PUERTO MALLARINO

A STUDY OF LIFE IN AN URBAN LOWER CLASS COMMUNITY OF LATIN AMERICA

by

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(INTRODUCTION)

Latin American social studies, while attempting to explain or describe socio-economic change and processes for an entire continent, presently suffer from either over-generalization or case studies with little or unknown general significance. This study concerns Latin American urbanization, with major focus on the life of the urban poor. It is a descriptive study of a lower class barrio (neighborhood) of Cali, Colombia, and is concerned with the latter stages of a migrant's adjustment to the city.

The process of urbanization, or adaptation of the migrant to the city, has been described by John Turner as essentially a three-stage process along a time dimension.[1] The hypotheses derived by Turner in an intensive, ecologically-oriented study of migrants to the barriadas of Lima, Peru (stated below) may be generalizable to other rapidly growing metropolitan centers in Latin America, even though geographical and historical differences may modify the application of these hypotheses to other cities. Turner's hypotheses will be used in this paper as organizing concepts for the interpretation of the data collected in my study of Puerto Mallarino, a lower class barrio in Cali.

Turner's designation of the stages of urbanization are:

1. The initial stage - The migrant (already likely to be a select individual with more education and initiative than most of his peers) comes to the city. He stays with relatives or townsmen for a short period of time, for perhaps

[1] John Turner is a British-born urban planner who has made intensive studies of the Barriadas of Lima since 1959. His hypotheses were presented in lectures during November, 1965, at the University of Oregon.

a few weeks, and with their help, finds a job and a place to live near his work.

2. Stage 2 - This stage lasts from the end of the initial stage for a period of about five to twelve years. The recent migrant lives in the inner ring of the city which circles the downtown high-rent business district in order to be near markets and jobs. He rents a cheap room or a shanty in these high density areas or later he may build his own shack in this neighborhood. In this stage he may accumulate a little money or goods as he becomes more familiar with urban life. He begins to feel a growing insecurity as a renter and wants to own his own home.

3. Stage three - The migrant, now accustomed to city life, has become very much like an urban-born resident of the same socio-economic level. Insecurity is a major problem, because as a renter he is faced with immediate eviction if he should lose his job and not be able to pay rent. To find a comparable dwelling will now cost him twice as much, for rents increase steadily. His family may break apart, he may lose his possessions, and he may be set out on the street. He decides to make a home of his own. He may invade (squat) on some land designated by an invasion leader and put up a rough shack, hoping eventually to own the land he squats on; or he may buy an unimproved plot of land near the edge of the city or on the hillsides and build on it. The house grows around him and becomes more substantial as he accumulates a little money. His married children may also live in this house. The whole new settlement (barriada in Lima, Peru) may rise in living standard. There is little geographic mobility after this move, but there may be social mobility into the middle class or at least stable working class.

It is significant that John Turner considers the barriada, or bridgehead settlement, one of the only natural solutions to the over-crowded city. If the barriadas had not developed, the conditions in Lima, he feels, might be

much worse. The pattern of invasion settlement that John Turner has found in Lima may be a relatively recent development in Latin American urbanization, for population pressures from migration and natural increase have affected these cities most severely only in the last two decades or so. However, little historical reconstruction of previous periods of urbanization exists, making comparison difficult.

Turner's hypotheses as to the ecology of urbanization offer a new approach to the understanding of this urbanization process that contrasts with older, over-worked concepts now outdated and in need of revamping in light of these recent findings. The old view of the rural-urban migrant is a far cry from the "sophisticated" migrant Turner found living in the dountown inner ring of a growing city. A passage from Pat Holt's Colombia Today and Tomorrow (1964, Praeger, N.Y., p. 165) is an example at point:

> People generally move to Cali for one or both of two reasons. The city's rapid industrial growth has given it a sort of El Dorado reputation that exerts a magnetic effect on peasants who are tired of the meager existence of the countryside....(Fear of the rural violence, Holt says, has been the other cause.)...The migrant population typically arrives in Cali with neither skills nor resources. Frequently banding together with other migrants from the same areas, they throw up makeshift shacks of bamboo or packing boxes on the edge of town. These settlements rarely have electricity, water or a sewerage system, and they are flooded in the rainy season. They are the worst slums in Colombia and the only ones in the country comparable to those in Rio, Lima, or Caracas.

The first misconception is that the migrant to Cali (or any large Latin American city) is a rural peasant with no skills or resources. Most of the migrants to Cali do not come directly from farms but from good-sized towns or smaller cities. (Migrants to Puerto Mallarino have usually had urban experience before coming to Cali.) They are usually young, with perhaps a better education than most of their peers, or at least have enough zeal and initiative to change their patterns of living. They come to the city ready and willing to

work and actually have (according to Jerry Medler, an Oregon research team member who analyzed census material on migrants for the department of Valle) a lower unemployment rate than Cali-born people of comparable ages.

Secondly, as Turner found, it is not usually peasants in the makeshift shacks or invasions at the edge of town, but a group of migrants who have been in the city several years, or Cali-born people who cannot afford the insecurity of renting and therefore invade the land on the outskirts of the city. Many of these settlements in outlying areas are not slums at all but towns in formation. It was assumed that people living in invasions were peasants from the country, probably because their lives seem somewhat rural or primitive. The actual case is that recent migrants are most often renters in downtown high-density areas, and are not usually direct rural-urban migrants but urban-urban migrants.

We see from this example the significance of Turner's findings which are based upon 8 years of intensive study of migrants to Lima. These point out the necessity for renovating our conceptions about the Latin American city and the urbanization process, and should be of major consequence in formation of policy for urban planning. In this study, Puerto Mallarino will be considered as a community in stage 3 of the urbanization process proposed by John Turner, with some modifications.

A second major focus for this paper considers the concepts of rural and urban and what lies between. We want to find out what actually is this process of urbanization. Frank Bonilla in "The Urban Worker,"[2] says that the crucial difference between rural and urban is that the city is literate. "It monopolizes all higher education and provides for the rural areas a poor and incomplete version of its own inefficient primary school programs." The city supposedly opens doors for literacy and consumption. Yet, "City life remains for the mass

[2] Bonilla, Frank. "The Urban Worker," in Continuity and Change in Latin America, ed. John Johnson, pub. 1964, pp. 190, 193.

a life of poverty and accentuated deprivation." Obviously, the city school doors are not open to those who cannot afford them. In this sense, then, the mass of poor are not urban.

Kahl in "Some Social Concomitants of Industrialization and Urbanization," in Human Organization, Summer, 1959, feels that money, not education is the dividing line between rural and urban. Money replaces kinship and community in social relationships and social positions.

I believe that both Bonilla's and Kahl's approaches to urbanization are useful. These factors together - some education and money-make the many alternatives of the urban world available to the possessor. Oscar Lewis shows how the degree of urbanization depends on the number of alternatives available to the individual. If we consider that poverty and lack of education greatly limit these choices, the usefulness of the Kahl and Bonilla approaches can be seen.

Oscar Lewis says in "Nuevas Observaciones Sobre el 'Continuum' folk-mmbano y Urbanizacion con especial referencia a Mexico," (my translation) that urbanization takes different forms. "It is not a single, one-sided, universally similar process but one which assumes different forms and significances which depend on historical, economic, social, and prevalent cultural conditions." He continues that the migrant to the city is much more adaptable than had been previously expected because the rural migrant finds a rural type of culture in the city. This Lewis calls the "Culture of Poverty." Rural and urban similarities in the "Culture of Poverty" include the use of herbs for curing, similarities in care of animals, a belief in spirits, illiteracy, low education level, political apathy and lack of concern about government, and very limited participation in associations.

The difference between rural and urban, Lewis continues, is that cities have a great range of alternatives for individuals in the society at any given

time. Urbanization or urbanism could be measured by the range of alternatives for the people. The greater the number of alternatives (food, dress, sanctions, economic resources, etc.), the greater the degree of urbanization.

"The poor throughout the world are less urbanized than the rich," for this reason: the poor, whether rural or urban, have a far more limited number of alternatives than those economically better off. Their possibilities for education, jobs, dwelling places, and material goods are far more limited. The alternatives are narrowed due to their lack of resources and little education. If we compare the hypothesis, namely that the poor, whether urban or rural, are less urbanized because they have fewer alternatives, with Turner's theory that the rural migrants who have been in the city for five to twelve years are as urbanized as the urban-born from the same class, we can see why.

"The Culture of Poverty," Lewis says, is "A provincial culture, locally oriented in either city or country." This may be one reason why Puerto Mallarino has a town-like quality which will later be discussed. The "Culture of Poverty" is characterized by higher death rates, more working people per total population (including women and children) and an absence of food reserves in the house. The physical conditions of poverty (residence, stability, number of rooms per family, ownership, means of livelihood) have a considerable effect on social life. "When the family is the productive unit and the house and work are one, family life, whether rural or urban, is the same."

In this regard, it may be seen that Leonard Reissman's idea that the "faster a city grows, the less urban it becomes,"[5] may have a bearing here, not because the "ruralization" is so much attributable to the culture of the rural migrants, but to the large number of poor, badly educated people trying to find jobs where industrialism and urban facility development such as planned streets, sewers, water, schools, etc. have not kept up with the tremendous population expansion and consequent community needs.

5 Reissman, Leonard. The Urban Process. Free Press, London, 1964.

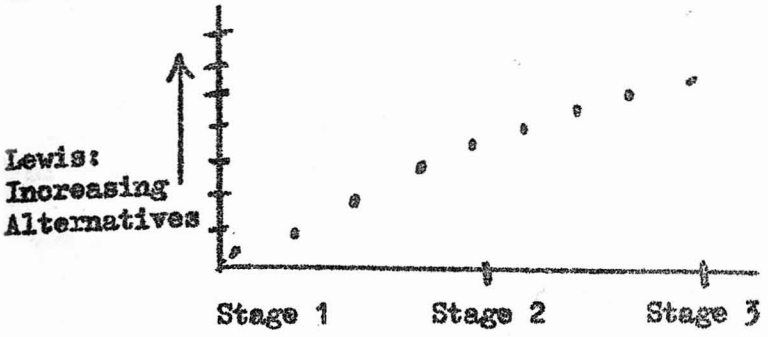
The Turner and Lewis theses are complementary for they help us see the process of urbanization or what the migrant faces in his adaptation to the city. If we place Turner's three stages of urbanization of the migrant along the urbanization scale of alternatives that Lewis suggests, we can see how they interrelate. As the migrant goes through each stage of Turner's migration-time scale he would have an increasing number of alternatives open to him. In his first stage, the alternatives are few- he must find a job and a place to live. His very limited resources make it necessary to choose a residence close to work and markets, limiting this possibility. He will probably take the first job available, for he cannot choose what he would want to do. His only alternatives might be "ins" his relatives might have for landing him a better job.

In stage two, he has a little more bargaining power for jobs, for he knows his way around and may get personal help from "higherups." He may be able to buy a few goods. He can get around more, and knows the ropes better, making alternatives for activities, cheaper buying, etc. Nevertheless, his living situation is precariously limited. He is afraid to jeopardize his home, family, and possissions and cannot afford to move to a better home.

In stage three, he perceives the alternative of joining together in an organization and making an invasion through cooperative efforts. With the stability of home ownership, he has more alternatives as far as taking risks goes in trying to get better jobs. He can buy more. His children hopefully can go to school, although in a new settlement he may forfeit a school until the community can build one. His life has decidedly more openings and alternatives than it did when he first arrived.

We can try to graph the relationship to the the Turner and Lewis theories, but as yet do now know what the curve will be except that we can expect it to

go from lower left towards upper right.



Turner's Migration-time stages

Even in stage three, however, the number of alternatives open to the migrant are relatively few, for the "Culture of Poverty" is not so easily or quickly escaped. Puerto Mallarino is a part of this culture. It is a transitional between what is rural and what is urban. The relatively few alternatives open to members of this barrio could be augmented through the urban institutions in the community - the school, for through education comes better jobs and greater world awareness; the health clinic, which could help eliminate ignorance and superstition and cut down the death rates and disease as well as distribute contraceptives; the children's park which could, if properly supervised, help teach children the importance of working together and cooperating; and the police station, which could make for a more stable order in the community.

The first section of this paper will deal with a general picture of the community environment, including a descriptive impression of the barrio atmosphere and a brief history of the community. In this section also, I shall discuss the barrio environment from the perspectives of the Turner and Lewis hypotheses noted above, using these concepts to organize my own viewpoint of the community as transitional geographically, socially, historically, and even organizationally between essentially rural and urban ways of life. The next major section will discuss the population characteristics, and the economic and family life of the

people, including their beliefs, superstitions, and values. The third section will discuss the place of the urban institutions in the barrio, considering them as potential sources for change and agents for opening more alternatives of urban life to the people. These are the school, the health clinic, the church, the police department, and the children's park. The political organization, Acción Comunal will also be considered as an urbanizing institution. Finally, we will see how the community interacts, how it is tied to the larger community of Cali and the nation, and how change is occurring through outside concern in the example of the transplanted Cauquita invasion.

The paper will be essentially a description of this urban community at a particular stage in its development. The data were gathered during the summer of 1965 on a Ford Foundation research training grant given through the University of Oregon Institution for International Studies. Methodology was essentially participant observation. I lived in the community with a family and was able to participate in the daily life of the barrio. In addition, I had a 48% sample census of the barrio taken (not random, but representative, for the school teacher who did it for me went down one dimension of the street grid pattern) and a census of 1964 taken by Peace Corpsman Don Foster, of the Cauquita invasion, from which data are also derived.

CHAPTER 1 -- THE BARRIO ENVIRONMENT

Puerto Mallarino is a lower class and working class community on the eastern edge of Cali. It lies on the flat floor of the Cauca Valley on the banks of the Cauca river, is plagued with mosquitos, and is hotter and more humid than the areas of the city which lie in the foothills of the Western Cordillera of the Andes. The streets, laid out in grid pattern, are unpaved and alternate between deep layers of mud in rainy seasons (September through November, and March through May) and a thick, permeating cover of dust in dry periods (the other months). The central square, now a park, gives a townlike flavor to the barrio. Most of the homes on this plaza are somewhat better than average for the barrio, generally with plastered fronts, sometimes windows of glass and sometimes tile floors. The barrio has no direct access to the highway, but must be entered from either end. Among the few vehicles which do so are an assortment of buses in various stages of decrepitude which swerve along the rutted streets, sending children and animals running from their activities to safer places by the roadside. The Canquita sewerage canal invasion on the Southeastern boundary of the barrio has, up until the summer of 1965, been considered by the city planning office to be a part of Puerto Mallarino, although the two groups look almost hostilely at each other. The eradication of this invasion will be the subject for the last chapter of this paper.

Historical Perspective

The history of Puerto Mallarino is rather obscure and has been pieced together from several sources. Much of this information comes from Melida Vallecilla, a native Caleña (resident of Cali) and community leader who has lived in this barrio for over 30 years. Her great-grandmother was a slave on the hacienda Cañas Gordas, one of the largest landholdings in the department of

Valle, lying to the south of Cali. I also used Dr. Romero's short historical perspective on the barrio which he wrote four years ago when he was chief physician of the barrio health center.

The area of Puerto Mallarino was known to the Indians of this region due to the importance of the river Cauca for transportation, sand, and guadua, or bamboo. In the colonial epoch it was a port for boats, and must have also been a source of sand for the building of the city, for the Puente Ortiz (a bridge) built by Bellalcazar in 1580, and the Templo de San Francisco and Church of La Merced of this same period all used sand in construction, and the Cauca was the only source. The nearest point from the city for sand-gathering was the present site of Puerto Mallarino. In the latter part of the 19th century, the area took the name Juancito, later Juanchito or "Little John" after the owner of a Finca (small farm) and house near the river, whose name was Juan and who happened to be very short.

In 1905, navigation began extensively in Juanchito and the name was changed to Puerto Mallarino for the region on the Cali-side of the Cauca River. The town across the river still is known as Juanchito. At this time, Puerto Mallarino was a self-administered town. The port of Puerto Mallarino became the commercial center for Cali and the entire Northern Cauca Valley as far as Virginia, Caldas. Large boats ran up and down the river which was kept clean with a dredge carrying bananas, plantains, cacao, wood, and bamboo, much of these goods coming from Puerto Tejada to the south. There were storage houses on both sides of the river to hold the food until it was transported to the central market of Cali by streetcar, the tracks going almost to the edge of the river.

This commercial center flourished until 1928 when land transportation, brought about through the use of trucks and improved roads, became cheaper than use of the river. During the commercial period, Puerto Mallarino was an active

entertainment center as well. Vestiges of this era remain in Juanchito, where there are a large number of very popular dance halls. After the commercial center ended (about 1928), Puerto Mallarino shrank in size and importance. Only bamboo and a few food barges continued to ply the river, and the sand industry which had been important from the colonial era declined.

In 1949, plans were begun to make the old port town of Puerto Mallarino a barrio of Cali. At this time the large area to the west of the river was pasture land with a single road running through it. The city marked the land into lots but did not improve it. About this time, residents of the barrio began to build shacks along the Cauquita sewerage canal on municipal land in order to bring in rent. This was the beginning of the Cauquita invasion which slowly grew to a row of about 200 shacks. The barrio plan included a central square (which may have been left from the era when Puerto Mallarino was a town) which went through several stages - a bull ring, then a mud hole, and in the last three years, a lanscaped central park. Only in the last five years have there been sewerage facilities, water and electricity for some of the residents. Local employment still depends largely on the river. Many barrio workers are Negro sand diggers, who, as their slave ancestors had done in earlier eras, dig sand with muscle power, shovelling it into a canoe and then hauling it to shore, unloading it by shovel, and finally reloading it again on waiting trucks and horses. The residents say that the river is blessed, for the sand never ends.

Housing and Possessions

Housing varies according to economic position from the simplest one-room huts of bamboo plastered with mud, with dirt floors and thatch or scrap roofs, to fairly substantial single story buildings of plastered rough brick, with entrance room, interior patio (often merely a hole in the ceiling), kitchen, and bedroom(s). The wealthiest homes may have tile floors. Houses, as in traditional

Spanish style, are generally right on the street, some with window openings or shutters facing the street. In back of the house is a patio or patch of ground, surrounded by as high a wall as the inhabitants can afford, for garden, washing, animals, and much of the daily activity. In this area, if there is running water, there will be a rough shower stall with a tap and perhaps a toilet tank, or outhouse. In the sewerage canal invasion, no sanitary facilities were in evidence, excrement simply being dropped into the filthy water below. Probably the most important or most useful item in the patio is the tanque, usually a cement washtub, where dishes are washed, clothing is scrubbed, and children are bathed. Many of the more substantial homes in Puerto Mallarino now have the urban advantages of electricity, purified water and sewerage.

Houses may be occupied by those who own both the house and lot, having bought it from the city or a former resident. The percentage of land owners who own their house lot is 43%. There are also people who have invaded land to build their own homes and avoid rent, in the invasion of Cauquita and in the barrio proper. Under Colombian law, land which is improved will go to the squatter after a certain number of years if action is not taken by the land owner within one year of invasion. Not including the residents of Cauquita, over 9% of the families in Puerto Mallarino are mejorando ejido, or improving public land, according to my barrio sample. Some of the invasion shacks were rented in the barrio proper (only about 1%), but in the Cauquita invasion there were [redacted] more renters. Almost 14% of the families in the census lived with kin. These were usually young couples with perhaps a few children living in their parents' home, or they were unmarried daughters with children living with their mothers and sisters. Many of the homes in Puerto Mallarino have small apartments (such as the one in which I stayed) with which families are able to supplement their income. Some entire houses are also rented from former owners. The

percentage of wenters in this community is 33%. My home had tile floors in part of the living room and in the bedrooms, though the kitchen floor and remainder of the living room floor was of dirt. (This home was on the central square and was better than many of the houses.) The stove was a simple two-burner kerosene affair. There was no running water in the kitchen and dishes were washed in the washtub outdoors in the back patio in cold water which had already been contaminated - quite unsanitary to be sure! The few plates and cups were neatly stacked in a rack on top of a plank cabinet which stored dry food. This family was one of the few in the barrio who had a refrigerator, a great status symbol. This bright green possession stood proudly in the living room, and was used for making helados (popsicles) to bring ~~in~~ a few more pesos. At night, dishes were not washed, due to the early darkness of the tropics and a fear of being outdoors at night. To my horror one night I discovered about thirty cockroaches crawling over the unwashed plates lying on the kitchen table. No wonder there is so much intestinal disease. Most children have lombrisis, an intestinal parasite, and amoebaisis is very common.

Possessions range from a few bent pots or cans, a wooden spoon, crude benches and table, a bed, perhaps an iron, and old gasoline or vegetable oil can pots used on wood fires outside the house, to a fair amount of cooking utensils, silverware, generally of many patterns, dishes, chairs, several beds (usually one for parents, one for the boys, and another for the girls), mirrors, a treadle sewing machine, a food blender, a refrigerator, sets of plastic covered chairs and matching sofa of poor construction, and in one case, an electric stove. In almost all homes are religious pictures, sometimes with simple shrines which may hold a candle and flowers. Additional decorations may be a few pictures cut from a magazine, or garish prints of reclining classic maidens, plastic flowers, and houseplants of various types, including medicinal plants, herbs, and plants

such as the sávila, for good luck, usually potted in rusty cans. Possessions, as Oscar Lewis found, provide important status distinctions. Small differences loom large in the eyes of the poor. Much of the barrio life goes on in the street or the patio due to the samll size of the houses and the large number of inhabitants, though it was ill-considered to allow children to run free in the street.

Puerto Mallarino In Relation to the Turner and Lewis Hypotheses

The development and annexation of Puerto Mallarino to Cali, Colombia, has been very largely due to the rapid expansion of this city (284,000 in 1951 to an estimated 700,000 in 1965). Much of this growth is directly attributable to migration. In light of the Turner hypothesis and the large migrant population in the barrio, I propose that the community of Puerto Mallarino is for the most part at stage three of the urbanization process with some important exceptions.

It is similar to a stage three barriada of Lima, Peru geographically, for it lies on the outskirts of the city. The settlement pattern (after the area was designated a part of Cali in 1949) was of small lots of unimproved land purchased from the city. Today, 43% of the barrio heads of families[1] own their own homes and lots. There were also a number of squatters who, by building a home on unclaimed land, hoped to be granted title to it over time. Today about 9% of the barrio families are mejorando ejido (improving public land). In addition to these home-ownership patterns, similar to those of stage 3 barriadas, about 14% of the family heads (mostly young people) live with kin, also a common pattern for stage 3. Usually a room is simply added to the house, or the couple lives in his or her old bedroom. Demographic characteristics for the most part are also stage 3. Nearly 90% of the barrio heads-of-families are migrants. The majority of the heads of families have been in the city at least 5 years (67%, not including those born in Cali who are about 11% of the barrio.). Although I do not have data on

[1] I use the time the head of a family has been in Cali rather than the individual because I believe that migration and urbanization will depend on the parent, not on the children.

the exact length of time this group of people has been in Puerto Mallarino, and thus do not know at what time in the migration pattern the residents have moved to the barrio, of those who have been in Cali over 5 years (which is stage 3 according to Turner's table), 80% have typical stage 3 residence patterns of ownership (house and lot, or squatter) or living with extended families. The other 20% rent, but the age factor here plays a part. 30% of the young people who have been in Cali over 5 years are renters while only 18% of the older heads of family in Cali over 5 years are renters. Of the recent migrants, 81% are renters which is typical for stage 2 of Turner's urbanization scale. Under 10% of the recent migrants are home owners or invaders. The age factor here is also important, for 15% of the older recent migrant family heads own homes, while only 3% of the younger family heads own homes. About 10% of these recent migrants live with kin. Although not having information on the time families have been in Puerto Mallarino presents a handicap in claiming the barrio similar to a stage 3 barriada of Lima, Peru, the residence pattern of renting for recent migrants and owning or living with kin for migrants in the city longer, strongly suggests that Puerto Mallarino fits the stage 3 pattern of the Turner hypothesis, with some exceptions. (See Table on following page.)

Residence Patterns According to Migration Time and Age Factors
In Percentages

Age	Recent Migrants in Cali Under 5 Years: Under 30	Over 30	% of all Recent Migrants	Proportion of Residence Types	Migrants in Cali Over 5 Years or Cali-Born: Under 30	Over 30	% of all Older Migrants	Proportion of Residence Types	Number
Stage 3 Own or Majora	3 % (1)	15% (7)	9.5%	4%	25% (16)	76% (178)	65%	96%	202
Living With Kin	11% (4)	8% (4)	9.5%	13%	45% (29)	6% (15)	15%	87%	52
Total Stage 3	14%	23%	19%		70%	82%			254
Stage 2 Renters	86% (32)	77% (37)	81%	53%	30% (19)	18% (41)	20%	47%	129
TOTALS	100% (37)	100% (48)	100%		100% (64)	100% (234)	100%		383
	85				298				

From the table we can see that home ownership is directly related to the length of time in Cali and the age factor. If the family head is over 30 and has been in Cali over 5 years, he will most likely own a home (76%). This decreases to only 25% for younger families who are not recent migrants. Among the recent migrants, 15% of the older families own homes, while only 3% of the young families are owners. The age factor is very important in the extended family residence type. Young people, especially among the migrants in Cali over 5 years, are highly likely to live with relatives, usually the parent(s). 45% of this group live with kin. Renters are most frequent among young, recent migrants(86%). This decreases for older recent migrants(77%) and decreases much more steeply for those in Cali over 5 years, although in this group there are more young people(30%) who rent than older people(18%).

There are, then, in Puerto Mallarino exceptions to John Turner's characterization of a settlement in the third stage of urbanization. One of these is the fact that 22% of the family heads residing in the barrio are recent migrants. Another is the relatively high proportion of renters(33%). Both of these are characteristic of stage 2 migrants. Let us examine first the factor of rent. Puerto Mallarino is an older community than most of the barriadas of Lima, Peru, having its origins in colonial times. It therefore may have more established urban facilities, such as a school, health clinic, police station, and parks, as well as having other characteristics of older communities. One of these might be the status-quo oriented and almost apathetic character of the population, just maintaining itself and no longer community building as is the 5 year old Alfonso Lopez barrio across the road, where there is a vital and enthusiastic community spirit. Another, I propose, is a more heterogeneous pattern of residence types, as evidenced in this large number of renters (33% in 1965). Perhaps after a community becomes well-established, residents either build houses to rent, add

rooms to their homes to supplement their incomes, or continue to collect rent on their old homes after they have moved to other barrios. Puerto Mallarino as an old "new town" may have more renters as the establishment of the barrio increases to make an income for the residents. I hypothesize that the development of rent in this community is a further step in stage 3, and may develop in the barriadas of Lima as they grow older, for the development of rent in a barriada-type of settlement may, in fact, be the initial part of a fourth stage of development.

Rent and length of time in Cali are closely related. Most of the recent migrants are renters (83% for those in Cali less than one year, and 73% of those in Cali from 1 to 5 years, which is the typical residence type for the Stage 2 migrant. (See Table below)

Percentage of Heads of Households Per Time Interval Who Rent, Invade, Own Homes, or Live With Relatives

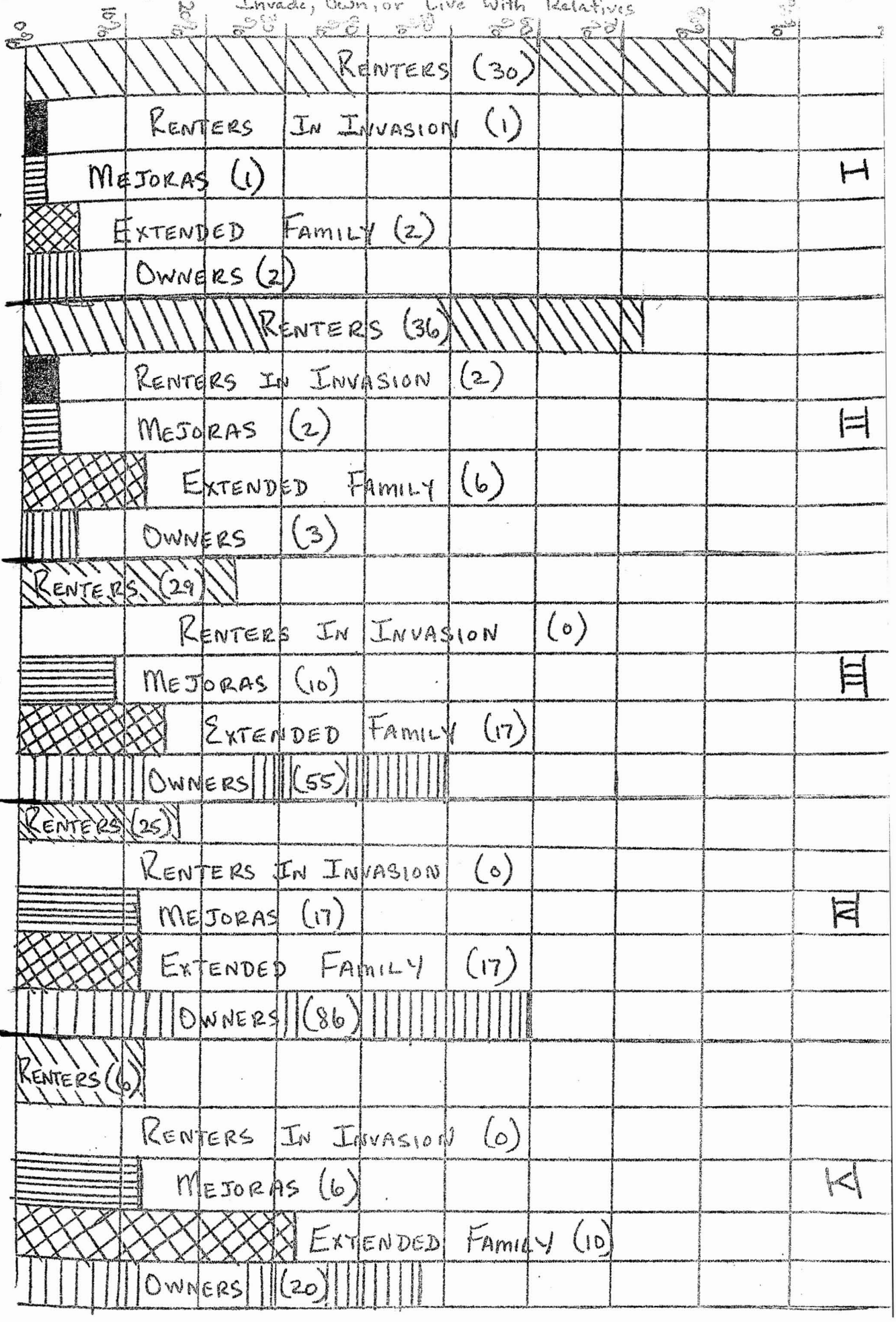
Time in Cali

	Under 1 Year	1-5 Years	5-12 Years	Over 12 Years	Cali-Born	Number
Renters	83%	73.3%	26%	17%	14%	126
Renters in Invasion	3%	4.2%	0	0	0	3
Mejorando Ejido	3%	4.2%	9%	12%	14%	36
Extended Family	5.5%	12.2%	15%	12%	24%	52
Owners	5.5%	6.1%	50%	59%	48%	166
Number	36(100%)	49(100%)	111(100%)	145(100%)	42(100%)	383

See also the bar graph on the following page.

Not only are most of the recent migrants renters, but the majority of renters are recent migrants; 53% of the renters are recent migrants. However, recent migrants do not explain the almost 33% renters in the barrio. 47% of these renters have been in Cali over 5 years. There is another factor operating here - the factor of age. It seems that in a certain period of one's life cycle, one is more likely to be a renter or to live with kin, and at another period to own or invade.

Percentage of Heads of Households in Each Time Interval Who Rent, Invade, Own, or Live With Relatives



Although certainly not independent of the length of time the head of household has been in Cali, age of the head of the family is a second major variable affecting the residence pattern. Younger families (divided the sample into heads of family over 30 and under 30) are more likely to rent or live in extended families, most likely because they have not had the time to accumulate the necessary capital to live on their own. Conversely, older families are more likely to own homes or invade. These are evidenced in the following tables:

Percentage of Young Family Heads (Under 30) Within Each Migrant Time Category Who Rent, Own, Etc.

	Time in Cali (in Years)					
	0-1	1-5	5-12	12-Over	Cali-Born	Base
Renters	100%	68.2%	30.3%	35.3%	21.4%	49
Renters in Mejoras	0	9.1%	0	0	0	2
Mejoras	0	4.5%	0	0	14.3%	3
Extended Family	0	18.2%	39.4%	47.1%	57.15%	33
Owners	0	0	30.3%	17.6%	7.15%	14
Base	15(100%)	22(100%)	33(100%)	17(100%)	14(100%)	101

Percentage of Older Family Heads (Over 30) Within Each Migrant Time Category Who Rent, Own, Etc.

	Time in Cali (in Years)					
	0-1	1-5	5-12	12-Over	Cali-Born	Base
Renters	71.5%	77.8%	24.4%	14.9%	10.7%	77
Renters in Mejoras	4.8%	0	0	0	0	1
Mejoras	4.8%	3.7%	12.75%	13.3%	14.5%	33
Extended Family	9.5%	7.4%	5.15%	7.3%	7.25%	19
Owners	9.5%	11.1%	57.7%	64.6%	67.8%	152
Base	21(100%)	27(100%)	78(100%)	128(100%)	28(100%)	272

Renters in the barrio, then are usually recent migrants and young people, although 18% of the older families who have been in Cali over 5 years also are

renters. The largest proportion of these are among the older heads of family who have been in Cali 5-12 years, a time period which John Turner considers transitional between stage 2 and 3.

Although the recent migrants (the majority of which certainly seem to have Stage two residence type characteristics) do not live in the downtown inner ring as Turner found to be the case in Lima, there are several reasons why recent migrants might settle in the outlying barrio of Puerto Mallarino. Housing is available in Puerto Mallarino and this factor may draw recent migrants who have difficulty finding suitable dwellings in the city's inner ring. Cali's population explosion (at the rate of about 7½% a year) has caused a housing shortage so great that any available cheap housing, wherever it may be, may be considered by the new migrant, especially if downtown places are full and crowdddd, rent is relatively high, and conditions there are very poor.

We must also consider the sophistication of the migrant to Cali. In many cases he has already visited the city several times before moving to Cali. He has looked at the various possibilities for housing and work and does not necessarily choose to live downtown. There he still might have to commute to work, for much of the industry of Cali is not near the center city, and so might as well live where conditions are not so crowded. Barrio occupations such as sand digging also may be attractive and a factor why a recent migrant might settle in Puerto Mallarino.

A final hypothesis (and probably the most significant in Puerto Mallarino) is that family and community ties tend to perpetuate or transplant a community or family network in the receiving area, with the result that recent migrants who have friends or relatives from their hometowns living in Puerto Mallarino may be more tempted to settle there. This was found to be the case in the barrio with the market town of Puerto Tejada (a former Negro slave pocket) about 40 kilometers to the south. 70 Puerto Mallarino families in just my 48% sample of

385 families were from this region. The two regions (as Bill Campbell, a student on the University of Oregon Research Team has suggested) may be thought of as forming a migration system of sending and receiving areas with much interchange and communication between them. Recent migrants from Puerto Tajada have tended to stay in Puerto Mallarino rather than go to a downtown area which Turner suggests is the pattern for recent migrants. Here there are old friends, relatives and assistance if needed, and a similar river culture.

Puerto Mallarino, as I see it now, is an evolving Stage 3 barrio geographically and for the most part demographically. The large number of renters is due primarily to the age of the community. Rent may be seen as a further step in Stage 3 of the urbanization process proposed by Turner, or perhaps even a 4th stage. Where there are cheap places to rent, we may find recent migrants, the Stage 2 element in Puerto Mallarino, who typically have unstable ownership patterns. Aside from availability of housing, recent migrants may find Puerto Mallarino attractive for the relatively less crowded conditions, for occupations within the barrio, and for the kinship and old community ties with others from the sending area. Age also plays a part in determining ownership patterns. Young people, because they have little funds, are more likely to rent or live with relatives, whether they are recent migrants or have been in Cali over 5 years. Older people usually rent if they are recent migrants, but are the largest proportion of home owners and invaders if they have been in Cali longer.

Aside from the home ownership patterns, it is very difficult to distinguish recent migrants from those who are Cali-born or have been in Cali longer. The recent migrants and young people generally have fewer possessions as they have not accumulated the capital for larger investments. I had speculated that there might be differences in income (lower incomes for recent migrants), in number of children (fewer for those in the city longer), and in education (more education

for those in Cali longer), but as a whole, I found no consistent differences. Differences were slightly greater between young families (as expected) and family heads over 30. The younger people tended to have lower family incomes (partly because children were not yet of age to help work and mothers were at home with young infants) and slightly more education.

This similarity in way of life (aside from home ownership) between recent migrants and even Cali-born people leads into Lewis's hypothesis on the "Culture of Poverty." The poverty of both recent migrant and long-time Cali resident is the greatest equalizer between them. Both appear to live in a somewhat rural culture as we shall see. There are a few families who are exceptions to this "Culture of Poverty." These are for the most part people whose backgrounds have not been rural or urban lower class, but rural middle class with middle class cultural characteristics, largely from the region of Antioquia to the north. Whether recent migrants or [redacted] in Cali a long time, these people, even though poor, have a different set of values from those around them. These few families tend to live on the central square and are better off to begin with, at least culturally. The children are given greater educational opportunities. These families aspire to the urban middle class and want to move from their present neighborhood to a better one.

But these few Antioquian families are the exceptions, rather than the rule. In light of the Lewis hypothesis, let us look at Puerto Mallarino as a semi-rural or transitional community geographically, socially, organizationally, and culturally.

The physical appearance of Puerto Mallarino is somewhat rural. Geographically it is almost in the country, yet now strongly linked to the city. It is the farthest neighborhood on the eastern limit of Cali, about seven miles from the Plaza Caicedo in downtown Cali, and is connected to the city only by the important Carrera Octava highway which goes from downtown Cali to the airport and on to

Candelaria in the adjacent municipio (county). There are several bus routes which now serve the area, though four years ago there were practically no connections. The Alameda and the Rosada bus lines bump through the dirt streets of the barrio, and several other buses, such as the Papagayo and the Gris Roja run along the main highway from about 4 A.M. to about 9 P.M.

Within easy walking distance of the barrio are fincas (small farms) and haciendas (plantations) of sugar cane, bananas, sorghum, corn, cattle, and truck fruits and vegetables. Several barrio residents work on these farms and also in local raw sugar processing plants. Some of the agricultural workers who have come to Puerto Mallarino are rural people who have been forced off their tiny land holdings near the barrio by big sugar cane growers. They come directly to the barrio to look for work (perhaps through family contacts) where they can maintain to a large degree a rural way of life as they slowly absorb city ways, continuing to work in the sugar cane fields or sugar processing plants nearby. Or they may be rural-urban migrants who have moved from one agricultural center to another, following the crops, finally to wind up in Cali. Of the 70 or so agricultural workers in the community, about half had come directly from rural areas. Most of these had been in Cali over 14 years and still were farming. There were various migration patterns among the other group of agricultural workers, including what appears to be migrant laborers who follow the crops in cyclical movements, or in back and forth movements between a place of birth or base and some other town. Most of the agricultural workers had lived in other places besides their birth place before coming to Cali had been in the city under six years. (Information is obtained by comparing birthplace of migrant agricultural workers with birthplaces of their children and their procedencia (where they had lived immediately before coming to Cali.) These connections with the agricultural community tie the barrio to a rural way of life.

Aside from the location of the community in relation to the city and its ties with the agricultural way of life, Puerto Mallarino appears to be very much like a small, rural town. It is isolated not only by distance from the rest of Cali, but also by natural boundaries which separate it from other barrios. To the north, the main highway divides Puerto Mallarino from the new and enormous working class barrio of Alfonso Lopez. To the east, the river Cauca separates the barrio from the municipio of Candelaria and the dancehall town of Juanchito, favorite entertainment spot for many barrio members. To the southeast, the sewerage canal, Cauquita, over which, up to this summer, was a long row of invasion shacks built on bamboo stilts, hems in the barrio from pasture land; and to the west lies a large open field and playground, in the summer of 1965 being urbanized into a new housing project under the ICT[2], Alliance for Progress, and a charity organization, Angeles del Hogar[3], for the residents of the Cauquita invasion which is now in the process of being irradicated. Here are the seeds of change - soon this barrio will no longer be quite so isolated and will perhaps become more incorporated into the city milieu through the geographic changes of encroaching neighborhoods.

The small town feeling has historical roots, for it was once the port town and commercial center for Cali. It has a central plaza with church and school at one side (as do typical Spanish towns), single story dwellings, unpaved dirt streets, private vegetable patches, and ducks, chickens, guinea pigs, and even goats scampering through many homes and streets. The river, rather than being heavily industrialized or commercialized, is the placid pre-industrial scene of brawny sand diggers shoveling sand from the river bed, and bamboo rafts floating down from Puerto Tejada and other towns to the south. Mountains of sand and

2. ICT = Institute of Territorial Credit, Colombian housing agency.
3. Angeles del Hogar = a charity organization of upper class Colombian women.

stacks of bamboo, dragged up on the shore by human muscle power or sometimes with the aid of horses, form the basic building materials for the rapidly modernizing and industrializing city, Cali.

According to Oscar Lewis, poverty is "a provincial culture locally oriented." This seems to be the case with townlike Puerto Mallarino - an urban community of poor people whose lives have a rural semblance.

However townlike Puerto Mallarino may seem, it lacks the autonomous character of such a community. It has no market, except for numerous small tiendas which sell an egg or a pound of beans at a time to the inhabitants. It is not founded on an agricultural base, for although several of the barrio members still work in the fields, the vast majority of the inhabitants work in the city. Ties with the larger community of Cali keep Puerto Mallarino from being rural and make life decidedly urban. Aside from markets and jobs, the city offers the community urban facilities of water, sewerage, and electricity, true, not available to all, but nevertheless available. Urban institutions of school, health clinic, police station, and park are also a strong link for Puerto Mallarino with the urban way of life.

Socially, the barrio may also be considered transitional according to John Turner's hypothesis. The move the the outskirts of town from the downtown slums by urbanized migrants, either in the form of invasions (as in Cauquita, a row of shacks built over the sewerage canal) or to undeveloped municipal land is a major step in becoming urban, and implies a rise in social status from migrant poor to stable urban working class. A few of the younger barrio members are beginning to achieve lower middle class rank, becoming secretaries, teachers, and merchants, but these are only a handful. As the families gain in wealth, their homes become more substantial - brick replaces mud and bamboo, glass replaces crude shutters, and tile floors replace dirt. The whole barrio is probably becoming more permanent as brick homes are replacing shacks. Nonetheless, social mobility

does not end in the barrio. Those people aspiring to the middle class and even some working class people (such as the family I lived with) hope to move to a better neighborhood. They want a better atmosphere to raise their children in, a healthier environment free of mosquitos, and to obtain respect.

Geographical mobility along with social mobility is more akin to the pattern in the U.S. of change of residence with a change of status, but is somewhat different from what Turner found to be the case in Lima. There, once the family moved to a barriada and gradually established a comfortable home over a period of several years, there is little geographical mobility although there may be a considerable gain in status. However, this finding (John Turner) does not suggest whether or not the second generation of more educated children who very possibly, when they have their own families, try to find housing in higher status neighborhoods.

Culturally, the barrio is transitional, for the Negro-African-slave descendant culture of the Pacific Coast and slave pockets to the south confronts the white and mestizo culture of Caldas, Northern Valle, and Antioquia; and changes and adaptations must be made by each group.

Perhaps in some ways outlying neighborhoods such as Puerto Mallarino may be compared to suburban areas in the U.S., for the barrio lies outside the urban area of Cali, economically depends on the big city, and is largely a residential population which commutes to work daily. However, suburbs as we know them are middle and upper middle class sectors seeking conventionalized rural values, quite different from the urban poor living on the outskirts of a city, where the culture has always valued urban life, and prestige-locations are in the heart of the city.

Puerto Mallarino may be considered as a site of social and cultural transition between rural and urban ways of life. The somewhat rural semblance of the barrio - the dusty streets, the animals and gardens kept by the residents, etc. - is

perhaps not so much the result of rural values held by the residents as it is the result of their impoverished living conditions. While many residents have decidedly urban values, they have little or no means by which to realize these values, thus being forced by their low socio-economic level to live in conditions similar to rural subsistence existence. Their alternatives are few, and in this sense, the barrio residents may be thought of as living a kind of transitional existence between the rural and the urban, even in stage 3 of the urbanization process.

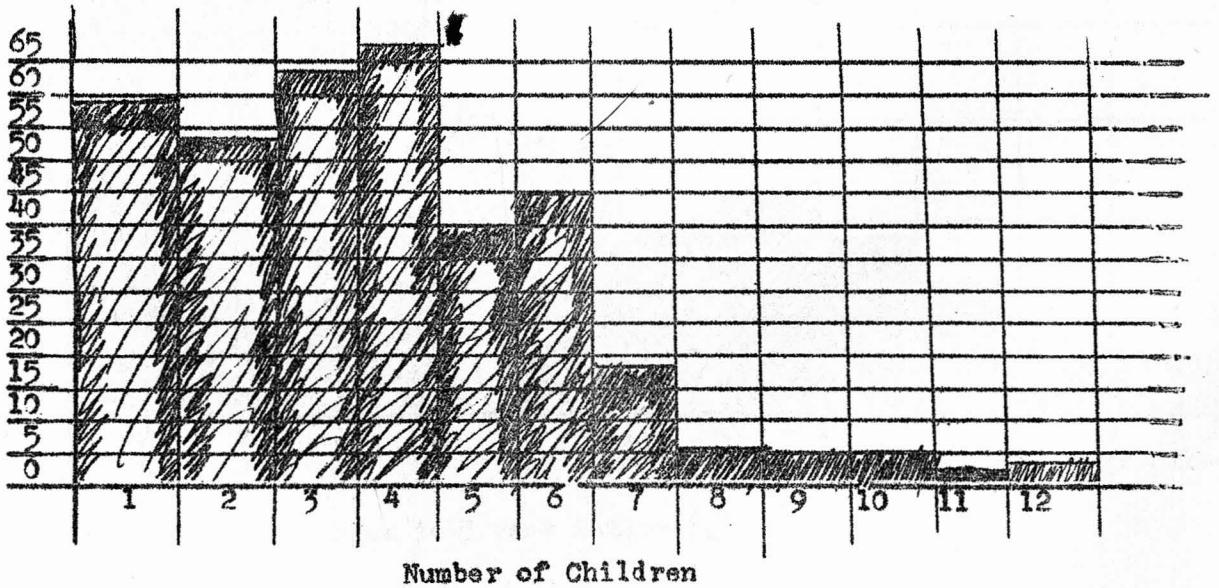
THE PEOPLE

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Puerto Mallarino proper, in 1964 (according to the 1964 census) had a population of 3,965 people living in 608 dwellings. The sample census which I took was of 385 barrio families with a total of 1926 people, about 48% of the total barrio. The Cauquita invasion in 1965 had a population of 1194 people in 199 family units. For the period that I was investigating the community, then, the total population of what was one community according to the city planning office was almost 5,200 people. Since Cauquita is now a separate barrio and will be dealt with later, all references are to the barrio proper.

Of those dwelling units with children, there was an average of 3.9 children per family, though the range was from one child to twelve that were living in the dwelling unit (this does not include children away from home). The actual number of children born per family may be considerably higher, but infant mortality is high.

(Frequency) Number of Children per Family with Children

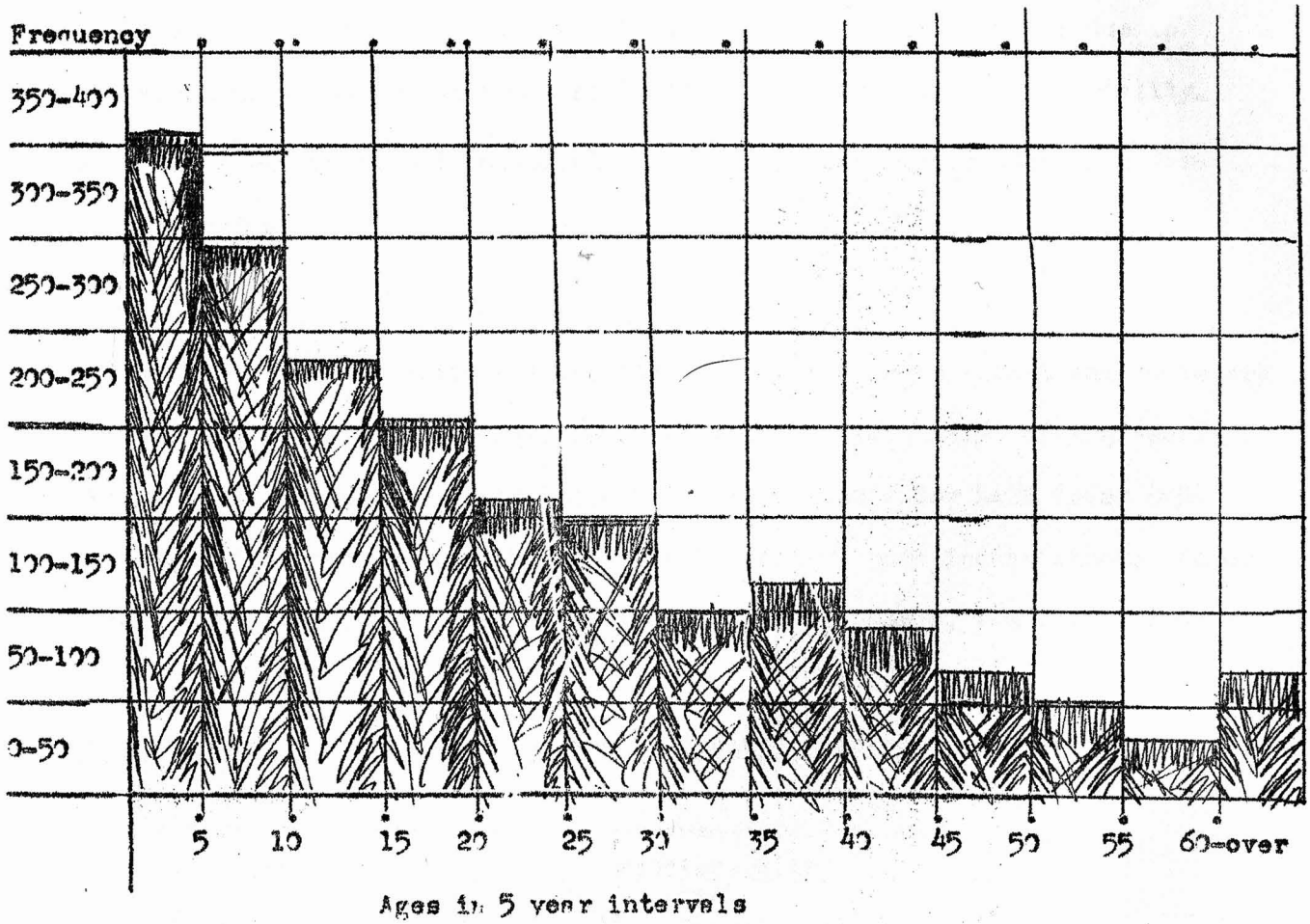


An age breakdown for the barrio shows a very large dependent population.

Age (in 5-year intervals)	Frequency	Percentage
0-4	355	18.4%
5-9	297	15.4%
10-14	238	12.4%
15-19	203	10.5%
20-24	160	8.3%
25-29	145	7.5%
30-34	100	5.2%
35-39	118	6.1%
40-44	92	4.8%
45-49	65	3.4%
50-54	53	2.8%
55-59	33	1.7%
60 and over	67	3.5%
	1926	100.0%

Dependent Population		
Pre-School (0-7)	478	24.8%
School Age (7-14)	412	21.1%
Aged (60 and over)	67	3.5%
	957	49.4%

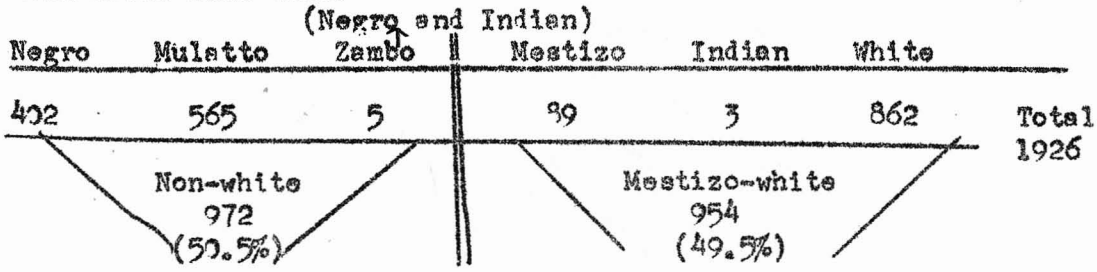
Age distribution of Sample (1926 people) in 5-year intervals



If the pre-school children age 0 to 7, the children of school age (7-14) and aged (over 60) are added together, the percentage of dependent people is 49.4%. I do not include the group of young people between 15 and 19 in this percentage because among the lower class, most of these are already working, girls most frequently as maids, boys as helpers, messengers, and in heavy labor. They usually recieve lower wages as a whole. Some children even younger than 15 are working, in such positions as bootblacks, messengers, nursemaids, or assisting a parent or other family member in his job. The sharp decline in population among the youngest age groups may be due to infant mortality and childhood diseases which are often fatal among the poor. Out-migration of young people starting homes and finding jobs in other parts of Cali may be another factor in the fairly steep slope of the curve; and the very few old people may be due to their remaining in the rural areas or on homesteads as well as to mortality. This curve, however, is not untypical for the population structure of under-developed nations.

Race

The people in the barrio are racially mixed to a large extent and there are a large number of mixed marriages. Just over half (almost 51%) of the people of Puerto Mallarino are Negro or Negro mixtures. Just under half (over 49%) are white-mestizo mixtures, with perhaps a handful of pure Indian stock. According to the perceptions of the census-taker, a barrio Negro, the racial breakdown looks like this:



Because this census was taken by a Negro, racial differences on the Negro side were made very distinct. However, he made very few distinctions between whites and mestizos, generally lumping all he felt to be non-negro under the category 'white'. The 89 Mestizos are those listed by his 16 year old son who assisted him in interviewing about 70 of the families. Consequently it is more relevant to look at the racial breakdown as two groups - Negro and Negro mixtures, and non-Negroes, or, as barrio residents see themselves, morenos (dark-colored), and trigueños (skin the color of wheat.)

I have considered the question of race important in light of conceptions about the lack of prejudice towards Negroes in Latin America. Also, I was interested in African elements still maintained in the Colombian Negro culture, and in the Colombian culture as a whole. Finding a large group of Negroes at the bottom of the socio-economic scale made me doubt whether the absence of prejudice was as real as has been suggested, at least in the Colombian case.

Since racial characteristics seem to be an indicator of the two culture complexes in Puerto Mallarino, the differences are important. Many factors may help to explain this:

1. Most Negroes have certain African Cultural traits still not lost, especially in the realm of music, superstitions and beliefs, and food uses, though these depend to a degree on the region in Colombia in which they were born. (See chapter on Cauquita.)

2. The Negro group has roots in the slave culture which made for family instability and matrifocal homes. These patterns are still prevalent in the barrio.

3. The groups of Trigueños and Morenos generally migrated from two different regions in a country where regional values and ties are very strong.

The Negro element is generally, if not from the Southern regions of the department of Valle, from either the West Coast, including the huge department of Choco, or from the Northern part of Cauca where there were large numbers of slaves on the Payanese (People of Popayán capital of colonial Colombia) haciendas. The triguenos, if not from Valle, most often come from the department of Caldas to the north, rich with Antioquian flavor and pride. They may also come from more distant departments, such as Nariño and Huila.

4. There is a certain amount of hostility in Puerto Mallarino along racial lines, expressed especially by the people of Caldas and Antioquia, who consider themselves much superior to the Negro, and stereotype them, much as we do here, as being ignorant, incapable of learning, and lazy. One woman from Caldas whose parents were Antioquian had particularly strong racial prejudices. She told me that all Negroes are stupid. She wants to move because she does not like to raise her children in the barrio. "The neighbors, especially the morenos, are very brutish and very gross," she explained.

5. Negroes usually are at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale and most often work in heavy and manual labor. This is largely due to their slave ancestry which has left them the heritage of poverty. Prejudice and discrimination is more often determined by poverty and its concommitants than color, and is more often directed at low status than at race. Some of the most respected members of the community are Negroes. If they gain prestiege through community service or live "as decent people" (married, religious, educating the children, and with stable income), they are completely accepted in the barrio. Thus, Melida Vallecilla, the Negress vice-president of Acción Comunal whose grandparents had been slaves, is one of the most liked and respected members of the barrio, and is considered a barrio leader.

The perception of prejudice from the Negro point of view should be considered. One of my best informants, a Negress from the Choco, moved from Bogotá because she felt there was anti-negro prejudice there. Bogotá, high in the Andean Basin of Cundinamarca, has a large Indian population. The question of who is the low man on the totem pole, the Indian or the Negro, is raised here. It may be that where there is a high concentration of Indians, prejudice towards Negroes will be higher, especially from those group of people, for they can transfer the prejudice traditionally expressed towards them to the Negro. (This is a pattern similar to Negro prejudice directed against the Puerto Rican or Cuban elements in our big Eastern cities.)

She continued that "In Cali, there is no difference between Negroes and Whites - they are the same." Yet, she recognized that most Negroes in Cali were of the "lower or 'bad' class." She said "A good Negro, like (herself) was a Negro "con alma blanco" - with a white soul. She was pleased that her children were all lighter then she. Although she felt that there was no prejudice directed towards Negroes, she valued being white, seen as proper, middle class, and urban. In the questionaire, although most parents felt that they would let their children marry for love, when asked the question whether they would permit a mixed marriage, Negroes agreed willingly to have their children marry whites, while whites felt much more hesitant towards letting their children marry Negroes.

Thus it seems that although in most cases (except for prejudice by the group of Antioquian-Caldas people) prejudice is directed at low socio-economic status rather than at color, it is apparent that most Negroes fall in this category. And although Negroes generally do not feel themselve the objects of

racial prejudice in Cali, they place high value on whiteness. Race too often is a predictor of matrifocal family patterns, low income, unstable and rural occupations, and little education. Whether this is due to discrimination because of color, or inability to escape the Culture of Poverty is difficult to determine.

THE FAMILY

Almost 51% of the barrio heads of families are or have been married. Of these, 38% are presently married and living with spouses, over 8% are widowed, and 5% are married but have been deserted or have separated from their mates. The other 49% have not been legally married. 33% live in free unions, sometimes as stable marriages, though more often it is a shifting father pattern where all children either bear the mother's name, or each child is given the name of his father. About 11% of the households are father-absent. Often these are extended matriarchies of grandmother, daughters, and their children, with no men, except for perhaps unmarried sons, in the picture. About 5½% of the households are not composed of families (parents and children, or a couple), but of friends, sisters, or comadres living together. Many of the homes are not nuclear, for relatives outside the immediate family make family units extended. This often includes married sons and daughters and their children, or a few grandchildren. 14% of the families in the barrio are extended.

MARITAL AND FAMILY PATTERNS

Presently married	Widowed	Married but Abandoned	Free Union	Father-Absent	Non-family
(Number) 143	32	18	126	42	21 (382)
(%) 38%	8%	5%	33%	11%	5% (100%)

51 %

49 %

Although the table gives the impression of instability, mother-child ties are very strong. (See Chapter on Cauquita). There is little stigma on illigitimate children although there is a pride in having two names, both of father and mother. Family patterns very often follow racial lines, as has already been said. A large proportion of the Negroes never marry, but live in free unions or with no father in the home. The chapter on Cauquita deals extensively with Negro marriage patterns.

The family is very important in the life of the residents of the barrio. Patch, in"Life in a Callejon - a Study of Urban Disorganization" * calls the family the integrative force in the lives of the people. It seems to be the major integrative and socializing force in Puerto Mallarino also. Although there is descernible feeling and commitment to the community (which seems to me quite integrated and organized as compared to neighborhoods in U.S. cities, though may be unintegrated when compared to a peasant community), the community never can replace the integrative, need-fulfilling, identity-giving capacities of the family. The family im Puerto Mallarino can confer prestiege on the parents, in family size, which shows manliness of the father, in his being a good provider, in having well-behaved children, and in keeping the children clean and neatly dressed. The family, much more than friends or peer group reinforces behavior, is the source of aid (includes extended families), provides the playmates, often is the economic unit, and is the source of affection and comfort. Children usually play with brothers and sisters or with cousins rather than neighbors. Rarely, close friendships between children outside the home are permitted to develop. The peer group, so important in the U/S. socialization process , which becomes the group of identification and loyalty, hardly has the opportunity to develop , at least among children. Women are encouraged to stay in the home. Men are the only ones (in the white-mestizo culture)

* Richard Patch, "Life in a Callejon - A Study of Urban Disorganization." Am. Univ. Field Staff Reports, West Coast S.A. series, Vol. VIII. #6, June, '61.

who really may cultivate friendships. In the Negro-culture complex, women also make friends. Adolescent school girls and school boys may have companions of the same sex. Thus, the family in Puerto Mallarino is almost the sole agent of socialization and is the seat of loyalty and identification.

Yet, as the data suggests, and Patch also found, the relationship of parents and children has often been replaced by a relationship between mother and her children, in the urbanization process. In the Negro culture complex, however, this importance of the mother is not new or peculiar to the city, as we have seen. The strength and significance of the mother-child ties was shown in essays I had the fourth and fifth graders write. One of the topics they could choose was "Describe the person you admire most." I expected descriptions of heroes such as Kennedy or Camilo Torres, a Colombian revolutionary priest. Of the 19 who chose this topic, 17 were on "My Mother." All 17 said very much the same thing -"She gave me life, she suffers and sacrifices for me, she comforts me, she helps me when I am in trouble." The similarity of response and wording indicates the importance of the mother, but also suggests some common learning experience. I imagine that the church, through catechism classes, teaches the child how the mother suffers for her children. It seemed in the essays that she is almost the Madonna incarnate.

Child Rearing

Discipline and child rearing can be almost broken down to the two cultural groups. The Negroes are more liberal and openly affectionate with their children, while in the white-mestizo complex, parents insist on propriety and are more strict. Children are made to obey. Disobedience is not tolerated, nor is laziness. The father usually disciplines the older children, especially sons, while the mother, more often younger children or daughters. Both use corporal punishment. The father often uses a belt or strap, the mother more often

uses a rope or her hand. Both beat or slap, not only on the buttocks, but all over the body. Shaming is also commonly used . Punishment is greatest for disobedience and laziness. When one of the little boys in my family hid under the bed in order not to have to take breakfast to his brothers at school, his mother beat him severely . Fights between sibblings usually bring scoldings or a few sharp slaps. Older brothers and sisters are expected to care for younger sibblings, and their authority is seldom disputed. They also are expected to assume much of the responsibility in running the house. The 9-year old girl in my family made beds, swept the floor two or three times daily, washed most of the dishes, ran errands, washed clothes, and even could iron quite well. She also took almost full charge of the baby when her mother was busy, lifting the chubby little two year old to the drain of the wash tub and bathing her with all the strength her own small body could muster. It did not seem strange to her that she did so much - she simply accepted her chores as part of life.

The baby in the family usually gets lavish attention and affection until the next child is born. Little Yolanda was her father's joy. She could hardly wait for him to come home and always greeted him with joyous shouts of "mi papá, mi papá, mi papá!" His affection for her was never disputed. The other children accepted her position with no apparent jealousy. She was the only one who would get bites of food from her father's plate, which he seemed to relish sharing with her. The home in Puerto Mallarino does not generally center on the child's pleasure, as in the United States, but on the operation of the household and on making a living.

There is a strong differentiation between the sexes from early infancy on. Little girls are always covered, always taught to be modest, docile, and obedient, though this is moreso in the white-mestizo complex. Little boys may go naked until 5 or 6 (usually in the Negro culture complex) and are

permitted to be cocky and bold and even boss their sisters around some in both groups. Older boys may even boss their mothers, who tolerate their sons' authority with a bit of humor. Values in the trigueño group are that women be homebodies, virtuous, hard-working, and submissive, never questioning the husband's authority or right to have many affairs and even mistresses on the side. This has been reinforced, I believe, by the anti-divorce laws of Colombia and the near impossibility of supporting oneself without a husband or of finding another. For the White-mestizo complex, it is a man's world. Negro women are quite different and are the virtual rulers of the roost.

The big events in a child's life are centered on religious ceremonies and on going to school. Baptism of the infant and the first Holy Communion bring two sets of godparents. (See chapter on Church). The child from an early age is integrated into the functioning of the household, learning to do simple tasks, and later taking greater responsibilities. School is an escape from the tedium of daily life. Most children have very few playthings. Yet they are imaginative at their play, and pretend to be adults, parents, or teachers. A palm frond provides great diversion, and the children use it to pull each other about on, to tease each other with, and to tear into pieces for money. A box or a stick could provide hours of play. Yet their environment is limited. They may play outside the door in the street in fromt of the house, or in the patio in the back yard, but very rarely see beyond their own neighborhood. Even taking the children for a walk across the bridge or doing exercises with them in the park was a big event in their lives. One little girl who had participated in the exercises came up to me afterwards and said, "Oh, Miss Nora, it was so rich!" Children are very concerned about food, and often their play expresses preoccupation with their

hunger. They pretend to eat all manner of goodies. Bits of candy or other treats are jealously coveted, and only sometimes shared.

Teen-age boys have a good deal of freedom. They usually must help their fathers in his job or find a job for themselves, but control is gradually loosened. Young boys often gather on the street corners for games of marbles, or play soccer in the field to the west of the barrio. Young girls, in the trigueño culture rarely can leave the house , except for church or school. They become concerned with their appearance at about 14 and begin to think about getting married. Parents watch the girls very carefully for fear that they should lose their virginity. Young Negro girls may go to the dances in Juanchito in groups where they never smile at the boys they dance with but remain absolutely serious. Usually if the family is matriarchal and there is no father in the home, the girls begin to have sex experiences at about 15 or 16 and usually become mothers shortly after. No shame is felt in some homes. Some young girls who are bearing illigitimate children try to hide their pregnancy by using bindings over the belly. Parents who are guarding their daughters threaten them that they will not be able to get married if they are not virgins. One 13-year old bride told me that before the marriage, the doctor examines the girl at the clinic to see if she is a "señorita" or not. If she is not a virgin, she will not be allowed to marry.

The courtship varies with the origin of the family. People from Caldas try very hard to keep their daughters pure and supervise every aspect of the courtship. They view Cali as a sinful place where girls will go out even unchaperoned, or even live with their boyfriends without getting married. One mother told me that she planned to put her daughter in a convent when she grew up until she was of the age to marry, and then would find a suitable mate

for her.

Children are never told about sex. Yet they are quite sophistocated. The 11 year old boy in my family pointed out his father with "la vieja," his mistress, and joked with me about it. Yet innocence is highly valued and parents try to keep their children from knowing the facts of life, quite difficult when all are sleeping in the same bedroom! When two thirteen year old girls asked me whether the stork brings babies, I was quite impressed with the extent to which this value was carried. They were not even aware that women carried babies and were surprized to learn that the growing bellies of the barrio women meant that they were pregnant.

Menstruation usually comes unknown to the girl and is very frightening to her. The mother only tells the child after the first fright, that is normal, that it is the curse of women, and that she must not bathe when she has her periods. The women use 'toalitas', or folded rags which they wash frequently, and are just beginning to know sanitary napkins. The young girl who had gotten married the month before had not even had her period until after her marriage. She explained that her husband had to restrain himself, because if he had had intercourse with her before her first period, she would be infertile. Women are supposed to submit to the embraces of their husbands only out of duty. Yet, in chatting with them, they confessed that they really enjoyed sex, but could not let their husbands know.

The marriage bed is sacred. People do not want others to sit on it. My little friend told me about a cousin of hers who apparently is a lesbian. She sleeps with, goes out with, shops, cooks with, and loves another girl. "They won't let anyone sit on their bed either."

Most women of the Trigueno culture have their babies in the Department hospital. Many of the Negresses are aided in their homes by a Comadrona or midwife. After the birth of the baby, a plastic binding skirt is used to support the stomach and keep it from protruding.

There is a preoccupation with death, but a complete acceptance of it. Children take death very naturally and with almost morbid facination, describing in gory detail all the horrors of an accident or a suicide that they had witnessed or heard about. The story improves each time it is told and the children never seem to tire of talking about it. Children react to the death of animals with no tears or sorrow. When two of the little ducklings died in my family, the children quite sadistically carried the little corpses around by one foot, threw them against the wall, played with the eyes, and put them on the mother duck's back which she dislodged in her little pool. Later, they burried them in the back yard , but with apparent pleasure, as if this were a good diversion in a normally boring routine.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Lower class people in Colombia are generally superstitious and have beliefs in supernatural forces, whether they are rural people or urban people. It seems that the poorer the families are, the more they are prone to these beliefs.

Among the common beliefs in Puerto Mallarino is the belief in mal aire, or bad night air. This belief is shared even by people of middle and upper classes through out Colombia. My family would not go out in the back patio after dark because of the mal aires and the spirits who visited there at night. Consequently, dishes were left unwashed until morning, the toilet was not used (a chamber pot served the house at night), and I was severely scolded for taking

a shower after dark. One knows he is suffering from the effects of mal aires if he becomes organically weak, and if he feels faint at any time. Grippes are very dangerous because they weaken the system and make one prone to suffer from mal aires.

Another popular belief is the belief in hots and colds, applied especially to foods, cures for disease, and bathing or washing (For information on these beliefs, see People of Aritama, by the Riechel -Dolmatoffs.). People rich and poor hold handkerchiefs over their mouths when leaving a movie theater or a warm home at night, because the cold fresh air outside is too much of a shock to the body which has been accustomed to the warm air inside. Grippes and colds result from this too sudden change. By holding a handkerchief over the mouth and nose, the body becomes slowly accustomed to the fresh air.

Another evidence of this belief occured when I came in the house overheated and washed my hands to clean of f the dust. Rosalba, the mother, immediately handed me a towel and told me that I must not ever put my hands in cold water after being overheated until I had rested a while. Dipping my hands in the cold when I was overheated was a shock to my system and pains and swellings would result.

As far as food goes, there seems to be little logic in why some foods are hot and others are cold. The best explanation I heard was from a Negro who explained that cold foods are fresh foods, or foods coming from fresh products, such as orange or lemon juice. It is very bad to take these cold foods when overheated, he told me. Hot foods are foods coming from things high in calories, like meat or fats. Also, foods coming from bodies of water must be hot foods since the animal has to be very warm to combat the cold of the water (fish, shrimp, etc.) The two rules (fresh foods = cold, and high-

calorie foods = hot) conflict when it comes to oils. Plant oils, like peanut or soya are cold, as they are fresh. Animal fats are hot. Both have the same amount of calories. Often animal fats are used on dislocated bones or sore muscles as heat treatments, particularly fish oils which are especially hot. Uses of hot or cold foods for treatment of, or avoidance during illnesses is seen in the preceeding paragraphs.

Rosalba had a miscarriage at six months which she attributed to the effects of colds, or frios. She knew the baby had died inside for a week before she miscarried, for it had stopped moving and she had stopped growing. "The child was already cold." The day she miscarried, she got very sick, for her husband's brother had died that day and they brought his body to the house. Apparently, the two "frios" (the cold baby, and the dead man) working together made her mortally ill and caused her to miscarry.

There are many beliefs in the magical powers and curing powers of certain herbs. The sávila, as we have already said, is an epiphytic plant which is generally hung over the doorway for good luck. Belief in the power of mint (hierba buena) brewed as a tea as a cure-all for stomach aches is popular. All manner of other strange herbs and seeds, usually purchased from a curandero or an herb specialist, are used for cures. Often these are put in rum, probably as strong a cure as the seed or leaves. The seed Tuerce Madres is used to sterilize women. It is pulverized and drunk in sugar-cane rum. 3 magic seeds, the chudur de Castilla, Chudur de Paja, and the Tachi, are used to cure the evil eye. These are ground and drunk in water by the sick child. To ward off the evil eye, some of these seeds may be worn about the neck or arm. The cabalongo and ajencible are grated and boiled to cure epileptics. Apio de páramo

serves as a dieuretic. Alcachofa, drunk as a tea, is good for diseases of the liver. Malambo cures rheumatism, sciatica and other pains if drunk in aguardiente or rubbed over the affected parts. Carana seeds are used to cure styes, as are hard boiled eggs. The seed is placed in the umbilical of the affected individual. The hard boiled egg is cut in half and also placed over the umbilical. Arnica is used to alleviate bruises and take down swellings, and also cures intestional tumors. It is taken in aguardiente or is applied with compresses on the affected part. The bark of the Cascarilla, the source of quinine, is grated and put in aguardiente to cure malaria. Sarsaparilla grande, or China-root cures blood, urinary diseases, and colic. It is cut in pieces and drunk in water. Oja de paño cures liver and blood diseases and diarrhea. ½ leaf is put in a liter of water and the bitter solution is drunk. *

Belief in witch craft and the evil eye are also strong. A few women in the barrio are believed to be witches. It seems that only women have this power. Usually they bewitch a disloyal lover because they are jealous or hurt. They torment him while he is asleep, pulling down the covers and poking at him. A man can protect himself from the witches by wearing his undershorts backwards at night, or by placing 8 needles on a single thread under his mattress. One man explained that in modern times there is not so much of this. But in the time of his father, there were many cases of witchcraft. For example, his father was quite a lover of women in the town of Puerto Tejada. He lived with one woman and was seeing another. The woman he lived with told him he better not go to a dance for which he had arranged a tryst with this other girlfriend. He said "of course not," and made some excuse that he had to leave on some business errand. Walking through the neighboring farms, as there were no roads in this era, he encountered a white horse on the path, and as

* The information about the herbs comes from an old vender who prides himself on being a herbologist. He sells his seeds and leaves at the market in the central square of Puerto Tejada. These are the herbs commonly used in the Cali-region, especially among the Negroes.

he was anxious to arrive at the dance, mounted it, and riding, riding could hear the sound of the dance music, but never arrived at it. Next day he awoke, mounted on a tree trunk. It was a case of witchcraft. The woman he lived with had bewitched him out of jealousy.

Most barrio members, when asked whether they believed in witches, flatly denied it. Yet after I told them a few stories I had heard and said I almost believed them, they opened up and told me of cases where their friends or relatives had been bewitched. Knowing that to believe in witches was considered backwards, they tried to cover their own belief in witches by telling of someone else's experience.

Beliefs in mal de ojo, the evil eye, were more open. Several people openly confessed to have been victim of this kind of magic or to have children who had been made ill by this force. The evil eye is caused by the "electric" or "magnetic" force exerted by the eyes of some people. If you look a person in the eye and have to turn away, they have this electric force. Evil eye almost always affects children only under the age of 5 or 6. It causes stomach pain, diarrhea and vomiting, and in most severe cases, the rupturing of the spleen. The evil eye generally occurs when a person with the powerful eye admires a cute little child. One Negress told me that two of her children had died of the evil eye. Her 13 month old daughter wore an amulet about her neck and a little bracelet of magic seeds to ward off the Ojo. I accompanied her and the child to the galería where she sold chickens. One of her cronies was sitting cross-legged on the street outside the market with her oranges piled on a sack in front of her, smoking a cigar. She took the baby in her arms and slapped it soundly three times on the legs, making it cry. Then she cuddled it, fondled it, and played with it. The child's mother told me that this Senora knew she had the power to give the evil eye and one of the ways to

break the spell is by making the child cry. Usually this is done by slapping it three time on the soles of the feet or the legs. (The number 3 apparently has magic powers in this belief.) Another way of breaking the spell is to put a bit of the saliva of the powerful-eyed person behind the child's ear.

The way to tell if a child has the evil eye and not some other stomach ailment is to place its feet together and examine the big toes. If the big toe on one foot is larger than the big toe on the other, the child has been bewitched by the evil eye. Usually this demands a cure from the witch doctor in a series of three visits. He gives the child magic herbs and mutters prayers and incantations which cure the baby.

These are probably the main beliefs and superstitions. There are also beliefs in ghosts, monsters, and other aparitions, sometimes used as a threat to make naughty children behave. The people recognize some of these beliefs as backwards, and try to deny them. Yet they still are very real to the poor. As people gain in status and wealth, they try to cast aside these primitive beliefs. Nevertheless, some persist and are even a part of the Colombian upper class culture, especially beliefs in mal aire and hots and colds. I am told that when a child is sick and all medical help seems to fail, even an upper class family will bring their child to a curandero. It sometimes works!

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE BARRIO

About 29% of the population (according to the 48% sample of 1926 people in Puerto Mallarino proper)have jobs. 77% of these workers are male. The average wage for men is 23.7 pesos a day or $1.30 U.S. currency (figuring 18.5 pesos to the dollar). Twenty three percent of the workers were women, frequently mothers unmarried women supporting illegitimate children or young girls working before they marry. The average wage for women is considerably less than that for men - 14.7 pesos daily (about $.80 U.S.). The overall average wage for the barrio is about 22 pesos daily. This amount (about $1.20) will buy 4½ pounds of stew meat at 5 pesos a pound, two pairs of cheap children's shoes, enough inexpensive cotton cloth for two simple dresses, or about enough food to feed almost four people (according to the Oficio de Planeacion which estimates 6 pesos daily as the minimum expenditure necessary to feed one person), although the size of the average family in Puerto Mallarino is closer to six and food is far from the only expense. Half of the average day's wages will buy twelve penicillin tablets (there is no subsidized medicine for the poor). About 3½ days' wages will cover one month's rent. 22 pesos will buy two 2" X 6" beams for a new house, or one sheet, or six plates.

Agricultural workers hold low status in the barrio; yet their position is looked upon somewhat ambivalently, for they can always get food. Although the average wage per person is very low in terms of buying power, often there is more than one worker per family, and consequently the actual family income may be considerably higher. Most of the very low wages are earned by children or apprentices, for there is a definite correlation between age and income. To supplement incomes and cut down the food bill as well, the family may have a few chickens or ducks whose eggs are usually sold rather than used for family consumption and

which is eventually eaten when old and tough. They may also plant a corn or vegetable patch and a few fruit trees. There are also a few unemployed people, but most manage to find some job however unstable. However, the real unemployment is far greater than the appearance for there are a large number of workers with temporary work of "sueldo eventual" (no fixed income). Also, underemployment is high, making for very low salaries, as well as making the employment picture falsely bright. Although the barrio members may be working, they are not working enough - their resources are not being used. Often this results from too large a labor supply.

The barrio generally awakens between 4:30 and 5 A.M. and workers leave for work by six after a cup of coffee or "aguapanela" (a drink of unrefined sugar), though bus drivers start their routes by 4:30. School begins at 7 A.M. and the noise level by this hour is already very high. The worker usually works from 7 A.M. to 12 noon, comes home for lunch or has his wife or young son deliver his lunch at his job, and returns in the evening around 5:30 or 6. His days are long and his weeks are also, for he must usually work Saturdays or at least half-days on Saturday. Unless he works in the barrio, he takes the bus to work which costs 30 centavos (about 1½ cents) each way. It is a time-consuming and arduous trip, winding through dirt streets of the Fourth Etapa of Barrio Alfonso Lopez, and making a loop of the downtown section of the city. Often over an hour is spent in going each way, usually precariously clutching a pole in the crowded and lurching bus.

The largest proportion of employed men are obreros (workers), who work in factories making beer or soft drinks, machinery, fabrics, cement or bricks, or in food or sugar processing plants. This group may also work for the city on building crews or street construction or repair.

The traditional barrio occupation of sand digging has the next largest

number of workers. The sand diggers go out in the river in small boats, dive into the water with buckets and haul them up full of sand. These are dumped into the boat which is shovelled out in piles on shore when full. Other occupations in the barrio include the bamboo workers who haul the bamboo out of the river, stack it or split it, and sell it for building material. There are also local craftsmen such as shoemakers, net makers, tailors, and seamstresses and a few fishermen. Operating a small store or quiosco (dance or drinking hall) is another barrio occupation.

Workers in construction include brick layers, builders, and painters. Transportation workers include truck and bus drivers, chauffeurs, taxi drivers, and railroaders. The craft workers, as we have said above, often work in the barrio in a small shop in the corner of a living room, and may be cabinet makers, shoemakers, seamstresses, or potters. Agricultural workers include those who work their own small fincas, cane cutters for nearby large haciendas, or workers in sugar processing plants. The vendors hawk candy, fruit, magazines, and cigarettes on Cali street corners, as do lottery ticket salesmen. A few men sell goods at the central market or galería, though more women from Puerto Mallarino claim this occupation.

The cart drivers usually have a tired horse to pull their loads. Cargo carriers push or pull huge loads by their own muscle power in little carts, or sometimes deliver goods on specially constructed bicycles. The negociantes and commerciantes are petty businessmen. Tinterillos (shysters) have generally had a somewhat greater amount of education than most of their peers and know the bureaucratic ropes. These men will do the dirty work of standing in line for a signature, running from office to office, or helping wade through legal red tape.

Average wages per occupation among men are:

OCCUPATION	# In Sample Per Occupation With Wages Given/Not Given	Average Wage Daily (in Pesos)	Range of Pesos Per Day
Obreros	100/104	22.60	5-70
Sand Diggers	59/59	25.80	10-40
Construction	42/45	24.70	10-45
Transportation	44/44	26.80	12-100
Crafts	26/26	28.85	10-60
Mechanics	23/24	22.00	5-100
Agriculture	22/24	17.10	10-28
Butchers, Tiendas	22/23	35.80	15-100
Street Vendors, Lottery Galeria	22/22	12.50	5-30
Messengers, cart pullers and drivers	18/18	11.80	4-30
Small businessmen, Shysters	18/19	24.90	10-50
Assistants in sales, Stores	14/14	18.80	6-25
Police and watchmen	7/8	23.60	20-25
Bamboo and Wood	8/8	29.75	15-70
Cooks, Millers, Bakers	7/7	21.00	10-50
Shoeshine, Waiter, Barber	5/6	27.60	18-35
Electrician	3/4	25.00	15-40
Fishing	3/3	16.70	10-30
Mining	2/2	35.00	30-40
Custom's Clerk	1/1	45.00	45
Teacher	1/1	40.00	40
	447/457	10,584.85	4-100

The wage earned is not necessarily an indication to status. For example, the obrero (average wage 22.60 pesos) has a much higher status than the sand digger whose average wage is, according to the sample, 25.70 pesos. It seems that jobs that require heavy labor or muscle power or with very unstable incomes are considered lower status by barrio residents. These occupations include cart

pullers, sand diggers, agriculture, bamboo workers, messengers, lottery salesmen, vendors and boot blacks.

High status is granted to those occupations which require education and skill, or to those jobs in which a man is his own boss. Those jobs with high incomes are also valued. The teacher, the customs clerk, policemen and watchmen, electricians, mechanics, store owners, shysters and small businessmen (if good providers) are accorded higher status. Although in general, jobs with stable incomes are more highly valued, and jobs with more unstable incomes are not viewed as desireable, another factor enters here which may tend to modify these values - being one's own boss or having independence. Stability of wage, however, generally is guaranteed by working for an employer at a fixed rate, while the man who is his own boss must suffer from an unstable income. In talking to barrio residents and asking what occupation they would most highly desire, the answer was often to "poner un negocito" (set up a little business).

Jobs in which social benefits such as free medicine and medical attention, lunches, overtime pay, loans or credit, and upon very rare occasions, the personal use of a truck or car were also looked upon as very favorable. These benefits were usually obtained for the workers through sindicatos or labor unions in such occupations as truck drivers, some factory workers, and municipal workers.

Men of the Mestizo-white culture complex do not generally want their wives to work outside the home as this would lower their status and wound their pride in being a good provider. However, children over 15, especially sons, are expected to work and contribute their salaries to the family. In the Negro culture complex, often both the woman and her husband (more often acompañero) will work, for this insures her independence and a security for her children if the man deserts her or fails to provide. In father-absent homes and in matrifocal-shifting father patterns, the mother almost always works and provides for her children

unless she is supported by already-grown sons, expecting very little or no support from the father (or fathers) of her children. Married women in both culture groups, although not usually working outside the home, may supplement the family income without damaging their husband's reputation by taking in sewing, or by running a small tienda, perhaps selling breads, soft drinks, and beer from her home. Many women in the barrio have just such little businesses. The family I lived with made popsicles to sell to the school children at recess, bringing in one or two extra pesos each day. The oldest daughter (nine years old) was responsible for this enterprise, and each evening she would squash coconut meat or fruit in her grubby little hands, sweeten it, add water, and pour it into little metal molds (probably unwashed from the last use), put in sticks, and gently set them in the freezing compartment of their prize green refrigerator which stood in the most obvious spot in the living room. The next morning at 9:30 when the boys had recess, she would run across the square to the school and sell her popsicles to the lucky children and teachers who had a few centavos.

Women's Occupations

Women are usually employed in services and marketing if they work outside the home. The largest proportion of these are maids and laundresses who often take laundry to their homes to wash it in order to stay with their children. Resellers in the galería make weekly or biweekly trips to nearby towns or their home towns, such as Puerto Tejada, and buy produce at lower prices to make small profits on in the main market of Cali. The pawn shop here plays an important part for it is almost the only source of credit or capital available to the poor. For example, one Negress from the barrio who sells chickens in the galería leaves her iron and pressure cooker in a pawn shop each Wednesday morning, collects about 20 pesos, and with her infant daughter under her arm, takes the bus to Puerto Tejada. She buys hens raised in the country from family and friends

(tradition has it that country-grown chickens taste much better than those raised in incubators), and returns to sell them at a small profit which she immediately uses to reclaim her pot and iron.

Some women work in factories, others help their husbands run stores or manage a small tienda in their home, and a few work in agriculture. There are a few beauticians. However, the second largest group of working women (after maids) work in their own homes as seamstresses, sewing for other barrio members and their own families. Cloth is much cheaper than ready-made clothing and these women charge very little for their work. There seem to be more women getting into middle class occupations than men, especially in teaching and as secretaries. Teaching is viewed as a stable occupation with desirable wages and a road to upward mobility. Wages for women are:

Occupation	# in Sample With Wages Given/Not Given	In Pesos, Average Wage	Range of Pesos Per Day
Maids	18/21	9.20	3-15
Seamstresses	18/20	18.45	10-30
Washing and Ironing	17/17	13.50	10-30
Galleria, Marketing and Vending	16/16	15.95	10-30
Obrera	10/12	16.20	5-30
Tiendas	5/6	17.00	12-28
Agriculture	3	20	15-25
Beauty Shop	2	12	12
Secretaries	2	23.70	17.40-30
Teachers	2	8	6-10
Nurses' Aid	1	10	10
	94/102	14.70	3-30

Marketing

There is no major market in Puerto Mallarino. To buy fruits, vegetables, or meat at market prices requires a trip to the Galleria in Cali, no small undertaking for mothers with several small children and no servants. In

addition, it is almost impossible for barrio members to buy in large enough quantities to make the trip worthwhile, for they rarely have a sum large enough to do so. Consequently, most families must content themselves with buying enough for the day's needs or have the working husbands pick up a few fruits and vegetables. From the numerous small tiendas in the barrio, they buy a few plantains, yucca root, rice, some beans, and a few rolls each day at prices double what they would be in the city. Medicine at the local drugstore also costs about twice as much as in the city if it is available at all, for many times I was unable to even obtain such simple preparations as aspirin or cough drops.

The number of these small tiendas is incredible. Among the 14 houses on one side of the Plaza there were three small food stores (one at each corner and one about in the middle of the block), 2 homes which capitalized on their refrigerator (my family was one of these) selling soft drinks or popsicles, one lady who made envueltos (meat-potato and sauce wrapped up in corn dough and deep fried) and tamales (layers of corn paste, meat, potatoes and onions steamed in banana leaves), a girl who had a small beauty shop in back of her father's grocery store, and one tailor shop. On the street which faced the plaza across from the school and church were 6 houses, 5 of which were small shops, including two food tiendas, one tailor shop, one seamstress, and a tiny dry goods and clothing shop.

The typical food store contained soft drinks and beer, cigarettes, candies, rools and arepas (corn paste biscuits), rice, eggs, beans, flour, sugar, perhaps some meat, coffee, stacks of panela (brown or raw sugar cakes), perhaps a few tomatoes or other fruits and vegetables, laundry soap, and perhaps powdered or fresh (but too often unpasteurized) milk. A few of the stores sold nothing but fruit or plantains. Others were small beer halls where people could sometimes dance. Although the streets described are on the Plaza, and therefore probably

more commercial than others, there were several small shops on every street.

As we have already stated, prices were steep in these small stores, for shopkeepers, buying at urban retail market prices, had to raise prices considerably to profit. It seems that the poor must pay more for everything. They do not buy in economical quantities or in direct market situations. This kind of marketing produces no wealth, for the poor live off each other, the egg merchant buying his bread across the street and the baker buying an egg from his neighbor with the chickens.

Savings and Entertainment

Very few families were able to save much of their income and if there were any extra pennies, they generally went into some badly needed repair on the house, shoes for the children, or perhaps a fiesta for the first Communion of a child. It might even go to the purchase of a lottery ticket and the chance to win a much greater sum if one is lucky. Although barrio residents have very little, generosity is highly valued and a needy neighbor will generally be fed if there is any food left over. This extends to men buying drinks for each other at the local bars which are usually well-frequented, to throwing a big fiesta and even going into debt to provide enough food and drink especially for weddings and Communions. Generosity is a means to obtain prestige. He who is generous in contributing to the church, who entertains his friends well, and who shared with the needy is looked upon with respect and may gain a position of responsibility in the barrio, especially in Acción Communal (community action organization). Parents will often choose godparents for their children who are reputed to be generous, for it is wise to have compadres who will help in time of crisis.

Entertainment was often separate for the men and women. Some of the men enjoyed cock fighting. The younger men and boys played soccer in the open field

to the west of the barrio. The men went drinking with their cronies in the local quioscos and beer halls, "fue a la calle" (went street walking - there were several houses of ill-repute in the barrio as well as many unattached women looking for a good time), or went dancing in the dance halls in Juanchito across the river. Although wives might be aware of their husbands' goings-on, they pretended not to know, fearing that if they complained, the children might suffer, and they would not be given food money, and besides, that it was woman's fate to suffer at the hands of men. It seemed to me that women truly had very few rights - their attitudes were not un-founded.

Entertainment for women was limited to evening chats outside the door stoop with neighbors in the white-mestizo complex. Women could work together to collect money for the Church by selling empanadas (meat and potato filled fried pastries) and sausages in the Church quiosco (stand) or accompanying the Virgin from the alter to the bridge on Sunday afternoon where passers-by could pin money to her robe to help repair the sagging church roof. The church was sometimes the only place a young unmarried girl could go alone among a few of the stricter families. Idleness was not admired or allowed in women and even when the lady of the house sat on her stoop in the evening, it was usually with a sock to mend or needlework. Women did enjoy listening to the radio while they carried on the daily activities, usually to soap operas and popular music.

Unmarried Negresses often got together in little drinking and pipe-smoking circles and would accompany each other (for moral support) to dances after which they would go off with the men they met dancing if they felt so inclined. It was a tacit agreement among the ladies that there was no obligation to stay together if they preferred male company.

Family entertainment usually consisted of taking a walk or perhaps going for a picnic and swim at the city park. Parents (especially fathers) generally favored the youngest child and would take only the adorably dressed-up baby on

a Sunday outing if funds were limited. Children were allowed to watch the U.S. INformation Agency films shown in the barrio on Wednesday night, or could play in the "parque infantil," a children's park made by the American Colony in Cali for the barrio, or would play with siblings in their patios or outside the front door. Very few families went out to movies or spent much money on entertainment except for important occasions such as Holy Communion. Trips were infrequent, although people sometimes returned to their place of birth on their patron saint's days.

EDUCATION

6f.

In Puerto Mallarino proper, there is one free public primary school (grades 1-5) called Manuel Maria Mallarino for the boys' session which lasts from 7 A.M. to noon, and Republica de Honduras for the girls who attend from noon until 5 P.M. The children attend Monday through Friday, and each Saturday morning either the boys or girls hold a class. The two-story school building on the central plaza is modern, pleasant and sunny, constructed of stucco, cement block, and tile. The rooms are airy, some walls being of decorative cement block, keeping the classrooms well-ventilated but not shutting out the noise of the barrio or other classrooms. There are twelve classrooms, only seven of which are used at either shift, boys generally on the first floor and girls on the second. The total number of children matriculated for the year 1964-65 was 740[1], although by June of that year that number had dwindled to 548.[2]

Also available to the Barrio and Cauquita (sewerage canal invasion) residents was a first grade, Leonor Uribe de Villegas, conducted in a shack built between two test houses for the new Alliance housing project. In the Fall of 1964, it had an incipient enrollment of 91 children with one poorly-prepared teacher who had only a primary education herself. This school had been established the previous year through the efforts of Peace Corps Volunteer Donald Foster and the Barrio political organization, Acción Communal. A small tuition fee was charged. By the time the school year ended, the number of pupils had dwindled to an inconstant thirty, none of whom passed the first grade or were even given the opportunity to take the final examinations. It is highly doubtful that this school will be continued.

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1 According to "Investigacion Caries Dentales," Centro de Salud de Puerto Mallarino. March, 1965.
2 Analysis of teachers' role sheets.

For the first time, October, 1965, a new school in the project barrio parochial center is being opened by a group of American nuns called popularly Escuela de Monjas de Cauquita. Unfortunately, the fees to attend this school - this year first through fifth grade and the first grade of secondary school (bachillerato) will make it prohibitive to those who need it most.

Discussion here will be restricted to the primary school in Puerto Mallarino proper unless otherwise specified. The school year in Cali runs normally from the beginning of October to late June. However, the year of 1964-65 was an exception, for due to a teachers' strike for higher pay in the Fall of 1964, school was delayed over a month and the children had to continue until August, thus facilitating my further observation during the summer. Information is based on these observations, discussions with the teachers, directors, students and parents, and study of the educational records of all the male students for 1964-65, as well as studies made by the Municipal Planning Office and the Health Department.

Instruction

The official course of study for all five primary grades throughout Colombia includes religious instruction (the Catholic Church virtually controls Colombian education), mathematics, language (this includes reading, writing and oratory), social sciences, aesthetic and manual education including music and art, and physical education. Children are also graded on conduct, intellectual ability, physical coordination, and social development. Grades are distributed on a scale of 1 (very poor) to 5 (excellent) with a failure at two or below. At the end of the school year, children have to pass comprehensive examinations on the year's work in order to be promoted, their other grades also being included in the evaluation.

Each year the promotion is marked by a graduation ceremony for fifth graders and presentation of promotion certificates to the younger pupils.

In Puerto Mallarino as well as in the rest of Colombia, memorization, rather than creative thinking, seems to be the key to learning. Alquileo Camacho, a school teacher living in the barrio itself, told me that in the first two years, the child learns to read, write, and behave himself. The third year is devoted especially to memorization, and the fourth and fifth as well, except by this time, the children are well enough developed mentally to write compositions also. Oratory and speaking ability are also greatly stressed in these latter grades. Copying or tracing was the actual translation for "dibujando" (literally "drawing"). Children could not understand when I asked them to make drawings from their imaginations and only after several talks were convinced that this was what I actually wanted.

Regimentation was prevalent in the classrooms, especially for the boys. They were marched in and out of classrooms, drilled in lines, and followed almost militaristic discipline. Each Monday morning, the boys observed a weekly flag ceremony. At seven-thirty, all the boys were lined up by class in the yard. On one occasion, a large map of Colombia was placed in front of the courtyard, and each boy in the 5th year marched up to the map. At the top of his voice he shouted the name of a department, its area to within one square kilometer, its population, its major city and that population, also to the exact number probably of 1960 estimates, its products, agriculture and other noteworthy facts. Nationalism was stressed by memorizing the glories of Colombia. Yet, the nationalistic attitude was disparaging - "we are a backward and ignorant country," was frequently expressed to me, even by schoolchildren. The school was marched in and out accompanied by a band of cymbals, three very noisy drums and three rusty trumpets played by the older boys. The children snapped to attention, then stood at ease at the command of the director. One teacher went up and down the rows,

smacking soundly with a ruler those boys who squirmed, fidgeted, or were out of order. In discussing discipline with the teachers, I was told that the only successful or at least the most used form of punishment was corporal, for girls as well as boys. Generally children of the lower grades were punished with a few sharp raps of a ruler. Older children were struck much more rarely. This may be because only a relatively small percentage of the children get to the fourth or fifth grade, those who do being more serious students and generally better behaved. The teachers asked me about classroom discipline in the United States, and I suggested that individual teachers might hold talks or isolate troublesome children, since physical punishment was not permitted. They were amazed. According to Peace Corps Volunteer Don Foster, this regimentation was very important and often the only form of discipline the children had, especially since children are too often raised by an older brother or sister with very little attention given to their social development.

In addition to being noisy and overcrowded, classrooms were often poorly organized and handled, though this largely depended on the teacher. In a few of the classrooms, the children wandered about freely or left their seats at will. Teachers, especially women, would leave their children for long periods of time to sit together in the hall, drink coffee, and gossip. Naturally, at these times the children raised havoc, throwing erasers, running around the room, punching each other, and screaming.

Although children seem to enjoy the school experience and value the prestige of attending school, I never saw one child really studying at home even during examinations. I met only one little boy, aspiring to be a lawyer, who had the motivation to work independently, and he was teaching himself English, writing down vocabulary words and exercises in a copybook. But this was really deviant behavior. Children do not seem academically motivated. They carry out assignments,

memorize, but rarely seem challenged or interested in what they are doing. This is due in part to poor presentation and teaching methods, but also to a lack of stimulating materials, books, maps, and teaching aids. In addition, their home environments, generally overcrowded, poor, and survival-oriented are hardly conducive to study or intellectual interests. There are many dropouts and failures due to these factors. Classrooms which have a potential to stimulate the mind as well as provide some conceptions of beauty present the children with dime-store reproductions of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin hanging on the wall along with paintings of frolicking children, and beer calendars of well-endowed ladies or cute dogs. This is the art which children must copy and be inspired by. Little else adorns the barren stucco walls save for cracks and chipped paint.

The Teacher

Attitudes of the teachers are often negative towards their pupils. Some of them assume superior attitudes, degrading the children for their poverty, untidy clothing, and miserable living conditions. They were amazed that I lived out here and jokingly asked how I could live among such riff-raff. The irony of this attitude is that many of these teachers come from the same kinds of lower class backgrounds as their students, but since they are teachers, now of the lower middle class, and must maintain their respectability, they try to sever all connections with the lower class in order not to be identified with it. This was clearly revealed to me when I visited the director of the girls' school at her home in only a slightly better area and not much different from many of the homes in the barrio. Teaching, then, is viewed as a road to upward mobility and respectability, and too often, these goals as well as what seems to the poor high and stable salaries are the only attractions of teaching. They must put up

with difficult conditions. Classes are usually far too large, a wide range exists in the same classroom, younger children are almost unsocialized, and salaries are relatively low. For a teacher to support a family and maintain middle class respectability, it is almost necessary to have additional jobs. The teacher who lived in the barrio (he was the only one to do so and consequently had a greater interest and understanding of barrio problems), Alqvileo Camacho, made 980 pesos a month (about fifty U.S. dollars per month) after four years' teaching. With this, he had to support four children, a housekeeper (his wife had just died), and numerous relatives. He was forced to work during vacations (it was he who took the census for me) as well as operate a "puesta de arena" or sand business, barely to make ends meet.

On the other hand, a few of the teachers were conscientious, and their efforts were directly evidenced in the work produced by their pupils.

Teacher preparation is generally poor. To have a certificate for teaching in the cities requires six years of schooling beyond the elementary school (what would correspond to the 11the grade in the United States). The degree obtained is called 'Normalista Superior' In this training, very little is taught about child psychology and development, teaching methods, or the learning process. Teachers, just like their own pupils, must memorize - and do not seem to grasp basic concepts necessary for them to present material successfully. One teacher in his fourth year of secondary school (Bachillerato) asked me to help him study for an English examination. The class was told which homework assignments would be required in the exam so he spent the evening memorizing the translations. No questions requiring the integration of what he had learned were given - only memory work.

Of the seven boys' teachers, three had not yet completed their normalista certificates and were attending night school to fulfill requirements. Camacho

was one of these. He was only in his fourth year of bachillerato, although he had already been teaching for four years. Of the seven girls' teachers, two had normalista superior degrees from urban secondary schools, two were Normalista Rural certificate holders, which requires only about three or four years beyond elementary school for teaching in rural areas, and the other three had only two to three years of secondary education.

Not only was the education for teachers inadequate, then, but nine of the fourteen teachers in the school were not really formally qualified to teach in the city school. Yet, according to the June, 1963, "Investigacecion Escolar de Ensenanza Primaria" by the office of Municipal Planning, the teacher shortage is so pressing in Cali that unqualified people have to be used. The estimated deficit of that year was 1,460 teachers with only 1,219 actual public school teachers for a city of well over 600,000. Part of the reason there are so few teachers is the expense of private secondary schools and the small number of places available in the public bachillerato. Many of the lower class people who would find the job of teaching most attractive for respectability, upward mobility, and a stable salary are prohibited from this profession by the inability to pay for an education, by the lack of openings in the few public secondary schools, and by the Colombian system of giving first preference of one of those places to "him that has most." The middle classes do not find public school teaching at many levels attractive since salaries are relatively low and work is hard, and prefer to become lawyers, find fobs in the Colombian bureaucracy, or teach in private schools.

But even if there were more certified teachers, the city would have difficulty paying them. In Colombia, teachers' salaries are financed by a tax on rum. One year, a teacher told me, the tax was insufficient to pay wages so the teachers were given crates of rum which they could sell to make an income.

Qualification for higher salaries and tenure used to depend on years of service. The 0-catagory are interns or beginning teachers, the lowest paid on the fixed salary scale, who must teach for four years to earn their classification in the 4-catagory. In recent years, only if the teacher is qualified with the teaching certificate can he gain this catagory. They must again work four years for the 3-catagory, four years for the 2, and finally after 16 years of teaching qualify for category 1. These categories did not originally depend on amount of education the teacher had had, but only on time served. For example: the director of the girls' school who had taught for 28 years and has a 1-category classification completed only 2 years of secondary school. The older teachers present not only fewer years of schooling, but a pattern of rote teaching learned years ago. Their notebooks become the guides for their pupils. As the Reichel-Dolmatoffs point out in The People of Aritama, the notebooks may be full of errors, answers to questions becoming completely senseless through successive mis-copying. Yet, this is the teacher who too often, because of a higher classification, is the director and policy-maker of the school. The girls' director recognized that rote of mechanical learning was no longer useful, but she still clung firmly to memorization as the key to learning.

By Colombian law children are obligated to attend school for five years of primary education. The constitutional provision that primary education is obligatory, free of charge, and universal is countered by statistics showing that this is not the case in Puerto Mallarino.

The number of children between the ages of 7 and 14 who were not in school according to the June 12, 1963, estimates of the Office of Municipal Planning, were 118 for Puerto Mallarino. This number was arrived at by multiplying the number of constructed blocks in the barrio (17) by the average number of houses per block (27) to determine the number of houses in the barrio (459). Then this figure was

multiplied by the average dwelling units per house (1.1) to get the number of dwelling units (505) and finally by the average number of people dwelling in each unit (9.0). (All these figures were derived from a study of land-use patterns in the barrios) This gave a total population of 4,545. Twenty percent of this figure (909 children) were estimated to be between the ages of 7-14 (school age population). From this school age population, 13% was subtracted for "absenteeism" to bring the total of 791 children who were of school age from Puerto Mallarino. What is implied by this absenteeism figure is unclear to me. The total number of children matriculated in the school of Puerto Mallarino (673 in 1963) was subtracted from the school age population (minus 13% absenteeism) to conclude that only 118 children in the barrio were not matriculated in school.

I go into detail on this estimate because these statistics are the basis for policy decisions made by the Municipal Planning Office, and I find a rather large discrepancy between their estimate and what I have found to be the case. In the first place, the total population of Puerto Mallarino, if 459 houses were estimated, could not have been 4,545 in 1963, since the 1964 census established that there were 608 houses (entirely possible due to building and growth) and a population of only 3,965. The increase in number of houses should show an increase, rather than a decrease in population. However, this discrepancy can perhaps be explained by looking at what was considered to be the average number of people per household, 9.0 in the estimate. According to my sample, the average family or dwelling unit size was closer to 6. This would reduce the population by one third, although it would reduce as well the number of unmatriculated pupils by the same amount. My second complaint would be the complexity of the statistics which seem to me could have been formed much more simply. Surely, if the land use study had found out the average number of houses per block in Puerto Mallarino as well as the average number of persons per dwelling unit, they must

have based these on the total number of houses in the barrio and the total population of the community. Why were these figures not used directly in the first place?

But it is not so much the methodology with which I quarrel. It is the fact that there are a great many more children in the community who are not going to school than the planning office estimated, much closer to 500 than 118. I found in the 48% sample that the barrio contained 152 children (87 boys and 65 girls) between the ages of 7 and 14 who were not matriculated in school. Of these, four were physically or mentally handicapped and unable to attend. Another handful about fourteen years old had already graduated and were no longer enrolled. If we cut the figure down to 140 as the number who should have been matriculated within the age groups, we must at least double it (in view of the 48% sample) to get a picture of the total number of unmatriculated children in Puerto Mallarino, making an estimated 280 children not in school who should be from this barrio proper. But this group of children is only about half of those who attend the Puerto Mallarino school.

My figures are based on the 1964-65 school year, two years later, and most likely with a greater number of unmatriculated children. However, if I were to use the same process as was used by the Planning Office to estimate the number of children not matriculated in school for the year 1964-65, I would arrive at a very similar conclusion; the number of children of school age in the barrio (21.1% of total population of 1,926 people according to my 48% sample) would be about 850 children in the entire barrio. Subtract from this 740 which was the incipient matriculation for that year and the result shows about 110 children not matriculated in school - not too serious for Colombia as a whole (this is not subtracting an absenteeism figure of 13% which would make the number of children not matriculated seem even lower.)

In the first place, to consider the incipient enrollment as the real number of children in school is neglecting a very high drop-out rate during the school year, which in 1964-65 was an overall 26% in Puerto Mallarino. This means that the number of children in school fell from 740 to 548[3] in the course of a year, making a much larger number of children who were not attending, even though some of those who dropped out changed residence.

Secondly, 45% of the boys in the school came from other barrios and not from Puerto Mallarino.(Analysis of residence of all but one 2nd grade class in the boys' school for 1964-65.) This demonstrates that to assume that children matriculated in a barrio school are from that same barrio is an erroneous assumption. From this information, almost half the pupils matriculated have to be subtracted (if we assume that the number of girls coming from other barrios will be of equal proportion to the boys, though this certainly is not necessarily the case), in order to find the real number of those children in Puerto Mallarino who are not in school and should be. If the planning office had taken only this one factor into consideration, that all children in attendance at a barrio school may not be from the barrio itself, it would have greatly improved the true picture of classroom and teacher deficit per barrio.

	(Boys who come from other Barrios)								
	Alfonso Lopez	Juanchito	Puerto Nuevo	Cauquita	Other Barrios	Don't Know	TOTAL	Puerto Mallarino	%Other Barrios
Grade 1 (54)	8	5	2	3		3	18	33	33%
Grade 2 (45)	13	1	1	1	2		18	27	40%
Grade 3 (34)	8	2	0	0	2	4	12	22	35%
Grade 4 (48)	13	4	0	0	0	4	17	27	39%
Grade 5 (44)	20	0	0	0	3	2	23	18	56%
TOTAL	83	12	3	6	10	16	111	137	45%

[3] 548 is my count according to each teacher's role sheet. However, a study done by the Secretary of Municipal Public Health showed an even figure of 532 students for June 16, 1965.

The differences of percentages of children from other barrios per grade level seem to indicate that wherever there is classroom space, children from other barrios are more likely to be accomodated.

In conjunction with this finding is the question of how many barrios or areas must be served by one school - how can we explain why so many children from other barrios came to the school in Puerto Mallarino? In the first place, up to this time, the invasion Cauquita on the edge of the barrio had only the small one-room shack to serve its school needs. This school taught only first grade, so any education beyong first grade had to be found elsewhere. There were approximately 1,000 people living in these shacks. If we estimate the number of school age children at roughly 20%, there were approximately 200 children in this slum who should have been in school. In the School of Puerto Mallarino, only about 15 of these children were accommodated, but there were also a few children from Puerto Mallarino who attended the one-room shack. Balancing these considerations, there is a total of only about ninety children at the most from Cauquita in school. We can assume, then, that by subtracting 90 from 200 (school-age population), there are at least 110 children in this invasion neighborhood who are not matriculated and several more not attending. There is, of course, the possibility that a few children from Cauquita may have gone to school in other barrios, so this number may be lowered. It may also be possible that in Puerto Mallarino there is a considerable amount of inter-barrio student cross-over. But children in the invasion, at least, have far fewer alternatives - they are usually so poor that any additional expense, such as bus fare to distant schools would make schooling elsewhere prohibitive. Also, they are needed at home to take care of younger brothers or sisters or to bring in a few pesos selling newspapers or collecting junk.

Besides the Cauquita invasion (which is now located in a housing project), there were other areas which sent children to the school in Puerto Mallarino because school facilities either were insufficient or lacking entirely. Three-fourths of the school children from outside the barrio came from the new Alfonso Lopez Barrio to the west, where the number of schools is terribly inadequate for the large number of students.

If we add together only the 280 children from Puerto Mallarino proper who were not matriculated with at least 110 from Cauquita, we arrive at 390 children in the immediate school community who were not getting an education. This is not even counting the hundreds of children in Alfonso Lopez who cannot go to school because there are no facilities. All we can say is that the school of Puerto Mallarino had a deficit for 1964-65 of classroom space and teachers for at least 390 pupils, implying the need for no fewer than ten more teachers (at a class-room size of 40 children). The planning office should revise its methodology to realize more accurately the school deficit and should make policy accordingly. Statistics can be simplified through use of the 1964 census instead of projections from past censuses. The overall dropout rate per school should be calculated as well as broken down per grade level, to indicate where good teachers are most needed. An estimate is needed of the demands for admission to a school from barrios outside the community; or districts should be sufficiently fixed so that children in a school community are not deprived of admission because their places are filled by children from outside. This can be ascertained partially through analysis of the residences of the school children to find out where they are coming from and how many come to the school. In these ways, a clearer conception of community needs can be achieved.

Recommendations by the Urban Planning Commission to accommodate 118 needy children included building a new school of 4,200 square meters near the new

Psoject barrio Padre Andre Sanin. Actually, the school of Puerto Mallarino, with 12 classrooms, has the capacity fo hold 12 classes per session instead of 7 classes for boys and 7 for girls. If the maximum number of classrooms were used each session, almost 500 more children could be accomodated. What is actually needed are more teachers and better teachers more than classroom space. The existing building could be better utilized.

At the same time, policy should be based on future population needs, not only on past enrollment. 25% of the population of Puerto Mallarino is under school age (7 years), or approximately 1000 children in the barrio proper. In the next two years, about 300 of these children will be ready to start first grade. This means that plans should be made now to accommodate the large number of children soon beginning school. In addition to this group of pre-school age children, there are many children in the barrio over the age of 7 who have never attended school because there was no room for them when their parents tried to matriculate them in first grade. These children should also have the opportunity to go to school. This implies the need for <u>at least</u> 4 first grade classrooms to be operated per year. Yet, the matriculation for the school year 1965-66 looks like this:

	Boys			Girls		
Grade	#of Classes	#Pupils per Class	Total	# of Classes	#of Pupils Per Class	Total
1	1	65	65	1	50	50
2	1	50	50	2	50	100
3	2	45	90	2	45	90
4	2	40	80	1	58	58
5	1	45	45	1	38	38
	7		330	7		336

This number of classrooms is still the same (14). The total incipient enrollment is 666 children for this school year, as opposed to 740 incipient enrollment for last year. And the first grade level which most severely needs teachers and classrooms has only one boy's class and one girl's class. Both of these are badly overcrowded. 65 first grade boys in a classroom built to hold

40 children who have never had any school or group experience can hardly have successful learning experiences. But these children who have managed matriculation are the lucky ones. When matriculation day came in early August, hundreds of parents stood in registration lines from early morning hoping that their children would be able to get in. They had to have vaccination certificates from the barrio health clinic and several other papers in order to register their children. If the papers were not satisfactory, the child was disqualified. Many of the parents were illiterate and did not know which papers were necessary. Over 100 children were turned away from first grade because there was no room for them. A long waiting list was made, but the chances were very slim. Some of the parents were angry. Others wept. One mother came to me weeping and told me this:

"My son is now 11 years old and has never seen the inside of a classroom. When he was 7, I tried to matriculate him but they told me that they had to give his place to an older child. When he was 8, the same thing happened. When he was 9, there was no room in the classroom, and when he was ten, the same answer. Now he is 11 and they tell me that he is too old for first grade and we must give his place to an younger child. He will never be able to be anything!"

Parents recognize that education is about their only chance to make a better future for their children. The frustration of not being able to enter their children even in the first grade of what is supposed to be a compulsory, free public school is terribly painful.

But insufficient planning, inadequate facilities, and far too few teachers are only part of the problem. It is true that many children do not attend school because there is no room for them: "no hay cupo." There are many other factors as well that keep children from going to school and cause dropouts.

Other Factors For Inattendance and Drop-Outs

Too often, because of poverty, children cannot go to school or must drop out because they have to care for younger brothers or sisters while the mother is working. Or they must contribute to the family income by maintaining small jobs, such as selling newspapers, being a boot black, helping a father haul or sell goods, helping a mother wash or iron for others, acting as a messenger, or assisting in a store, etc.

Even though public school is free for the children, there are many expenses associated with attendance that loom large for the very poor. These include uniforms, shoes, books, papers, and other supplies. Although a child is not prohibited from coming to school barefoot or dressed in ragged clothing rather than the uniform (a blue skirt and white and blue navy-style blouse for girls or blue pants with white shirt for boys), he may be subject to ridicule or chastisement for a sloppy appearance and may prefer not to attend at all rather than face this criticism.

The children must buy all their school supplies and books. No texts, readers, art supplies, or even exam papers are provided for them. Paper and school supplies cost from about one dollar per year in the first grade to about $2.20 in fifth grade. For families with very low incomes and many children, these amounts present great hardships. In some cases, a child may not be able to go to school because he has no supplies. I have seen notebooks used 4 and 5 times, each time the previous writing being erased until the page is almost worn through, or a different color pen or pencil written above or over another set of notes.

Another major reason why children drop out of school is that teaching is so poor and education so dull that the children lose interest and cease attending. Also, children whose environments have not been education-oriented, who are

under-nourished, undersocialized, undisciplined, have poor teaching to face in addition. Even first graders must repeat lessons and memorize them mechanically. Teachers should explain concepts rather than demand memorization. Too often, the teachers are very strict and severe; the grimness of school probably causes some children to drop out.

Children may also be expelled from school for discipline offenses, poor attendance, or lack of progress. First graders seem to be most prone to expulsion, but this may be attributed to their immaturity. Children who have had almost no socialization, who know only that to survive one must be at home at meal times and otherwise stay out of the way, whose parents have no concern for the child's social and emotional development, who are virtually raised by an older brother or sister who resents the burden - such children are entirely unprepared to memorize the populations of Colombia or the catechism; it is doubtful that they are ready for school. At the age of 7, when most of them enter school, the children are at approximately the 4 or 5-year old level of development of more materially-endowed pupils in a more satisfactory environment.

They do not understand that they must sit in seats, wait their turn or raise their hands. They may not know that they cannot spit or urinate on the floor. They often are physically stunted due to malnutrition. In short, the first grade for most of these terribly deprived children is a very difficult period where a great deal of understanding and preparation is needed for the educational process even to begin. Instead, they are met with a smack of a ruler for leaving a seat or they are called stupid by the teacher when they are unable to answer a question or to read, and they cease coming to school. Among the culturally deprived children at age 7, there are few that are mature enough for school, or at least the Colombian first grade. Of the thirteen 7-year-olds in first grade, none passed; three dropped out, the others failed. First grade should either be entered at age eight or perhaps after a test is administered

to determine school readiness, or, betterstill, children should have some kind of kindergarten or "head start" experience to help them to adjust to group work and school without them prevailing school pressures.

Discipline problems arise not only from a child's boredom or inability to concentrate due to emotional immaturity, but, as then director of the girls' school told me, to poor nutrition. Children are sent off to school "with nothing in their stomachs but black coffee (which makes them jittery, nervous, and jumpy), with perhaps a little coarse brown sugar in it which only feeds their worms. No wonder they can't sit still." Her suggestion was that if they were given better breakfasts (and "corn meal gruel does not cost more than coffee") the children would be better behaved and could learn more easily. Most 7-year-olds in the barrio were very small and thin with poor teeth, lusterless hair, and dirty faces. They do not have the energy to stay awake and listen. If a free school milk program were initiated, there would probably be a marked improvement in interest and attendance. In fact, milk or food has elsewhere been an incentive to come to school. It is better than going hungry at home. The girls' school director told us that there had been for a few months a subsidized program from Cáritas (Colombian Catholic Charities) of giving incaprina, a high-protein powdered food in milk, which she felt helped greatly during the brief period it was offered.

Dropouts arise from home environments which do not encourage education. Although most parents recognize the value of education as a means to upward mobility, too often their values are not put into practice. The child is forced to spend his time at home helping with younger children, running errands, helping cook, wash, or sweep, etc. with no time allowed for studies. With no educative materials in the home, no books, no pictures, the school life and requirements seem very far indeed from the "real" life the child knows at home.

In addition, although hardly expressed, the parents seem to fear that their children may know more than they do, and consequently put negative sanctions on academic interests, sometimes expressed in teasing or in shaming a child to help his mother instead of reading. The father in the family I lived with was almost unable to read. His wife had had a little more education. When the oldest boy, 11 years old in 5th grade, would sit in the living room with a newspaper, his father would playfully knock it out of his hands, or tease him about getting a fat head, although his mother was very proud of his learning accomplishments and thought he might even be a lawyer some day. However, when the father talked to his neighbors, he was very proud of the good reflection his son made on him.

Another important reason for school drop-outs is the high proportion of perpetual failures which build negative psychological attitudes in the child towards himself, and cause him to feel he never will learn, so that there is no use staying in school. More will be said about this later.

Of course, some of the children who drop out of the school in Puerto Mallarino do so because of a change of residence. Hopefully, these children will find accommodations in the schools in their new neighborhoods, though this cannot be predicted.

To review the drop-out pattern for the boy's school in Puerto Mallarino, it was seen that the children drop out because they may move to another location; 2)because of poverty which does not allow them to buy school supplies, or keeps them at home with younger children while parents work, or actually forces them to go out and work; 3)because they are bored with teaching methods; 4)because they are expelled for discipline problems, sometimes due to poor nutrition; 5)because they are unprepared for school and their home environments do not

encourage education; 6)and because of negative self-attitudes due to perpetual failures. Although statistics on Colombian dropout rates show that there are fewer dropouts among girls, we may safely assume that there still are a good many in Puerto Mallàrino.

Of the 740 students[4] (368 male, 372 female) matriculated in the fall of 1964, 548 remained through the term. This shows an overall drop-out rate of 26% during the school year. The proportion of dropouts is higher in lower grades. For example, the first grade boys had a starting class size of 54 which diminished to 35 students by the end of the year - 19 out of 54 dropped out, about 36%. See table below: (I have no record of the number of dropouts for the other boys' third grade class. Apparently the teacher discarded the fichas (records) of those children no longer in the class.)

(Boys)

Grade	# Matriculated Students	# Cancels	%Drop-Outs
1	54	19	367.%
2	45	10	22.2%
3	45	6	13.3%
4	48	7	14.6%
5	44	7	167.%

As can be seen, the highest dropout rate is in first grade (36%) and the next highest in second grade (22%). The upper three grades are within 3% of each other, varying from 13.3% dropout rate in third grade to 16% dropout for sixth grade. The biggest difference comes between first and second grade, and then again between second and third grade.

The children who make it through the fifth grade in the community are almost a barrio elite. Their chances, once they have made it through fifth grade, are fairly good for going on. About 15 of the 44 fifth grade boys had been admitted to secondary schools, and several others anticipated attending. Yet, probably only one or two children from the graduating classes in the barrio will finish secondary school. As far as I know, no one in Puerto Mallarino has

[4] Figure from Secretaria Municipal de Salud Publica ("Investigacion de Caries Dentales",(June 11, 1965.")- Matriculation for Sept., 1964.

ever gone to the university.

An analysis of the boys' records reveals few differences in backgrounds of children of the first grade and children of the fifth grade, as far as the size of the family or the education of the parents. There is some difference in family income, however. The average income for the families of the fifth grade boys was almost 100 pesos (about $5.20) higher per month (it averaged almost $35 monthly) than for the families of children in lower grades. This is largely due to the lower wages of working mothers in father-absent families prevalent among the lower two grades.

Family structure or family stability was also different. While only about 55% of the parents of boys in first grade were legally married, 83% of the fifth grader's parents were married.

Percentages of Married Parents of School Boys in the Barrio

Grade	# Marrieds	Total %
1	30/54	55.6%
2	26/45	57.8%
3	25/36	69.4%
3	29/39	73.6%
4	34/44	77.3%
5	35/42	83.3%

It appears from the table that marital status of the parents is almost a predictor of how long children will stay in school. The factor of marriage may be important for two reasons in the child's continuing through school. First of all, in a legal marriage, usually the father is working and providing a fairly stable income, lessening the need for the child to work as in matrifocal situations. The family is also more stable since the parental union is not constantly shifting (divorce is not recognized as legal in Colombia), and perhaps a more secure emotional environment makes for greater success in school. Secondly, the fact that a couple is married may also be looked upon as a class phenomenon - marriage is for the barrio upper or middle class, much less so for the barrio lower class. The child may be kept in school for the sake of

respectability, or with the hope that he will become more upwardly mobile. Perhaps the culture in the homes in which the parents are legally married is more oriented to the importance of education.

As can be seen by the line in the table on the predeeding page, the greatest difference in the proportion of married parents lies between the second grade (57.8%) and the third grades which are 69.4% and 73.6%, respectively. There is little difference between the percentage of married parents in the first and second grade, suggesting perhaps that the third grade is the crucial year in the child's education, and if he can make it here his chances are better for going on. This idea of the third grade as a cut-off point in the education of the child is reinforced by the large difference in the proportion of drop-outs between the second and third grade. In addition, chances for failure decrease sharply after the second grade. The first two grades seem to function as a weeding-out period. Let us look at this weeding-out process in the specific case of the boys' first grade class.

54 boys were enrolled in first grade in September of 1964, ranging in age from seven to twelve. Of these 54 boys, 19 (36%) dropped out, 18 (33%) passed, and 17 (31%) failed. Of those who passed, only four did so on the first try, making a turn-over rate for that year of 4/54 or only 7.4%. The others who had passed had failed at least one time previously. With this very low turn-over, the problems of inadequate facilities and too few teachers for first grade are further compounded. Not only are there the huge number of children in the barrio demanding a place in first grade, but also the large number of repeaters who must also be accommodated and who are given first consideration. For the school year 1964-65 there were only 18 children in first grade who had not been there the previous year. The psychic effects of perpetual failure are a negative self-concept and an inability to think of oneself as capable of succeeding.

Although 14 of the previous failures finally passed, 22 either failed again or dropped out. 17 of these were dropouts, one of whom had actually failed first grade five times previously. (See table below.)

Previous Failures and Passes, Failures, and Drop-Outs for 1964-65

# of Previous Failures	Passed	Failed	Drop-Outs	Total
0	4	12	2	18
1	1			1
2	8	5	12	25
3	5		3	8
4				0
5			1	1
?			1	1
	18	17	19	54

From the table it can be seen that only two of the 19 dropouts from first grade had not failed previously.

Age too, is an important factor in determining passing or failing. None of the seven year old children passed. This may be due to their physical and social immaturity and the shock of adjusting to an academic environment so different from their own. They may be just too young and too immature to learn what is expected of them and to be able to memorize facts. It may also indicate that two years at least are necessary for most children to finish first grade. As children get older, some may have spent enough time in first grade to be able to learn the materials, and are mature enough to cope with the school situation. But as children get older, they also tend to drop out, especially if they have failed previously. Most of the failures are concentrated on the younger end. Perhaps if failure is so common among young first graders, the stigma is less and the child comes to expect that he will be there two years. It may be a paradox that the large number of children failing actually lessens the damage to the self-concept of the individual child if failure is not perpetual. The following table indicates passing, failing, or dropping-out per age group:

Passing, Failure, or Drop-Out According To Age

Age	Pass	Fail	Drop-Out	Total	
7	0	10	3	13	
8	5	2	5	12	
9	6	4	5	15	
10	3		5	8	
11	1		1	2	
12	2(+1)	1		3	
	18	17	19	53+1	(for whom age was not given)

From what has been said about this first grade - the 36% drop-out rate, the large number of failures and very low annual turnover of children, the over-crowded classroom and poor teacher, and the immaturity of the young child, it can be seen that grade 1 is a critical period. In addition to the obvious need for more teachers, fewer students per classroom, and changes from curriculum-oriented to child-oriented programs, there is a great need for some pre-school experience. The number of failures is greatest at this grade level. As children grow older and get into the upper elementary grades, failures are reduced, probably because most of those children who are potential failures have long since been weeded out in first or second grade. Yet, there probably would be many more children who could successfully finish school if they did not develop mental blocks to learning acquired through failures in early grades.

The school, an urban institution in the barrio, could have a great potential for augmenting the urban alternatives for the urban poor, for it is through education that better jobs and higher salaries become available. Education in the fullest sense is almost the only way that the urban poor can escape their "Culture of Poverty." Yet reviewing the sad picture of the school in Puerto Mallarino, a school which is considered by the City Planning Office as being average, it seems almost impossible that this institution can bring changes but for a very few. Considering the almost 500 children from the school

community who are not in school and should be, the high drop-out rates, the number of failures, the poor teachers, it seems almost impossible that children of the poor will have much of a chance. But the small minority of children who do make it through fifth grade is not the only problem. The most unfortunate part of the whole situation is that the children of the poor never learn to solve problems nor to think creatively, but only to memorize and copy. This keeps them accepting of their lot, keeps them from thinking about possible alternatives, helps make them a docile, obedient, fatalistic citizenry. They can hardly envision change, let alone initiate it. It seems to make relatively little difference whether a child has only a first grade education or a fifth grade education as far as getting a good job goes. The fifth grader probably can use his information only a very little better than a first grader, and then only probably because he has a better command of the tools. Yet his thinking is probably less creative than the first grader's. Any individuality, any creativity is quickly stifled by forced copying of bad models. If these children do escape the "Culture of Poverty" it will probably not be because they are better thinkers through the school experience in Puerto Mallarino, but because they have been clever or creative enough to accumulate some capital. But even then, like the family Oscar Lewis described in Five Families, they will not have genuinely escaped from the culture of the lower class. They may be able to buy whatever they want, but they are unprepared for the alternatives of urban life.

THE CHURCH

The church of Puerto Mallarino was founded 23 years ago by a Señora Victoria Vargas, who started it with 400 pesos. It is located on the main square, a stuccoed building, near the point of collapse. Major efforts were made during the summer of 1965 to collect money for the repair of the sagging roof.

The church is central to the lives of those in the Mestizo-white culture group and seems generally less important to the Negro culture group, as well as to the very poor. Mass is more frequently attended by women and children. Men take part in the social and community functions, saints' days, and sacraments, but rarely attend Mass otherwise. Even those who are not particularly religious generally baptize their children and obtain last rites from a priest because of superstitions. Most of the homes (at least in the white-Mestizo complex) have a small shrine, usually a picture of a saint or the Virgin with a candle and flowers. Belief in the powers of the saints and the Virgin permeates much of the life. For example, when one of the newly hatched ducklings appeared as if it were going to die, Rosalba, the mother in my family, lit a small candle in front of the Virgin, hoping to keep it alive.

Children are brought to the church early. Sunday School, taught by nuns, was a great pleasure for the children in my family, for they were given pretty pictures and stories of the saints and taught little songs, some of the only organized fun they have. All of the children were cleaned, polished, and ironed for Sunday. Even the baby knew it was a special day. The school and church are closely allied. Not only is catechism taught in the school, but the school band marches the people in and out of the church for Mass at 7 A.M. and 8 A.M.

Usually the afternoon Mass is unaccompanied.

The barrio priest, Padre Alfonso, was a Capuchin. He did not live in the barrio, but in the monestary downtown. The children seemed close to this black-bearded and brown-robed man. He was well-liked and respected by all. He invited me into the church as if it were his home, pointing out the ceiling braced by bamboo poles so it would not collapse. He spent a great deal of time and energy trying to get the church repaired, and even though he only stayed a year (he left at the end of August - the order does not want priests to become attached to any particular parish) he accomplished enough to realize his efforts - the workmen were beginning the repairs.

The influence of the church extends not only to the daily lives and routines of the people, but also is a prestige-conferring and integrating institution. The people who were on the church committee (whose main function seemed to be to help collect money to repair the roof) were given respect and prestige by the rest of the community. Generally men were on this committee. Women gained respect for themselves and honor for their husbands by always attending and making sure their children went and by helping raise money for the church, often through making and selling empanadas and sausages. Promptly after the Mass, almost every Sunday, the priest would use the loudspeaker to tell his parish that good Señora so-and-so had made empanadas to sell in the little quiosco (an open, round, bamboo and thatch hut) outside the church to help repair the roof, and that they were very good and only 20 centavos apiece. He also sometimes informed the parish that the Blessed Virgin would be at the bridge over the Cauca and people going to dances in Juanchito or passing by should pin pesos to her robe to help the church. (I understand that even such a sacred thing as the Virgin was not holy to those who tried to steal the pesos pinned to her blue silk drape.) For the women, the

church not only gave respectability, but was one of the only sources of recreation and diversion from a boring routine. By attending Mass or working for the church, a woman could escape her burdensome home for awhile. She also probably needed the comfort of the church to ease some of the hardships of her life. Young girls were allowed to go church, and for them it was sometimes their only liberty out of the home.

The religion was the source of ceremony and ritual for the barrio. Most occasions for fiestas or diversions were religious in character, except for the annual play put on by Acción Commal. Ritual kinship is also associated with religious ceremonies. The children who have godparents (more common again in the white-Mestizo complex, but apparently less significant than in rural areas), get two sets of godfathers and godmothers, one for baptism, the other for confirmation. The padrinos, as they are called, are always treated with great respect by the child as well as by his parents. They enter a new set of relationships with the parents - they become comrades and comadres. Mutual aid is effected between these ties. Usually parents try to select as a child's godparent one of high status and influence, such as a member of Acción Comunal or an employer. The godparents are supposed to remember their god-child on the day of Saint Peter and Paul, giving him a maceta, a kind of windmill toy filled with candies. Actually, few padrinos did this in Puerto Mallarino. The Confirmation or first Holy Communion is probably the biggest day in the life of the child. Usually this occurs when a child is about 7 years old, but frequently because of the expense, two or three brothers and sisters from 7-12 years of age will be confirmed together. Usually there is a fiesta with gifts for the child. The little girl is dressed as a tiny bride with long dress, bouquet, and veil. The boy wears a black suit with a white arm band. Children look forward with great anticipation to this day. Of course, for the very poor children, the ceremony is simplified, usually without a fiesta and

and humble clothing, but even so it is special.

One of the most interesting aspects of the church was its vulgarity. The populism described by Pearce was certainly evidenced here.[1] This was especially apparent in the collection of money which employed every conceivable means (as has already been suggested in the pinning of pesos to the robe of the Virgin and in the sale of goodies) - the marching band and the use of the loudspeaker atop the church, are important forms of mass media for the barrio. The announcements on the microphone were unavoidable for miles. The loudspeaker functioned in part to build community spirit and cohesiveness, if only in defense against the voice, when groups of neighbors would gather to complain. It also encouraged community cooperation to work together to rouse money for the roof. One means of raising money was to play request records full-blast over the speaker at the charge of a few centavos. This went on from 6:30 to 7:00 on Sunday morning to get people up for Mass, and continued after Mass for 12 solid hours. The only interruptions were to say who was paying for which record and to whom it was dedicated, - the birthday of a child, or to a sweetheart, etc.). Often the same gross tunes were played eight or ten times on a Sunday.

The priest used the loudspeaker not only for advertising empanadas and disk-jockeying, but for encouraging attendence at Mass. He would sometimes deliver short sermons such as "Keep your children reined in, watch them and bring them to church, and they will grow up to be good," or "cut out so much drinking." The persuasiveness of the loudspeaker made it quite effective, as well as the attitude that the priest could do no wrong. When he spoke, people stopped what they were doing and listened with respect. His power was really great in this sense. If he said the word, his parish would try to act.

The potential for bringing about all kinds of changes in the barrio can be seen in the power the priest has. Although he seems to have little influence

[1] Pearse, Andrew. "Some Characteristics of Urbanization in the City of Rio de Janeiro," in Urbanization in Latin America, pub. 1961.

over the marriage patterns of these families who are not tied strongly to religion, his influence in the Mestizo-white complex is quite strong. The priest was very worried about the huge number of families who were "living in sin" and who had strayed from the church, and he tried to encourage marriage.

The priest, if he were a free enough thinker to recognize real needs of the poor barrio he serves, if not openly advocating birth control, could at least keep from condemning it. In this way he could bring about a very significant change. In talking with the few women I met who were using contraceptive pills about how they felt towards the position the Church has taken towards birth control, I was told that they personally felt that it was a greater sin to bring children into the world that they could not afford to feed, care for, or educate than to disobey the orders of the Pope. If the priest could take this attitude, even in hearing confessions, the guilt associated with this could be eliminated. The poverty of the families could at least be checked from keeping a huge generation of new children in the same conditions. Parents recognized that if they had two or three children, each child would have much better opportunities for schooling, etc., necessary to escape the culture of poverty.

HEALTH CENTER

The health center in Puerto Mallarino is largely a preventative medicine clinic serving several barrios besides Puerto Mallarino, including Alfonso Lopez, Cauquita, and Puerto Nuevo. It served a total of 36,580 people for the year 1964-65.

In 1959, under the leadership of Jorge Vallecilla,[1] the president of Acción Comunal, plans were begun for the health center which was completed in April of 1961. The clinic has operated since about this time, although it has actually functioned over 10 years in a private house in the barrio. The city drew up the plans for the clinic. Construction was directed free of charge by a barrio member, Marco Arturio Catacoli. The people of Puerto Mallarino constructed the center.

The Staff includes 22 professionals and 5 aids. There is one chief physician of public health medicine, two sanitary inspectors, one for sanitation and one for food who make home visits and can use sanctions if conditions are not corrected; one chief nurse and four nurses, two T.B. specialists, two pediatricians, one obstetrician, two dentists, two assistants in Tuberculosis, two dental aids, and one Nutrition aid. These latter aids and assistants have a two-year course of study. Medical services are paid for through the Department of Public Health.

The health center functions mainly as a preventative medicine clinic. Illnesses may be diagnosed but generally are not treated, except for tuberculosis and dental work. People who need medical treatment are sent to the University

[1] Jorge Vallecilla was killed by a drunk at a dance hall; he is now a barrio hero.

Hospital of the department of Valle. There, they receive excellent medical treatment at the average charge of 50 to 200 pesos (2½ to 10 dollars). If they cannot pay they are attended to anyway. However, if they have been given prescriptions for drugs, they must pay regular drug-store prices, since there is no subsidized drug program for the poor. The cost of drugs is tremendously high for the salaries of the poor. People may borrow money from family or compadres for medication (one of the most important fuctions of the god-parents) or may borrow from the emergency loan fund of Acion Communal. One man told me that his infant daughter died because he had not been able to collect enough money for penicillin to cure her pneumonia. He said, "What good is all the diagnosis in the world if you cannot get the medicine to cure it."

The Health Center operates a pre-natal clinic, educating and preparing the mother for birth and care of her baby, as well as getting her into sound physical shape through dental work (which includes elimination of dental infections, operations, and extractions). She learns about good nutrition for herself and the baby.

Other preventative medicine programs focus especially on the child, including a well-baby clinic, a pre-school clinic, school-age program for children up to 12 and a vaccination and immunization program. Since so many people must be served by the clinic, the service has been pretty well limited to pre-natal and children under 12. A very important part of the preventative medicine program is education of the public. The Health Center tries to get education to parents, teachers, and children, working especially through the school, by taking a census of all school children and finding the health needs of each child. The clinic displays attractive posters which illustrate the need for washing hands, good diets, and keeping outhouses clean and closed. There are classes in nutrition which show how nutritious meals can be made on very low incomes. Each family

that comes to the clinic is carefully interviewed and a program of education is designed to meet its needs. There is also a comadrona class (midwife) which teaches techniques of assisting in birth and stresses the importance of cleanliness.

Another function of the clinic, besides preventative medicine and education of the public is the control of disease. Every person who is known to have tuberculosis in the four barrios served is carefully watched, with constant check ups, to keep the disease under control; families of the individual are also given check ups. Tuberculosis is treated at the clinic. All suspected cases are carefully watched. In addition to the control of T.B., other communicable diseases are controlled, partly through the immunization program, partly through quarantine of affected individuals. People in contact with disease are immunized and educated as to how to prevent its spread.

Treatment, as we have already said, includes Tuberculosis care and dental work for expectant mothers and children through the age of about 14. The clinic charges the cost of the materials to the patients - about 11 cents (2 pesos) for a filling or an extraction. Some medicines can also be bought from the clinic at slightly lower prices than in drug stores. Having to pay even a little bit for medicine seems to make people more concerned about the dental program. They also pay a few cents for innoculations.

Diagnosis is made for people of all ages. A sick-baby clinic is also operated. For one to two years, anti-conception pills have been available at the clinic for 12 pesos a pack per month (about 65¢). They are not sold as contraceptives, but as period regulators, normalizers, etc., since according to Church (state) law, they are not allowed to distribute birth control devices or information (except on the rhythm method). However, the doctors try to reach as many families as possible with these pills, especially women who already have 9 or 10 children. Women in the barrio often have heard that Norlestrin, Noraciclina, or ovex (the

three available products) are contraceptives and will ask for them. No questions are asked. If the doctor is asked for his personal opinion, he will tell his patients that they do work as contraceptives. Otherwise, they are told that the pills regulate the period so exactly, that the rhythm method can be successfully used.

The Child physician explained to me that the doctors hesitate to teach the rhythm method since it is so very unsure, and that more women seem to get pregnant using it than those who work by chance alone. Pregnancies which result often cause husband-wife problems, as the man may claim he is not the father of the child she is carrying since he did not get to her when she was fertile.

Before the pills, the most common contraceptive devices used were condoms (previously easily bought at about 3¢ apiece). But two years ago, the Church prohibited their manufacture in Colombia and consequently the only ones available are American and are very costly. In addition to the present high cost and the difficulty in obtaining them, the Colombian men do not like to use them for they feel it is not "macho," (manly).

Very few diaphragms are used due to doctors not having been taught to fit them, and due to their improper use, nor is vaginal jelly used due to cost and irritation. The spiral, the doctor explained, is not yet for the poor people. Most common is the rhythm-temperature method, unsatisfactory, as has already been said, or the insertion of aspirin into the vagina, the acid of which kills the sperm.

The possibilities that the health center has for changing the lives of these poor people by limiting the number of children is a way in which more urban alternatives can be made available for the parents as well as the children. The parents do not have to worry so much about feeding and clothing 7 or 8 children. Instead, they spend more on the few children they have, providing them with better nutrition, more schooling, and greater opportunities. Each child can have more of his parents' time. As can be seen, parents in the barrio have tried to limit

family size, but the methods available have not been successful. The position the chief physician and his staff have taken is quite revolutionary in regard to present government policy. Although birth control methods cannot be taught simply by distributing the pills and telling a few women of their effectiveness, the word has begun to spread. The health center has quietly initiated the potential for a major change in family and social patterns, as well as opening up long-run economic opportunities for these poor. (See chapter on Church.)

However, birth control pills, even if made available to all barrio residents, would be met with some and perhaps even a great deal of resistance by the men. Machismo (manliness) is a concept held dear to the Colombian male. His sexual prowess and potency are directly evidenced in the number of children he has produced, and thus for the male, a large family is looked upon as desirable. A neighbor down the street told me, "My wife and I have been married 14 years. We have 6 children. We should have had 14 by now!" Women, however, feel strongly that two or three children are quite sufficient, but dare not go against the wishes of their husbands to take the pills in secret, partly because they must count on his income to purchase the pills (12 pesos is too sizable an amount to spend without being noticed) and partly because they fear his finding out. An educational program extended to fathers as well as mothers seems necessary here, for basic values must be changed.

The health center also provides one of the few sources of aid for destitute families -- namely a milk and incaprina distribution program for the most desperate, also sponsored by Caritas (Catholic Charity). At least children of these very poor people may get milk in their diets which can make a major difference in bone and teeth formation.

The importance of the health clinic in this lower class community is very evident when barrio health conditions and diseases are looked at. Disease and poor nutrition are so common that they are fatalistically accepted. Almost all

the children have intestinal parasites, teeth are in terrible condition due to lack of milk and protein in the diet, most of the children are underweight, sometimes to the point of severe malnutrition. In these cases, hair becomes bleached, eyes are glassy, skin is often scabby or scaly, bones are deformed, and the child is listless and unable to learn. Health conditions promote the spread of disease. The contaminated water, complete lack of concern about diseases carried in fecal matter or urine, the children playing barefoot and unclothed in dust laden with hookworms and other diseases, not washing hands before eating, and not washing fruit and vegetables as well as cooking utensils and dishes are a few common health problems. In addition to correcting some of these health conditions through education and helping parents get rid of and avoid intestinal parasites, correct malnutrition, and treat dental cases, the health clinic also helps alleviate the superstition and ignorance surrounding disease. (See chapter on Beliefs and Superstitions) As do the rural peasants, many residents in the barrio still take their sick children to curandero (witch doctors) who mutter incantations and use strange herbs to cure. Amazingly enough, sometimes these work. However, with a modern health clinic in the community, which has contact with every school child (and thus indirectly with a good many of the families) the values of modern medicine become accepted, at least to a degree.

It is interesting that the use and acceptance of modern medicine as a major variable in urbanization has not been emphasized. This is especially striking when it is recalled that the application of advanced modern science has been a major factor in the world population explosion, and consequent demographic changes leading to rapid urbanization. An indication of change toward urban attitudes may be the degree of ~~abeyance~~ acceptance of modern medicine, such as the clinic brings the barrio. This may affect differentially even members of a single

family. For example, when the baby in my family got very sick, her grandmother came, suggesting that poultices of egg white be put on the baby's head and back to draw out the fever, which was done. The father had a different solution. He wanted to take a clean white rag, catch a fresh cow dung in it and tie it up. Then boil this in milk and give the solution to the baby, as he had been taught that this was a good cure. Rosalba, the mother, did not like this idea. She was much more firmly tied to modern medicine and finally took the baby to the doctor for penicillin shots.

Although use of modern medicine may indicate a change toward urban attitudes, the cost of modern medicine may be prohibitive to the poor. They use herbs or go the the curandero to cure disease because they cannot afford this kind of urban advantage. Thus it is seen that the clinic cannot be as effective as it might be. The poverty of the people and their inability to buy medicines, their superstitions and beliefs reinforced by their poverty which sends them to witch doctors, their suspicion and fear of the new and unknown, their feeling of being uncomfortable with people of a higher class, for their dignity is threatened, all impede association with the clinic. In addition, the case history required of all newly-admitted families is protested as "too much red tape," for people want to be treated immediately, an indication of their pre-occupation with the present. It seems, then, that in order to increase the effectiveness of the clinic both as a medical service and as an agent of change, a concomitant change in the perceptions and attitudes of the people toward the clinic will have to occur.

POLICE STATION AND PARK

Police Station

There is a police station in the barrio which had in the Summer of '65 a Police inspector, Segundo Muñoz, and two officers. Their job was to maintain order in the barrio (probably the frequency of crimes was lower than it might have been, since the probability of being caught immediately was high) as well as apprehend offenders. Segundo Muñoz distinguished two kinds of crimes- serious ones leading to imprisonment, and milder ones in which the guilty person paid a fine of from 30 pesos to 500 pesos ($1.60 to 26.00). There were many attempted robberies, complaints against husbands or wives, fights, especially on Sundays with the drinking and dancing going on. Recall that the founder of the health center was murdered in one of these dance halls. There was one stabbing in the community this summer, when I was there, which was talked about for days. Everyone knows what is going on in the barrio. There is little or no privacy - any fight, any visit, any funeral is by physical nature of the housing (open ceiling, much life outside, open doors and windows, common wall between houses) open to the public. It is possible that because people are so exposed to neighborhood scrutiny and gossip there is less crime - this living situation acts as a kind of control, or group sanction and keeps would-be offenders in line.

The jail in back of the inspector's office consists of three rooms - one for women with a small cot in it, and two cells for men which had nothing but news- papers covering the cement floor. Prisoners, the police inspector told me, were never kept in the barrio jail more than 24 hours, but were sent off to the city

jail downtown.

A very interesting conflict developed in the barrio during the summer of '65 between the police inspector and members of the community. The conflict grew from a personal feud between one of the barrio leaders and the father, Julio, in my family, against the inspector. Julio was furious because his shifty brother-in-law had been put in jail. This demanded Julio's response in the name of family honor. The other man was angry because he had registered a complaint against a woman and no action was taken. They got a petition circulating demanding Inspector Munoz's resignation due to incompetence. All this, they tried to keep hidden from me, although I knew something was going on from the parade of visitors Julio suddenly received. I learned from the neighboring storekeeper what was occurring. Anyone who had a gripe about the Inspector (and most people had a relative or friend who had been in jail a day or two) signed the petition. The apparent result was that the Inspector had resigned. Actually what had happened was that it was time for the transfer of the Inspector to another station (they work on a rotating system), and he was simply transferred, though barrio members did not know this and thought that they had brought about his resignation. Whatever the outcome, the use of the petition demonstrated the awareness of typically urban channels of political action by the barrio members.

The Children's Park

The Abraham Lincoln Children's Park was built by the American Colony of Cali. It is a large, fenced-in playground with a set of swings, a see-saw, and jungle-jim, and is well-used by children of both Cauquita and Puerto Mallarino. A committee of eight to ten people manages the park and tries to get equipment for it. Usually members of this committee are already barrio leaders, and are often

also in Acción Communal.

The park is operated every day except Monday, from 9-12 A.M. and 2-6 P.M. by a member of a special police force in Cali called Protección Infantil. The policeman leads the children in gymnastics, singing, games and civic instruction. He tries to teach the children to cooperate and follow directions. The children seem to enjoy these activities immensely. A new project is being planned - a little house on the playground to hold a library, since much information has been distributed by the American Colony.

The park, although a delight to the children of the community, does not seem to motivate the adult members to do anything for it. Not enough interest was aroused even to build a small retaining wall and the committee had to find funds to pay someone to do it. This lack of collaboration and cooperation in recent times is typical of Puerto Mallarino,

POLITICS - ACCION COMUNAL

Accion Comunal is the nationally organized political organization for community action. Its structure has been dictated by national policy ; since the Colombian government has taken a national front policy, an equal number of liberals and conservatives have been required to head the organization in each barrio. There are 12 members in the governing junta, six liberals and six conservatives. Unfortunately, this has made it an organization for politicians instead of devoted workers. Of the 12 members of the Junta who began their two year term in August of 1963, only three finished. Usually they are dropped for lack of attendance of Junta meetings.

The election which was supposed to occur in August of 1965 was postponed until September since the supervisors necessary for the election did not come. Young members of the community under the direction of Mélida Vallecilla, vice-president of the organization, produced several short plays. The festivities of this night were noteworthy, for it was the only community festivity which I observed during the summer.

Acción Comunal projects include the operation of the Caseta Comunal, a drinking and dance hall and little restaurant whose profits go to the organization. They also have a fund for "domestic calamities," such as deaths and illnesses, for barrio members who need help. In the last two years, 4,000 pesos were raised for this fund through festivals, and beer and food sales (about $ 220.00). This aid function is extremely important in the barrio, as has already been discussed, for it is the only source of help outside the family to which a desparately poor family can turn. Often barrio members will choose

as godparents for their children, members of the Junta, as they have access to these emergency funds.

Besides these two on-going projects, Accion Comunal has implemented many barrio goals since its beginnings in Puerto Mallarino in 1957. In the year 1959-60, sewerage systems and purified water were brought into the barrio, the park square was begun, and the plans for the health center were initiated. In 1962-63, the park was paved at the cost of 8,000 pesos, half of which was paid for by the city and the other half by Puerto Mallarino. Streets were improved at this time. For 1963-64, two teachers in the barrio school were paid salaries through Accion Comunal funds.

Political orientation of the residents is generally at the community level. All political action is for the good of the community. People perceive government only in as much as it implements or inhibits barrio goals. For example, they are concerned who becomes mayor of Cali only so far as it directly affects them as a community. If the mayor will be responsive to local petitions and provide aid, he is looked upon favorably. National government is usually perceived as very distant. Most people seem to have a personalistic attachment for a national leader. Many liked Rojas Pinilla because they felt he would protect the poor. Even issues such as change in city schools do not concern barrio members unless they are perceived as the city affecting the community. Some barrio members, especially those of Cauquita and others who are very poor or transient do not even perceive the value of local government and do not become involved even in community affairs.

Although many were sophisticated politically to the degree of knowing who was running or what issues were at stake (usually men-- women(wives) stayed out of politics), there was little or no identification with the issues or with the nation as a whole - politization rarely went beyond the community level.

In this lower class barrio the degree of politicization was much less than that in some other similar communities. The invasion of Asturias, for example, which had been disbanded by decree of the mayor through use of force of police and the national army, is now a very highly politicized group espousing revolution. Perhaps because residents of Puerto Mallarino and Cauquita have never felt themselves threatened by unfavorable government action, they have not needed to perceive it.

Feelings of nationalism and allegiance to Colombia are relatively weak. This may be due to the large amount of contact barrio members have had with the United States both through the stay of a peace-corpsman and the weekly showing of the U.S. Information Agency's propaganda films. The U.S. image is so favorable that barrio members consider themselves and their own country very backwards. Although anti-yanqui sentiment runs high in other communities, leading to more nationalistic feelings, the pro-Americanism in the barrio, expressed especially in the virtual adoration of John F. Kennedy (upon whom barrio members look as a saint and who's picture hangs next to that of the Blessed Virgin in several of the barrio homes) has probably reduced feelings of nationalism.

Most of the residents are politically apathetic except, as we have said, in relationship to community affairs. Here they have an amazing sophistication, and know the channels (gannels) of communication upwards very thoroughly. Usually they will use Acción Comunal for petitioning but not for actually organizing to get things done. The city government seems to be willing to fulfill the petitions. One reason for this is that every year at Christmas, a pageant is held on the Cauca River with election of "Miss Colombia" beauty queens and holiday celebration. This brings tourists from all over to Cali as well as Puerto Mallarino. The barrio prepares the floats, has food and drink stands and dance halls, as well as entertainment for the holiday. The city, because of the

cooperation it needs form the barrio to make this a successful project, listens to the requests made by Acción Comunal, and will help on projects. Barrio members have used this kind of manipulation often, to the point where they will not fix a small hole in the road, but call on the municipality to do so, with as much effort consumed in letters and petitions as would have been spent in shovelling a few loads of dirt.

Acción Comunal is significant in Puerto Mallarino as the major prestige-conferring institution. As in peasant societies, it is not money or wealth so much which brings prestige to a family, but service to the community. The people who serve on the junta are well respected and looked up to, are asked to be compadres, and are considered important people in the community. This political institution is also important as a source of aid, being an urban alternative to the family as the only source of aid. Finally, it is the means or instrument for getting things done. It is decidedly urban, for the sophisticated use of communication channels upwards, and for its ability to get the city to do the work. It has managed, through this means, to get the park, the streets, water and sewerage facilities, and electricity. In addition it may provide for migrants and poor alike a framework for understanding political political organization and how goals may be implemented through cooperative efforts. Although action orientation is focused on barrio goals, Acción Comunal provides a tie-in to the city and urban government, and even to national government, for its very structure is determined by national policy.

CAUQUITA - A COMMUNITY IN CHANGE

The invasion of Cauquita has been described as a single row of shacks on the southern fringe of the barrio of Puerto Mallarino, lining or built over one of the main sewerage arteries of Cali. The first houses were built over the black waters of the canal some 25 years ago by a few residents of Puerto Mallarino for the purpose of renting. The invasion proper started when invaders built their own shacks some time after the Bogotazo revolt in 1948 and the onslaught of rural violence, which induced many rural peasants to migrate.[1] This invasion on municipal land has not been an organized bridghead settlement, in which a shanty town is built overnight, but a slow-growing development, built house by house as each individual family that was looking for land found itself a spot on the banks of the canal. The invasion began to reach its present proportions around 1961, when propaganda began to circulate that new houses were to be built for the Cauquita invaders. In the summer of 1965, there were 199 families living over the sewer, according to the planning office, with an average of 6 people per household and a total population of 1194. At the time of Don Foster's census[2] (Oct. 1963-March, 1964) there were 175 families in Cauquita, and 49% of the families had been in Cauquita three years or under, or since the time when the news spread about the new houses. Only 6 families, about 3%, had been in Cauquita over 16 years (before the Bogotazo), and were the first inhabitants of the canal. Most of the older houses were not built on bamboo stilts directly over the waters but rested intirely on the banks at the western end of the Canal. Over 90% of the inhabitants have been in the invasion under 9 years. (See Table):

1 Information comes from an interview with Jorge O'byrne, head of Accion Comunal, Oficina de Planeacion.

2 Foster Census, Oct. '63-March '64, of Cauquita - with Peace Corps estimating housing needs.

In the last year, few families have built on the canal, since title to the new houses requires at least a two-year's residency.

Length of Residence in Cauquita

Under 1 year	26	15%
1-3 years (after 1961)	59	34%
4-9 years	72	42%
10-15 years	10	6%
16 years and over (since 1948)	6	3%
Total # Families	173	100%

If we use Turner's hypothesis, the majority of the inhabitants of Cauquita are stage 3 migrants according to both residence pattern of invasion and length of time in Cali. 71% of the families are migrants who have been in Cali over 5 years. Only 13% have been in Cali less than 5 years. 16% of the family heads are Cali-born. The proportion of recent migrants is lower in Cauquita than for Puerto Mallarino (13% vs. 22%), although the proportion of people born in Cali is higher (16% vs. 11%). See Table below.

Length of Time in Cali in Years

Time Period	Number	%
Under 1 year	4	2%
1-5 years	19	11%
5-12 years	73	42%
Over 12 years	49	29%
Cali-born	28	16&
	173	100%

The <u>push</u> factor may account for the larger amount of Cali-born people in the Cauquita Invasion, since the major characteristic of the inhabitants of the canal is <u>poverty</u>. According to Oscar Lewis' "Culture of Poverty," the rural-born poor and the urban-born poor have a very similar way of life - their alternatives are greatly limited. Consequently, both migrants and urban-born poor are faced with the same alternatives of either losing home, family and

possessions because they cannot afford rent, or squatting on land where they can live rent-free. They are pushed to invade due to their poverty. John Turner differs with Lewis' concept to specify that the rural-urban migrant is, like his poor, urban-born counterpart, only after an adjustment period of the city of several years. But the negative, fatalistic and desperate attitudes if the urban-born poor who are unable to escape the cycle of poverty may be even a further push to invade rent-free land.

Turner found that most barriada residents who had been migrants had lived in the downtown area of Lima for usually 5-12 years, before invading or moving to a barriada to escape rent. In Cauquita, it seems that in many cases, the period of renting is not that long.[3] 18% of the residents have been in Cauquita as long or almost as long as they have been in Cali. It has either been their first residence or one of their first. Another 26% have been in Cali only 1-5 years longer than in Cauquita. Some 44% of the residents have moved to an invasion or a stage 3-type settlement during the period Turner usually found them living in downtown Lima paying rent. See Table below:

Difference Between Time in Cali and Residence Time in Cauquita

Time	Number	Percentage
Same, or Under 1 Year Difference	31	18%
1-5 years longer in Cali than Cauquita	45	26%
5-12 Years	45	26%
Over 12 Years Longer in Cali than Cauquita	52	30%
	173	100%

Reasons for the relatively short period of time between migration to Cali and invading again include the push factor of poverty. If the migrants, however

[3] Don Foster's census gave both length of time families had been in Cali and length of time they had been in Cauquita, making this analysis possible.

long they have been in Cali, are so poor that they cannot pay rent, they must try to find a situation where they can live rent-free - namely, invade. Usually the invaders in Cauquita are older families with children or grandchildren, or unmarried women with children, whose situations are most desperate. According to Foster's census, 101 of the shacks were listed as being owned by a male, while 72 shacks were owned by women. This pattern of female home or land ownership is quite common to the slave pocket region of Northern Cauca and Southern Valle. Charles Martinson, a student on our Oregon research team, found in the rural area of El Remolino, a Negro village to the east of Cali, that 38% of the small land holdings were owned by women.

There are also pull factors operating to attract recent migrants to Cauquita. The first of these is family and town contacts which are very powerful in this largely-Negro community. Recent migrants may build near kin or townsmen if land is available, or in a few cases, may rent a shack already built on Cauquita. Rent is increasingly becoming more rare due to the 1961 requirement that only home owners can get title to the new houses. The ability to find jobs in the community is another important pull factor for recent migrants, especially from rural or coastal areas. A third of the workers in Cauquita have jobs in the barrio either digging sand in the Cauca river or hauling up bamboo, or working neighboring sugar canefields. The occupation of most members among the residents of Cauquita is as agricultural workers.

A third pull-factor for recent migrants is the desire to get title for a new house through ownership of an invasion shack. At least 27 of the poorest families have sold their shacks (and their rights to the new houses) to those who are somewhat better off. Those who were most in need of the new housing were bought out - probably to invade elsewhere.

Racial: Cultural Complex

It is important to understand the culture of the residents of Cauquita which changes to fit the urban environment. At least 70% of the families are Negro or mulatto. There are many mixed marriages or free unions. It seems that racial prejudice among the very poor is almost non-existent. Most of the Negro element comes from the Puerto-Tejada, Cauca-Southern Valle belt or from the Coast as far North as the river Atrato in the department of Choco to ports in the south of the department of Cauca. The ties to these sending areas are still very strong, and there are many interconnections among the residents in Cauquita as well as cultural ties to the "place back home." The significance of the identification with the region of birth was made clear to me when a Negress introduced herself to me as "Anunciacion Murrllo, Choccano (of the Choco).

For example, the Negro-Catholic element of the Coast has a different way of celebrating funerals than do the urban people, some of these customs still being kept almost secretly. For the death of a young child they celebrate bundes (in the interior) and chingualos (on the coast), a kind of wake in which they sing prayers thanking God for taking the baby and not making him suffer, and songs encouraging the parents to have another child. Funerals for adults are accompanied by alabados or songs of praise, not customary for the Catholic masses of the city. Many of the Negroes are not religious and feel no ties to the Catholic Church. These people do not believe that marriage is a sacrament - probably the largest number of free unions have relatively shallow religious ties. In addition to the Catholic and non-religious elements is a small group of evangelicals, very tightly knit, who do not believe in school for their children, etc.

Another cultural trait of the Negro sector has been the custom of giving birth crouched on the knees and pulling on a rope hung from a beam or tree, rather than lying prone. As the Negroes become a part of the city, they learn to consider

this method very backward (which scientifically probably has the advantage that the force of gravity as well as the woman's muscles can work together). They would deny that they ever had children that way until praised for the sensibility of the method and then confessed as to how clever they had been. The midwives in the invasion have been trained by the city health clinic in Puerto Mallarino and are probably a great factor in "urbanizing" the birth process.

Many of the foods and food uses and the cooking utensils come from the African heritage. The people of Cauquita still use coarse woven sieves of bamboo and wooden beaters for these are less expensive than urban metalware. They feel unfed without plantains and a starchy yellow palm fruit, the chuntaduro. Those who have lived on the river, especially in the Choco have a great love for fish and miss it in the city. Most of these families have a few pots of herbs for flavoring, medicinal, and magical uses. Superstitions and beliefs are especially strong among these people, but are common to most of the lower class. This has been dealt with in a preceding chapter.

The family patterns are also part of this racial-cultural complex. 60% of the families are not legally married (church marriage serves both civil and religious functions.) 40% are or have been married (6% are widowed). See Table:

Civil Status in Cauquita

Civil Status	#	%
Solteros (single)	104	60.1%
Casados	59	34.1%
Viudos	10	5.8%
	173	100%

The Lack of legal marriages in the Negro culture complex is attributable to several factors. One of these is the matriarchal family pattern developed during the period of slavery because the male was the pawn of the owner and families were broken up at the whim of the master, leaving only the mother to maintain and integrate the family.[4]

4 Raymond T. Smith - The Negro in British Guiana (1955)

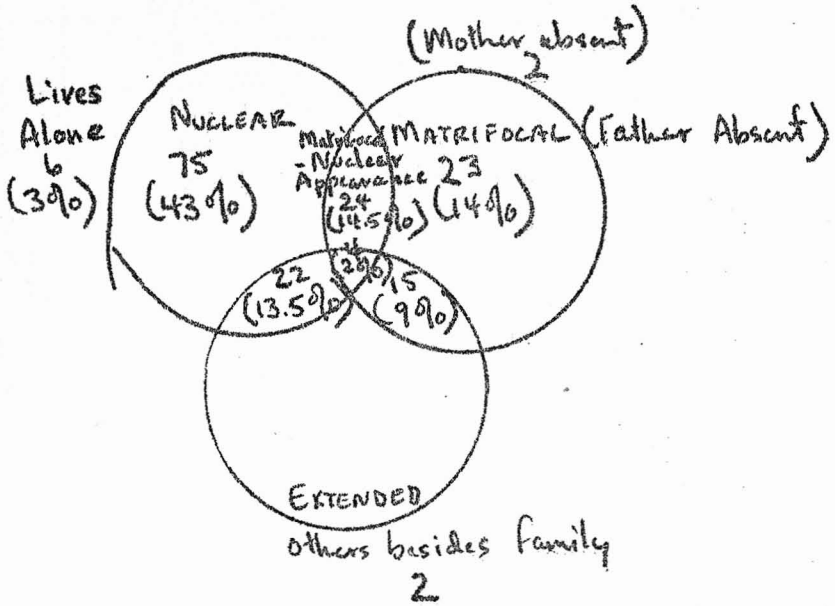
Another factor already mentioned has been the lack of strong ties to the Catholic Church on the part of many of these families. Where there is no fear of sanctions for not receiving the sacrament of marriage, legal or church marrigge becomes unnecessary. Extreme poverty is another reason for not getting married legally. License fees, donations to the church, clothing and fiestas are not within the incomes of those who do not have enough to eat. In addition to these factors is the desire of the women to be independent. The Negresses, especially from the northern Cauca region, express their distaste for marriage as "I don't want to have anything to do with that business." This is probably due to not wanting to be subservient to a husband (as is the Colombian custom), not wanting to have to support him, nor to put up with his "foolishness." The woman takes complete responsibility for her illegitimate children and does not expect the father to support them. She works, begs, or may even prostitute herself, but she cares for them. Her mother may help look after them while she works. The child is not unwelcomed even though he is illegitimate and hardships are great. As Carolina María de Jesús said in Child of the Dark, "A man enters by the door. A child is at the root of the heart."[5]

Family patterns do not always correspond to marital status. Although only 34% of the family heads are presently legally married, 43% are nuclear families. I define nuclear families as stable family units with father present, in which children bear the father's name (whether there is a legal marriage or not) and all children are of the same father. 15% of the unmarried families have these nuclear family characteristics. 14.5% of the families in Cauquita are extended but have a nuclear parent-child type relationship. Often there is a grandparent(s), a cousin(s), or a grandchild living with a nuclear family. These families are all extended nuclear.

14.5% of the families appear nuclear but are actually matrifocal. There is

5 De Jesus. Dutton Co., New York, 1962. Signet Book, p. 49.

no legal marriage, only a free union. The women usually work, maintaining their economic independence. The children either all bear the mother's last name (in which case it is impossible to estimate from the census material the relative stability of the couple) or each child has the last name of his father and all or most of the last names are different indicating a shifting father pattern. Another 14% of the families have no male figure in the home. The children often do not know who their father is. These are the matriarchal, father-absent families composed only of mothers and children. 10% of the families are extended matrifocal families where there is no father present and there are kin aside from parents and children within the home. Often this will be an old matriarch, her unmarried sons and daughters and their illegitimate children, or an old matriarch and her grandchildren. About 5% live in other types of units.

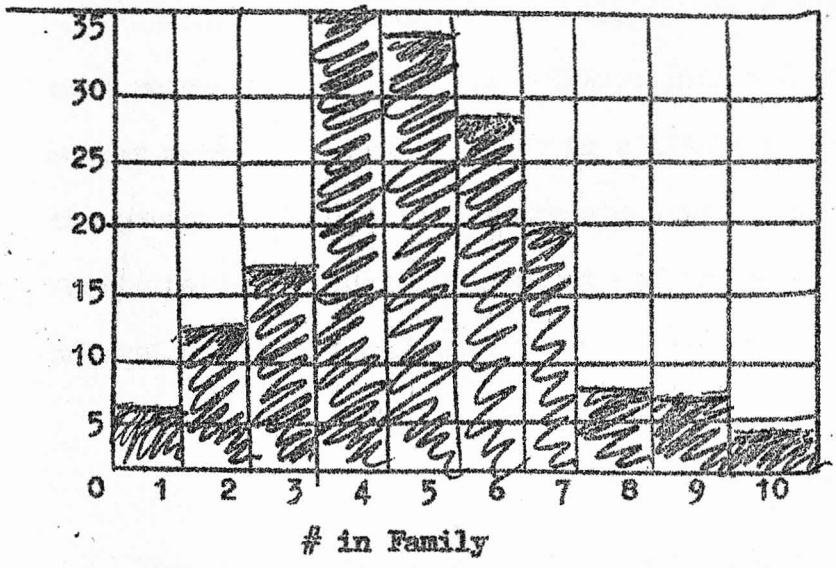


The high proportion of mother-centered homes may not necessarily be a characteristic of the Negro sub-culture, but may perhaps be attributable to poverty also or to migration itself. Patch, in his study Life in a Callejón - a Study of Urban Disorganization, found also that residents in this inner-city

6 Patch, "Life in a Callejón - a Study of Urban Disorganization." Am. Univ. Field Staff Report, west coast S. A. series, vol. VIII, #6, June '61.

slum of Lima, Peru, tended to have matrifocal family patterns. He says that family ties do not break in the urbanization process but shift from parent-child relationships to the blood ties of mother and child. The mother, he finds, gives cohesiveness to the family. (The people he studied are not of Negro origin, but Indian.)

The mean family size in Cauquita is 5.1 people per household unit.* This is smaller than the family size in Puerto Mallarino by about 1 member. Usually families are larger than this number would indicate, but often older children try to escape the poverty looking for work elsewhere or there are other children "back home." The distribution of families according to size looks like this



Children in the Negro family complex are probably less controlled than children of the non-Negro families, but this may be due to the large number of working mothers in the former group who have less time to care for their children. The mothers were affectionate to their children but did not hesitate to cuff them when they were naughty. Babies learn early to sit quietly and stay out of the way. There is little provision made for their protection from the splinters on the shack floors or from falling off the bed and infants soon learn not to move around.

* According to Don Foster's census.

Little children from about 2 on are permitted in the street usually with an older child to look after them and mothers let them play with little or no supervision. Little boys generally are naked or go about simply with shirts on until the age of 5, probably to avoid the expense of laundering soiled clothing. Little girls always have their bottoms covered. Infants generally do not wear diapers but simply are swaddled in a light rag. When the child has to urinate or defecate he is held away from the mother's body to eliminate on the floor or in the street outside. There seems to be no concern with disease from the body wastes. As people become more urbanized however, and perceive themselves upwardly mobile, nakedness is not tolerated, and children wear shoes - both indications of "better breeding."

Children are expected to help in the daily routine and generally accept this responsibility. Often a little girl will take charge of cooking while her mother washes clothes to bring in a little income, or an older boy will care for the younger children if parents are away. The necessity of each member of the family contributing to the welfare of the whole among the very poor seems to be understood by the children.

The Culture of Poverty

The rural-like Culture of Poverty is eveident, then, in the invasion settlement in traditional customs and beliefs, in the diet, in the family patterns and lack of formal marriage ties, in child-rearing, including lack of supervision for children, lack of clothing for little boys, in the large number of agricultural or semi-rural jobs, and in the family as the production unit in which every member must contribute for the survival of the group. Other aspects of this culture include the very limited types of jobs that residents of Cauquita hold, and the large number of workers for the total population. 31% of all the people

in Cauquita are employed. About ½ of the families have two or more workers, but the total income is still very low. This often includes both father and mother or an older child and father.

For men, the jobs are pretty well limited to the rural or semi-rural occupations already mentioned, to ambulant vending, to work in construction, transportation, or factories, or to skilled jobs such as shoemaking or barbering.

The women are usually either maids or washerwomen or work in food selling.

Occupations

Male			Female (includes men, women, children)	
Rural or Semi-Rural	Agriculture	47	Domestics	23
	Sand-digging	29	Washing, Ironging	19
	Bamboo	8	Store	10
Unstable	Street Venders, Cart Pullers, and Messengers	33	Vending and Galleria	5
Urban	Workers	31	Sewing	4
	Construction	26	Comadrona (midwife)	1
	Transportation	6	Bakery	1
Sales	Store, Galleria	5	TOTAL	63
Skilled Workers	Barbers, Shoe-makers, Carpen-ters	16		
Unemployed	Beggery	7		
	TOTAL	208		

Even compared to the lower class barrio of Puerto Mallarino the kinds of jobs the residents of Cauquita hold are certainly more limited, and the proportion of workers in unstable and in rural and semi-rural occupations is much higher (see pp. Economics chapter).

Yet we should find a more urbanized group of people in Cauquita if we look only at the length of time they have been in Cali, for only 13% of the Cauquita

residents have been in Cali less than 5 years while 22% of the residents of Puerto Mallarino are recent migrants. This means that the factor of time in the city is not as significant as is the poverty and background of the migrants. Although residents of Cauquita have been in Cali longer and also have a higher proportion of urban births, they are more "rural" according to occupation.

The houses had a rural semblance. Most were constructed of bamboo plastered over with mud built on heavy bamboo stilts over the sewer. The floors were of rough plank. Usually the shack consisted of one room about 12' X 15', sometimes partitioned into a bedroom area and kitchen-living room by a wall of newspaper tacked to bamboo poles. The house was small and crowded, and the stench from the sewer wafted up between the floor boards. There were no toilet facilities - residents built small platforms over the sewer for that function. None of the shacks had water. Two cement water fountains served the entire community, though people also made use of rain barrels. Washing entailed carrying quantities of water over to the wash tub from the fountain, usually in gallon oil cans. Often two little boys would have this job, carrying the can with a wire handle suspended on a pole between them. A very few shacks had electricity - most relied on candles if they stayed up beyond dark. Each home which had any land behind or in front had gardens, often with banana or plantain trees and chuntaduro palms. Sometimes there were a few chickens, but animals are a luxury which few could afford. In fact, animals are considered status symbols. Life in this aspect certainly was primitive and rural.

The lack of opportunities in occupation has already been discussed, and it was seen that the kinds of jobs open to the Cauquita poor were very limited. Education, too, is or has been very difficult to obtain for the Cauquita residents. (See Education chapter.) Only a handful of children attended the primary school in Puerto Mallarino. Probably less than 30% ever successfully completed first grade.

The one-room shack which served as the school for Cauquita was terribly inadequate. With the new housing project and parochial school for Cauquita residents, the housing and education pictures should improve.

Rural aspects also include a high birth and death rate. One woman told me that of the 17 children she had borne, only 6 survived. Death is a common part of life. One woman told me that two of her children had died in the last 10 days because she had no food for them.

The people of Cauquita have a suspicious attitude toward their neighbors. Most feel that the only people they can count on are immediate family or sometimes other kin or townsmen. This kind of hostility and suspicion of neighbors in the invasion is very much as Carolina de Jesús described in the São Paulo favela.[7] There is a lack of community cohesiveness. In the detailed questionnaire given to 10 of the families, all thought that there was little or no unity among residents of Cauquita. Some of this lack of community cohesion which seems contary to the barriada spirit of cooperating to build schools and get urban facilities may be due to the lack of organization of the settlement in the first place. In Cauquita, each individual family found a suitable patch of land and individually built a shack for his own end. In a bridgehead invasion, organization for the benefit of the whole group as well as the individuals perhaps makes for cohesiveness. They have to stand together to defend their invasion. As far as I know, the Cauquita residents have never been threatened by municipal authorities for their squatting and this, too, may be a reason for lack of cohesiveness. Regarding the question, "do you think families should work together to solve problems or solve them themselves?" the response was in most cases, to solve them individually. The suspicion of neighbors has led to problems in relocating them in the new houses for they sometimes express the desire not to be near this or that neighbor. The social worker has stressed the importance of their cooperating to make a happy

7 Carolina Maria de Jesus, Child of the Dark.

community. It is a paradox that those who have nothing fear the most of losing everything. The fear and suspicion in Cauquita far exceeded that expressed in Puerto Mallarino. But most of those in Puerto Mallarino were somewhat better off.

This may be related to Foster's concept "Image of limited good," which he apples to peasant societies. It seems that peasants believe that if anyone in their community makes any kind of success he is actually robbing the rest of the community, a zero-sum notion of wealth.[8] It may be that the suspicion among Cauquita residents is related to this fear of losing what they have to a neighbor. The context is poverty, however, not peasantry. It may be that poor and peasant alike, due to their very limited alternatives, fear losing the most, for what they have to lose really is a matter of life and death.

Yet residents of Cauquita identify themselves as a group against the outside. They feel, like the favelados Frank Bonilla studied in Rio de Janeiro[9] that nobody outside really cares about them. Universitystudents, labor unions, the President, the City, Acción Comunal, priests, social workers, the rich people, political parties, teachers, government officials, the Alliance for Progress, Caritas (Catholic Charity), and the Peace Corps they view as either helping very little or not at all.

Change

Yet the change for the residents of Cauquita is being brought about from the outside. Whether from real concern, from fear of revolution, or for prestige, the spark for the new houses came through the Angeles del Hogar charity organization, headed by Leonor Uribe de Villegas, an upper class landholder of Cali. Apparently the wife of the American consul saw the decrepit shacks on the filthy sewer and was horrified that people were living like this. She spread the word

8 Foster, George M. "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good" to be pub. from Manuscript, Berkeley, Calif. April 30, 1964, in American Anthropologist.

9 Bonilla, Frank. "Rios Favelos, the Rural Slum Within the City," American University Fild Report, East Coast Latin America, Brazil 8/61

to her lady friends in high circles and they decided to do something about it. Land was purchased from Doña Villegas in close proximity to the invasion, west of the barrio Puerto Mallarino. Financing came from the Angeles del Hogar which called itself Providienda de Cauquita, the Institute of Territorial Credit (I.C.T.) and the Alliance for Progress through the A.I.D. program. The way in which costs were divided up is a bit cloudy. Information seems to conflict, depending on the agency providing the information. For example, in the I.C.T. resume, no mention is made of the Alliance for Progress role, and in Alliance information, it appears the Alliance is just about the only contributor. Nevertheless, from piecing together information[10] the costs look like this:

Under the I.C.T. plan "Erradicación de Tugurios," 218 homes were built, 57 meters square, each with a small lot. The total cost of each of the homes is approximately 16,000 pesos, including 2,000 pesos in interest over a 20 year period (at 5% yearly).

Of the 14,000 pesos actual cost, the proportions are:

Alliance for Progress (Aid) = 4,500 pesos I.C.T. = 4,500 pesos	9,000	minus 25% = 2,500
Patron = Cooperative vivienda de Cauquita	= 5,000 pesos 14,000 total	minus 25% = 1,750 3,500 pesos

The purchases repay only 75% of the loan, the remaining 25% (3,500 pesos) being repaid by the Cauquita Cooperative, the I.C.T., and the Alliance. This means that of the 16,000 cost for the house, the buyer actually pays about 12,500 over 20

[10] Information on Cauquita financing:
1) Interviews with Javier Vallejo, director of I.C.T. for Valle.
2) Information given to the residents of Cauquita by the social worker, Marina Ruiz.
3) "Guide to the Alliance for Progress Tour of Cali," a flier.
4) Instituto de Credito Territorial - Resumen - Cali, July 21, 1965.

years. This amounts to almost $700 U.S. dollars. In the beginning, the plan was to have buyers repay the loan of about 70 pesos monthly (almost 4 dollars) but the residents complained that this was too high. The Alliance paper says they pay 50 pesos monthly. The last time I heard, it was 40 pesos (a little over $2) monthly that people were paying, though they felt this was also high. Most likely, a flexible payment program will have to be worked out so that families in extreme poverty can have some payment relief.

The 218 houses are of cement block, all alike, in rows, with two bedrooms, a kitchen, bathroom, and living room. Water, electricity and sewerage goes to each house, but the monthly expense of the utilities is not included in the rent. Windows and doors to the outside are included. Inside, doorways have been left without doors. The houses are not painted - all detail, including the patio, has been left up to the family. The social worker told me that this not only cuts down the expense, but also encourages a feeling of individualization and identification with the new buildings. She encouraged them to bring bamboo and boards from their old home for fencing in a patio (essential to Colombian life) and encouraged that they work together constructing furniture. She also told them that they must try to be good neighbors and work together, even suggesting a pooling of talents in a common business enterprize. Considering the hostility most neighbors feel toward one another, this part of the preparation for the new homes cannot be overemphasized. The home was to be theirs, she told them, and they could beautify it with plants and pictures, by making furniture, and by planting gardens.

An attempt was made to bring about social change through the new houses. The social worker who had interviewed each family several times, explaining all details for their move, held meetings to explain who would be moving and when. The first group of 16 families moved into the new houses just in time for the inauguration day of the new barrio Padre Sanín (named after a priest who helped

organize the Cooperativa Pro-Vivienda and died a year before the project was realized), on July 31, 1965. This was attended by important functionaries of the I.C.T., the Colombian government, and Alliance as well as by the members of the charity organization. Free cokes and ice cream were an added attraction. A priest from Cali held a high Mass in which many of the children of Cauquita were given their first Holy Communion. The "Angels of the Home" had helped to make Communion robes of old sheets for all the children and gave each child a beautiful medal for a gift. Games were organized in the playground for the children. Open house was held - the 16 families who had moved in the day before entertained streams of visitors who admired their new homes. They seemed very proud of their new houses, especially with so much attention. The old houses of the 16 who had moved were symbolically demolished by a bulldozer. Other families moved over in sections as their homes became ready.

At the meetings, the social worker explained that they were starting out anew. They were going to have a new life and their children would have a healthy environment. They were to live as nuclear families. She told them "You are not to invite every cousin or aunt to come and live with you even though you had a lovely large home. The house is for for you alone - let your relatives solve their own problems - after all, they are strange and might have different customs which might influence your children." There seemed to be quite a bit of objection to this, especially since extended family and mutual aid ail part of the culture.

"The parents," she told them, "are to sleep in one bedroom, and the children in the other, for children wake up sometimes in the night, no?" Everyone laughed and nodded. As far as legalized unions were concerned, no mention was made. However, stability and relative immobility seemed to be a goal in changing their lives, assured by both man and woman signing the lease, so that one cannot kick the other out. They had to present some kind of identification at the signing. The stipulations in the lease are that people cannot sell or move out, or rent

the house to someone else until it is paid for (in 20 years!). After that, they can do with it what they please. Actually, the families can get out of the new houses quite easily if they want to, simply by not making their payments. The social worker told them that if times were especially hard, they should tell the housing agency so that some special arrangement could be made.

The new houses, then, were supposed to bring about new lives for the people through a better environment and more space for the children, through keeping the family stable and immobile,-insured by both parties signing the lease, and through keeping the family pattern nuclear. Understanding the cultural patterns of the inhabitants, we can see what major changes these are.

The Cauquita residents expressed mixed feelings for the new houses. Some resented them - they felt that the new houses were being imposed upon them and were not their idea. Their own wishes were not being considered - some felt they would rather have been granted land alone, and build their own house as they had money. Others objected to having to pay for them - 20 years seemed like a very long time and they looked upon the monthly payment as rent rather than buying. Others felt very happy to be getting a new house, especially the more recent arrivals on Cauquita. The possibility of getting a new house was a major motivation for their moving to the canal.

The paradox is that the poorest of the families who needed this kind of housing project the most, were being bought out by those slightly better off, for rights to the new houses. In other words, the people for which the project was designed are not getting the benefits - those who already have more get them. Government projects probably always run into these difficulties - the benefits never of very rarely filter down to the very lowest on the social ladder.

The success or failure of this kind of housing project imposed from above will depend on the ability of the families to make the social and cultural changes

demanded of them. But for the very poor who may be out of work or have very unstable incomes and can barely feed themselves, any regular monthly payment will be met only with great difficulty. For real social change to occur, an escape must be made from poverty and the hand-to-mouth existence. The social worker had hinted about a job training program and the setting up of some local industries, but as far as I know, nothing has come of this. If men were trained for better and more stable jobs, the other social changes - the stability and immobility would not be so difficult. If barrio industries were established such as those craft industries the Peace Corps has set up with outlets in the United States, perhaps a community spirit and pride would develop, besides providing income.

Perhaps most important is education for the children. Marina Ruíz always stressed the benefits the children would gain in the new houses. Yet the new school set up for them demands a monthly tuition of at least 15 pesos per child (more for higher grades) which will make this school prohibitive for most of the Cauquita children. The school and parochial center, built by the Carvahal paper company (largest in Colombia) is staffed by several American nuns who feel also that the tuition is defeating the purpose. The program was structured in the traditional Colombian way - with lack of emphasis on the earliest grades. In a community where almost no one has had more than a first grade education, only 1 first grade class has been provided, and one class for each successive grade up to the first year of bachillerato. This means again that the children of the very poor will be bypassed - children who can afford it from other communities will get the privilege of going to this school. Unless some better educational program which will reach these very poor children is developed, their possibilities for ever escaping their poverty and making social changes are nil. New homes do not mean new lives unless institutions which can structure and prepare them are also provided.

Conclusion

This paper is a descriptive study, based on participant observation, of a lower class urban community in a rapidly expanding Latin American city. An attempt has been made to draw upon the hypotheses tested in other urban centers in Latin America, in the hopes of bringing the particular community of Puerto Mallarino into the perspective of urban growth elsewhere. In this way it was hoped that the problems of both the overgeneralization and lack of generalization that characterizes many Latin American social studies, would be met.

Rather than review the hypotheses and descriptions developed in the paper, I would like to conclude by raising some broad questions suggested by the data I have presented. In the light of, for example, the deploringly inadequate educational facilities, the suspicion of the health center, the lack of real self-help on the part of the barrio junta, and all the other concomitants of the culture of poverty that dominates the barrio, it seems to me that the most significant question is that of the direction of change. What does the future hold for these impoverished people in a world of advancing industrial technology, expanding metropolises, and conflicting political ideologies? How will change be effected: from the outside or inside, violently or peacefully?

The case of Cauquita may be enlightening. Here charity group and government have combined to come to the aid of slum dwellers. How effective this aid will be remains to be seen. Already burdened by low income and unemployment, it seems to me likely that the people, with the twenty-year housing purchase agreement to face, will only increase that burden. Many will

probably be forced to abandon the "new lives", in the form of new houses, offered to them by those directing them, and the problem of poverty will not be solved. The alternative of revolution open to these people, while not necessarily accessible or even desired by them, is not however, to be discounted. It does remain evident to me however, that peaceful constructive change will not occur, whether from the top or bottom, unless new channels of economic and educational opportunity become available to the impoverished masses, and they, on their part, develop the incentive to help themselves.

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