _____

B. 1. Nationality of the wife _____
2. Origin _____

C. How long have you lived in this locality? _____

-1- Among the people that you know, whom do you consider as most capable, honorable, active, and who are concerned with the problems of you and the people of this place?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

D. Where did you live before moving into this locality? _____

E. Tenure of house: 1. Owned _____ 2. Rented _____ 3. Ceded _____ 4. Others, specif.: _____

F. Tenure of grounds: 1. Owned _____ 2. Rented _____ 3. Ceded _____ 4. Others, specif.: _____

G. Type of house: 1. Of one family _____ 2. Of two families _____ 3. House files _____ 4. Pieced rooms _____ 5. Patios _____ 6. Others, specif.: _____

H. Forms of land exploitation: 1. Owner of a farm _____ 2. Has rented farm _____ 3. Works in agriculture and owns small farm _____ 4. Works in agriculture and has ceded land _____ 5. Works in agriculture without own land _____ 6. Squatter _____ 7. Does not work in agriculture _____ 8. Share cropper _____.

-2- If you were to leave for a few days, whom would you leave in charge of your affairs?

	Name.	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

TABLE 2
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Personal Characteristics							Education			Occupation			Income per			
	Name	Relationship with the chief of family	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Civil Status	Religion	Grades passed	Yet in school	Reads and writes	Kind of activity	Office or profession	Previous occupation	Day	Week	Month	Year
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Chief																	
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	
6																	
7																	
8																	
9																	
10																	
Absent members																	
1																	
2																	
3																	

-3- Whom do you invite to parties at your house?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

TABLE 3
DEAD MEMBERS OF FAMILY

No.	Sex (1)	Age at death (2)	Date of death (3)	Place of death (4)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

-4- In case of a death in the family, whom would you notify first?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

TABLE 4
DELINEATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Services and activities (1)	Place where they participate in these services and activities or would participate in them (2)	Frequency with which they participate in these services and activities			
		Daily (3)	Times per week (4)	Times per month (5)	Times per year (6)
BUSINESS CENTER					
Clothing shopp					
Grocery					
Vegetable stand					
Meat shop					
Dairy agency					
Bakery					
Hardware store					
Shoe store					
Drugstore					
Canteen		Using Cantine?	Yes	No	

5- Would you name those families from whom you would borrow money if it were necessary.

	Name	Kind and degree of relation	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

TABLE 4 (Cont.)
DELINEATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Services and activities (1)	Place where they participate in these services and activities or would participate in them (2)	Frequency with which they participate in these services and activities			
		Daily (3)	Times per week (4)	Times per month (5)	Times per year (6)
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES					
Courtesy visits					
Other visits					
Place of meeting friends, specif.: _____					
Cinema					
Soccer					
EDUCATION					
Primary school					
Complementary school					

- Which families do you visit most frequently?

Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address	Daily (1)	Times p/week (2)	Times p/month (3)	Times p/year (4)

TABLE 4 (Cont.)
DELINEATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Services and activities (1)	Place where they participate in these services and activities or would participate in them (2)	Frequency with which they participate in these services and activities: Daily (3)	Times per week (4)	Times per month (5)	Times per year (6)
IV. HEALTH					
a. Health Unit					
b. Social Security Hospital					
c. Dentist (private)					
d. Physician (private)					
e. Obstetrical nurse (private)					
f. Midwife					
g. Medicine man (curandero)					
h. Druggist					

-7- If you are sick who are the first friends or relatives who come to see you?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

TABLE 4 (Cont.)
DELINEATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Services and activities (1)	Place where they participate in these services and activities or would participate in them (2)	Frequency with which they participate in these services and activities			
		Daily (3)	Times per week (4)	Times per month (5)	Times per year (6)
RELIGION					
Church					
Acción Católica					
PUBLIC SERVICES					
Bank					
Post Office					
Telegraph					
Railway					
Bus					

Place of work _____

TABLE 5. FOODSTUFF AND OTHER ARTICLES SOLD

No.	Articles (1)	Quantity sold (2)	Place where sold (3)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

2. Foods produced principally for the use of family, specif.: _____

_____

_____

3. Do you consider that the major part of what you produce is consumed in the family _____ or sold _____?

Who are the persons with whom you deal with all confidence and with whom you discuss your personal problems?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			

Socio-economic condition

1. Ratio of rooms per person:

number of rooms _____ number of persons . . . . . _____

2. Number of servants in the house . . . . . _____

3. Facade of the house:
   a. painted . . . . . _____
   b. whitewashed . . . . . _____
   c. without paint . . . . . _____

4. Radio: yes _____ no _____

5. Approximate number of books possessed by family . . . . . _____

6. Education of the wife:
   grades passed in school . . . . . _____

7. Education of the husband:
   grades passed in school . . . . . _____

8. Bathroom:
   a. complete and modern . . . . . _____

b. shower, with concrete or zinc walls . . . . . _____
c. shower, with wooden walls . . . . . _____
d. home-made tub . . . . . _____
e. none . . . . . _____

9. Refrigerator and ice box:
a. none . . . . . _____
b. ice box . . . . . _____
c. kerosene refrigerator . . . . . _____
d. electric refrigerator . . . . . _____

10. Kitchen:
a. kitchen room in house . . . . . _____
b. kitchen room outside . . . . . _____
c. part of living room . . . . . _____
d. lean-to . . . . . _____

11. Cooking facilities:
a. fuel
1) heavy imported stove . . . . . _____
2) iron stove (metal plates) . . . . . _____
3) fogón, built on stand . . . . . _____
4) fogón, on ground . . . . . _____
b. carbon
1) anafre . . . . . _____
c. canfin (kerosene)
1) kerosene stove . . . . . _____
d. electricity
1) electric stove . . . . . _____
2) hot plate . . . . . _____

12. Walls of living room:
a. painted . . . . . _____
b. papered . . . . . _____
c. whitewashed . . . . . _____
d. covered with newspapers, magazines or posters . . . _____
e. bare walls . . . . . _____

13. Living room used for sleeping? Yes _____ No _____

14. Sleeping arrangement in living room? Yes _____ No _____

15. Floor of living room:
a. earth . . . . . _____
b. rough boards . . . . . _____
c. fine and uniform boards . . . . . _____

d. cement . . . . . _____
e. brick . . . . . _____
f. mosaic . . . . . _____
g. fine woods . . . . . _____

16. Living room furniture:
    a. sets
        1) of low quality . . . . . _____
        2) of medium quality . . . . . _____
        3) of high quality . . . . . _____
    b. separate pieces — No.
        1) chests . . . . . _____
        2) benches . . . . . _____
        3) rustic chairs . . . . . _____
        4) fine chairs . . . . . _____
        5) armchairs . . . . . _____

17. Rustic dressing table in living room? Yes _____ No. _____

18. Pictures in living room:
    a. original . . . . . _____
    b. reproductions
        1) with frames . . . . . _____
        2) home-made frames . . . . . _____
        3) without frames . . . . . _____
    c. photos
        1) with frames . . . . . _____
        2) home-made frames . . . . . _____
        3) without frames . . . . . _____
    d. calendars . . . . . _____
    e. others, specif. (_____) _____

19. Windows in living room:
    a. none . . . . . _____
    b. window without molding . . . . . _____
    c. window with molding . . . . . _____
    d. window with wings . . . . . _____
    e. glass windows . . . . . _____

20. Number of saints'pictures in living room . . . . . _____

21. Curtains in living room:
    a. curtains and drape . . . . . _____
    b. curtains of high quality . . . . . _____
    c. curtains of low quality . . . . . _____
    d. none . . . . . _____

22. Membership in associations:

a. religious
   1) Hijas de María . . . . . ____
   2) Juventud Obrera Católica . . . . . ____
   3) Liga Obrera Católica . . . . . ____
   4) Apostolado de la Oración . . . . . ____
   5) Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen . . . . . ____
   6) _____
   7) _____
   8) _____

b. economic
   1) Workers' confederation . . . . . ____
   2) _____
   3) _____

c. social
   1) Sports club . . . . . ____
   2) Club El Rancho . . . . . ____
   3) _____
   4) _____
   5) _____

d. civic
   1) Lions' . . . . . ____
   2) Chamber of Commerce . . . . . ____
   3) Masons' . . . . . ____
   4) _____
   5) _____

-9- What persons would you pick to represent you and the people of the place on a commission in the case of a great catastrophy?

	Name	Kind and degree of relationship	Address
1.			
2.			
3.			