

Characterization of the peasant economy in two small villages of Cundinamarca (Colombia): Case studies

Caracterización de la economía campesina en dos veredas de Cundinamarca (Colombia): estudios de caso

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ABSTRACT

The peasantry is an important social conglomerate in Colombia due to its large participation in the production and supply of food for the cities. Its permanence and transformation are strongly linked to the influence of the economic and social development of its environment. This study aimed to analyze the economic characteristics of the peasants of the Roble Hueco and Rincón Santo villages in the municipalities of Bojacá and Zipacón, both located near the city of Bogotá in the department of Cundinamarca. The source of empirical information was 16 peasant families from both villages. The sampling was non-probabilistic and based on convenience. Information was collected through surveys, interviews (5), and observation. The results show that the participation of agricultural and agro industrial activities in the generation of family income was less than 50%. This also means that self-consumption had a lower percentage in monetary value. The small size (2.5-3.0 ha) of the productive units and families (2.25-2.75 persons) contributed significantly to this result. In the Rincón Santo Village (Zipacón), there was a higher income, but also a higher expenditure. In both villages, the peasant units generated a small surplus of monetary reserves.

Key words: family income, self-consumption, profitability, economic organization, state support.

RESUMEN

El campesinado es un conglomerado social importante en Colombia por su gran participación en la producción y abastecimiento de alimentos a las ciudades. Su permanencia y transformación están fuertemente ligadas a la influencia del desarrollo económico y social de su entorno. Este trabajo se propone analizar las características económicas de los campesinos de las veredas Roble Hueco del municipio Bojacá y Rincón Santo del municipio Zipacón, ambas ubicadas cerca de la ciudad de Bogotá, en el departamento de Cundinamarca. Las fuentes de información empírica fueron 16 familias campesinas de ambas veredas. El muestreo fue no probabilístico y por conveniencia. La recolección de información se realizó a través de encuestas, entrevistas (5) y observación. Los resultados muestran que la participación de las actividades agropecuarias y agroindustriales en la generación de ingresos de la familia fue menor al 50%. Eso determina también que el autoconsumo tenga un menor porcentaje en valor monetario. El tamaño pequeño (2.5-3.0 ha) de las unidades productivas y de las familias (2.25-2.75 personas) contribuyeron significativamente a este resultado. En la vereda Rincón Santo (Zipacón) se vio un mayor ingreso, pero también un mayor gasto. En ambas veredas las unidades campesinas generaron un pequeño excedente de reserva monetaria.

Palabras clave: renta familiar, autoconsumo, rentabilidad, organización económica, ayuda estatal.

Introduction

The concept of a peasant

Throughout history, the concept of a peasant has evolved and has been interpreted in different ways. During the Middle Ages in Europe, the word “paysan” had negative connotations, signaling the submission of the rural population to feudal lords (Edelman, 2022). However, over time, this notion changed. Chayanov (1966) defined it as an autonomous way of life, based on subsistence and non-market exchange. Marxist-Leninist ideology considered

it an intermediate state between the proletariat and the rural petty bourgeoisie (Heynig, 1982; Hernández, 1994). With the arrival of the 20th century, peasants became a source of labor, losing their autonomy. Today, they are defined as agricultural and livestock family units with complex social relations, marked by inequalities in political, cultural and economic power with respect to the rest of society (Sevilla-Guzmán & Pérez Yruela, 1976).

With the changes that have occurred in the rural areas of Latin American countries, the concept of peasant has

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acquired special political and social force. The rural peasant population is seen as a survivor of the colonial era and the origin of the resistance for the autonomy and freedom of each country. Currently, based on some definitions of classic and modern authors (Blanco-Ibarra & Shanin, 1979; González & Fernández, 1992; Hernández, 1994; Saade, 2020; Edelman, 2022), the peasant is defined here as “a politically active intercultural subject, with complex community relations and love for the land and the activities generated there. Peasant dynamics are complementary and parallel to the current capitalist model, as suppliers of a large percentage of food and raw materials in the commerce of large cities at the local and global level (thanks to globalization and international markets). Nevertheless, farmers maintain economic dynamics of non-accumulation of capital represented in self-consumption activities, sustainable use of resources and the use of unpaid family and community labor. Peasant logics are not rigid nor do they follow a law or rule, they are complex and heterogeneous depending on the context in which they live, their relationship with the territory, with society and with the local community, thanks to this they have a deep-rooted sense of territoriality that surpasses any legality in the tenure of their land”.

The peasants in Colombia

The Colombian peasantry's historical evolution has been influenced by various social forces (Saade, 2020). Its origins trace back to pre-Columbian times, notably with the *Muisca* communities, who excelled in diversified agricultural and livestock practices, utilizing multi-layered polycultures for efficient, agroecological production (Villate, 1998; Sierra, 2019). However, the arrival of the Europeans led to a shift from these practices to monoculture systems, disrupting indigenous production (Chonchol, 1994). Feudal slave systems then emerged, utilizing indigenous, afro, and mestizo labor (Beltrán, 2006). Concurrently, a group of Creoles and mestizos gained control over their means of production, forming the foundation of today's Colombian peasants. During the 16th to 18th centuries, productive latifundia with full control of production means prevailed as the dominant production model (Bejarano, 1983; Chonchol, 1994).

Regrettably, the 19th century lacks substantial records detailing the evolution of Colombia's peasantry, with limited information beyond key rural events such as the migration of rural dwellers to cities, territorial expansion, and the establishment of new rural settlements (Fajardo, 1981). In the 20th century, the economic crisis of 1929 triggered a significant reverse migration from urban to rural areas,

fostering small-scale self-sufficient agricultural practices and shaping modern rural-urban relationships. Conversely, social violence, initially linked to Two-Party System (1920-1960) and later illegal armed groups (1950-present), prompted rural-urban migration (Suárez Sánchez, 2015). Today, post-peace-process initiatives focus on rural support, infrastructure, education, and extension, aiming to recognize the long-neglected peasantry's vital role in Colombian society (Cruz Rodríguez, 2019).

Economic features of the peasantry

The peasant economy operates distinctively, centered on multidimensional family units, emphasizing pluriactivity and maximizing family labor for resilience. Farmers aim for self-sufficiency by generating internal resources, showcasing innovation. This economy is characterized by diverse production systems and self-consumption of food, addressing economic needs and food sovereignty. Peasants also excel in organizational and associative capabilities, fostering unity and cohesion through various economic processes such as bartering, labor exchange, and community support (Santacoloma-Varón, 2015; Trujillo Ospina, 2021).

Object of the research

Although there are common features that characterize the peasantry in Colombia, diverse territorial dynamics create certain heterogeneity in this population group. In addition, the last two decades have witnessed economic changes (greater needs, greater monetization of activities, greater market pressure, etc.) and social changes that also affect farmers. In this sense, considering the difference by regions and the changes experienced in the last decades, the purpose of this research is to analyze the specific economic characteristics of the peasants of the Roble Hueco village in the municipality of Bojacá and the Rincón Santo village in the municipality of Zipacón, both located in the department of Cundinamarca. The places of study are located 48 km (Roble Hueco) and 45 km (Rincón Santo) from the center of the city of Bogotá, i.e., relatively close to the largest urban center in Colombia. This, of course, has a marked influence on the specific characteristics of the peasantry, which is worth considering.

Materials and methods

Location of the study

The study was carried out in two villages in the department of Cundinamarca, Roble Hueco (municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (municipality of Zipacón) (Figure 1 and 2). The following criteria were considered for the selection of the municipalities and hamlets: proximity to Bogotá,

influence of Bogotá's urban area, empirical knowledge of the main researcher about the territories under study, significant presence of peasants among the population of the

hamlets, and the existence of an agricultural and livestock productive structure.

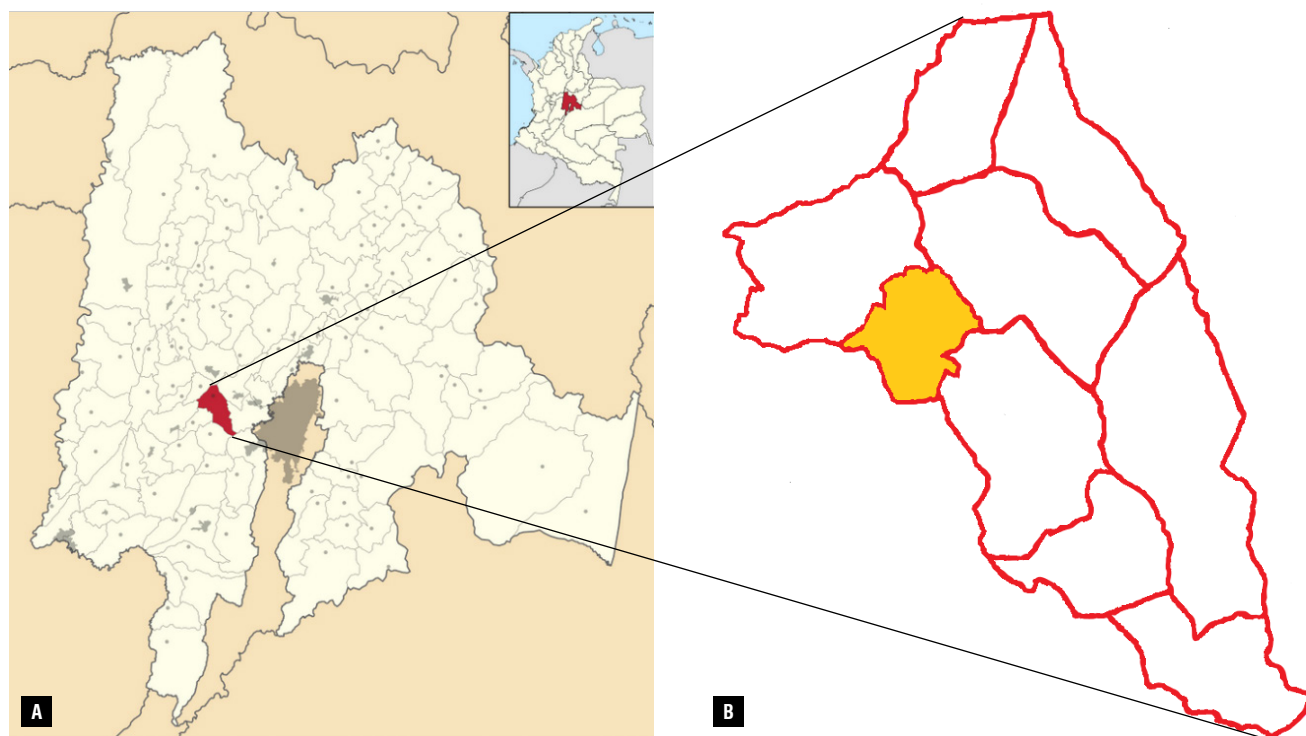


FIGURE 1. Department of Cundinamarca (red) (A), location of Roble Huevo (orange) in the municipality of Bojacá (red) (B). Source: Wikipedia, 2024; own elaboration.

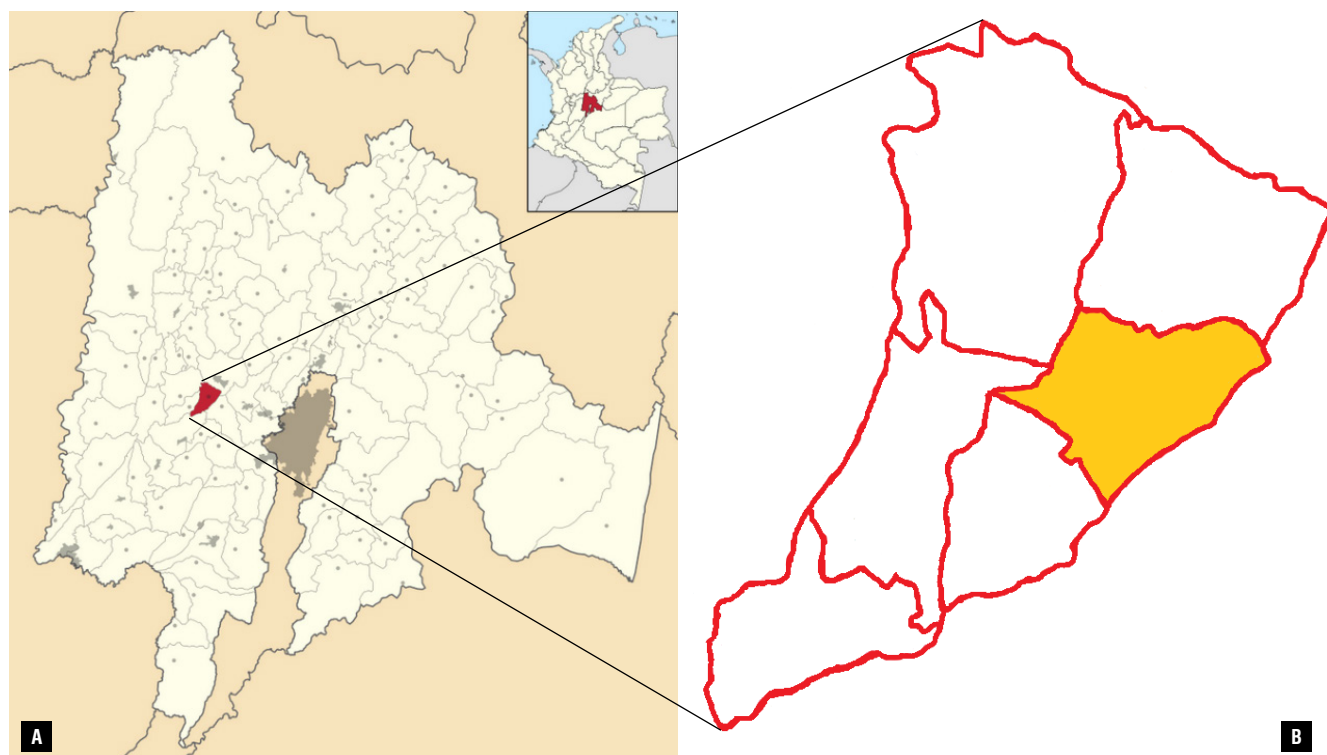


FIGURE 2. Department of Cundinamarca (red) (A) and location of Rincón Santo (orange) in the municipality of Zipacón (red) (B). Source: Wikipedia, 2024; own elaboration, respectively.

The general characteristics of the territories under study are presented in Table 1.

Type of research

This is a non-experimental research of a descriptive-interpretative nature (Benavides, 2014) based on case studies that describe the territorial phenomenon of two peasant groups, based mainly on empirical information provided by farming families and experts (Secretaries of economic development of the mayor's office, Extensionists, Director of the extension office) in the territories under study.

Information required: sources and methods

The information required was divided into three components (Tab. 2). The first component refers to the productive agricultural economy (Schejtman, 1980); the second component refers to the income and expenditures of

the farming family (Aristizábal-Arias & Duque-Orrego, 2008); and the third component is related to the support that farmers receive from state and private organizations (Aristizábal-Arias & Duque-Orrego, 2008).

Most of the required information was collected through a survey and a semi-structured interview (Tab. 3).

The sample taken for the surveys and interviews was of convenience (not random). The criteria considered were: the recommendation of the rural leaders, peasant self-identification and the willingness of the farming families to participate. Additionally, the number of cases is based on the methodology proposed by Eisenhardt (1989), who indicated that the number of cases is terminated at the discretion of the researcher until the theoretical saturation of the sample is achieved (Martínez Carazo, 2007). Since these

TABLE 1. General characteristics of the villages under study.

Variables	Roble Hueco village (Bojacá)	Rincón Santo village (Zipacón)
Location	Southeast of the municipality 4°41'36.48" N, 74°22'25.61" W	Northeast of the municipality 4°45'37.08" N, 74°22'47.57" W
Average altitude	2200 m a.s.l.	2450 m a.s.l.
Weather	Moderate cold with high relative humidity	Cold
Predominant agricultural production systems	Fruit crops, ornamental crops and transient crops. Poultry systems and livestock systems	Transient crops and fruit crops, livestock systems
Population	173 people*	332 people*
Distance from the municipality to the center of Bogotá	48 km	45 km

* Information collected through the municipal Land Use Planning Scheme and economic development secretaries of the municipalities.

TABLE 2. Information required for the research.

Component	Variables	Measurement	Information source	Collection method/ analysis
Family economy	Economic activities	Type and amount of economic activities	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Family incomes	Sales value of products and services, and other incomes	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Family expenditures	Family expenditure value	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Self-consumption	Sales value of products and services for self-consumption	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Economic balance	Incomes minus expenditures	Indirect	Economic balance analysis
Agricultural and livestock economy	Agricultural and livestock production	Products and amount	Peasant families	Survey and family unit records
	Production costs	Costs of production factors	Peasant families	Survey and family unit records
	Commercialization	Distribution channels	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Sale income of agricultural and livestock production	Sales amount and prices	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	Profitability	Profits versus costs	Indirect	Through effectiveness cost formula
Organizational economy	Organizational economy	Presence and operation of peasant organizations	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview
	State support	State aid in the peasant economy	Peasant families	Semi-structured interview

Note: - A period of one year is considered for the calculations.

TABLE 3. Number of surveys and interviews.

Variables	Roble Hueco village (Bojacá)		Rincón Santo village (Zipacón)	
	Amount	Information source	Amount	Information source
Surveys	8	Peasant	8	Peasant
Interviews	8	Peasant	8	Peasant
	1	Secretary of economic development of the Mayor's office	1	Secretary of economic development of the Mayor's office
	1	Extension	1	Extension
			1	Director of extension office

are case studies, the results are approximations, and generalizations to the municipality or department are limited.

The surveys consisted of 3 topics and 8 closed questions, while the interviews consisted of 3 topics, 10 closed questions and 8 open questions. The surveys and interviews were conducted between July 15 and August 15, 2022. The survey and interview were applied to each selected person according to previous considerations. The average duration of a survey was 0.5 h and of an interview 1.5 h.

The information obtained through surveys and interviews was analyzed in an Excel matrix. The interpretation of the results was based on literature and analysis of the researcher on the topic of peasant economy. Costs, revenues and profitability were based on monetary values. The non-monetary costs of the farm family's own labor and the value of their own land were not considered.

Results and discussion

General characteristics of the peasant economic units

The survey determined that the average size of the family units is 2.5 ha for Roble Hueco and 3.07 ha for Rincón Santo. This reinforces the smallholding character of the peasant production. Limited areas forces them to be efficient in the use of the soil through polycultures and diversity of cultivated species, following agroecology principles that remain in the peasant productive tradition (Altieri & Toledo, 2010). In 100% of the interviews, agricultural production emerged as the main economic activity. Systems associated with transitory crops, fruit and ornamental crops (foliage crops) are representative. The latter has become relevant in the study areas and is an alternative of economic viability for the peasantry. However, this shift generates risks in food sovereignty as it replaces traditional crops such as blackberry, potato and peas — sources for the food sovereignty of the region. This productive change responds to market

dynamics, especially the demand for agricultural products related to the flower agroindustry in the region.

The peasant families in the areas under study, contrary to the typical logic of peasant reproduction and fertility, are small families, composed of an average of 2.75 members for Roble Hueco and 2.25 members for Rincón Santo. This situation is explained by the migration of the young rural population in the two territories to seek work outside the family unit (Kessler, 2006).

Peasant family economy

Economic activities

Peasant family economy centers on primary agricultural production, with little to no value addition. Nevertheless, family economic analysis reveals that many households, especially with young members, rely on formal employment in established companies. Intensive agricultural systems are utilized by 87.5% of those surveyed, focusing on small-scale partnerships, primarily in fruit, transitory, and ornamental production. Livestock production systems, on the other hand, are present in only 37.5% of the peasant population due to limited property sizes, which hinder the implementation of intensive poultry and cattle production for self-consumption. Additionally, the absence of product transformation leaves farmers vulnerable to fluctuating market prices, occasionally resulting in monetary losses during sales (Tab. 4).

Family income

From the results presented in table 5, it can be deduced that the monthly family income for Roble Hueco is \$1,357,625 Colombian peso (COP), and for Rincón Santo is \$2,058,333.3 COP. Both are within the range of 1 SMMLV and 2 SMMLV (current legal minimum monthly salary). An analysis of each economic activity shows that “other economic activities” represent the highest percentage of total income. This situation is explained by the salaries or pensions that some peasant inhabitants receive which

TABLE 4. Economic activities of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Villages	Economic activities (n=8)						
	Agricultural production	Livestock production	Transformation of agricultural production	Trade	Wages service	Transport	Others
Roble Hueco	6	5	1	0	2	2	3
	75%	63%	13%	0%	25%	25%	38%
Rincón Santo	8	2	0	0	4	8	4
	100%	25%	0%	0%	50%	100%	50%

sustain the family economy. It can also be observed that activities related to “commerce” such as the transformation of agricultural products do not represent significant income in the peasant economy of the territories under study. Agricultural production is the main economic activity in the family economy; however, due to price and market fluctuations, annual income levels from this activity are lower than wage-related activities (generally contributed by the younger members). It is important to note that the economic development of the urban zone, close to the places studied, has expanded the sources of income of the peasant families, thus, reducing the importance of agriculture as a source of income.

TABLE 5. Average annual income in Colombian peso (\$COP) of farming families in Roble Hueco (municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (municipality of Zipacón).

Economic activities	Roble Hueco village (Municipality of Bojacá)	Rincón Santo village (Municipality of Zipacón)
Agricultural production	\$3,417,500.00	\$8,850,000.00
Livestock production	\$3,291,500.00	\$250,000.00
Transformation of agricultural production	\$325,000.00	
Trade		
Wages services	\$2,071,428.57	\$2,012,500.00
Transport	\$1,500,000.00	\$1,587,500.00
Others	\$5,945,000.00	\$12,000,000.00
Total	\$16,291,500.00	\$24,700,000.00

Family expenditures

In the family agricultural unit, food expenditures dominate, accounting for 48% of total expenditures in Roble Hueco and 37% in Rincón Santo, posing a food sovereignty risk, especially in Rincón Santo, where peasant food depends on transactions (Tab. 6). This situation relates to the new interactions between the territory and the urban areas, which reduces self-consumption production and grows commercial production. Entertainment/Leisure and Transportation expenses hold significance due to rising transportation costs and the importance of socializing for

peasants. Interestingly, health and education expenses are low, as subsidized services are preferred, with occasional expenses for unforeseen situations. The surplus from higher income doesn't always suffice, as it's often directed towards covering production costs and investment in productive systems. This, as reported by the community, highlights the economic challenges faced by peasant families.

TABLE 6. Average annual expenses in Colombian peso (COP) of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Expenditures	Roble Hueco village (Municipality of Bojacá)	Rincón Santo village (Municipality of Zipacón)
Food	\$4,860,000.00	\$5,400,000.00
Housing	\$754,500.00	\$1,988,571.43
Clothes	\$780,000.00	\$697,500.00
Transport	\$1,110,000.00	\$2,227,500.00
Communications	\$463,500.00	\$847,500.00
Education	\$170,000.00	\$1,080,000.00
Health	\$385,714.29	\$210,000.00
Entertainment and leisure	\$1,425,000.00	\$2,130,000.00
Total	\$9,948,714.29	\$14,581,071.43

Self-consumption of agricultural products

Self-consumption is a vital aspect of peasant life, ensuring food sovereignty in rural communities. In Roble Hueco, self-consumption accounts for 33% of agricultural production and 22% of livestock products, particularly poultry (eggs and chicken meat) and dual-purpose livestock milk. In contrast, in Rincón Santo, self-consumption accounts for 2.2% of agricultural production and 83% of livestock products. This lower self-consumption of agricultural production is due to monoculture systems that fail to diversify food offerings and concerns about toxic chemical inputs. In Rincón Santo, Livestock production primarily serves self-consumption, with minimal surplus sold through short distribution channels, unlike Roble Hueco's more commercial approach (Tab. 7). Some of the studied families have agroecological gardens for self-consumption, especially in

TABLE 7. Annual self-consumption versus annual sale of agricultural products in Colombian Peso (COP) of the rural families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Economic activities	Roble Hueco (Municipality Bojacá)			Rincón Santo (Municipality Zipacón)		
	Self-consumption*	Sale	Total	Self-consumption	Sale	Total
Agriculture production	\$1,153,000	\$3,417,500	\$4,570,500	\$200,000	\$8,850,000	\$9,050,000
Livestock production	\$750,000	\$3,291,500	\$4,041,500	\$1,220,000	\$250,000	\$1,470,000
Transformation of agricultural and livestock production		\$325,000				
Total	\$1,903,000	\$6,709,000	\$8,612,000	\$1,420,000	\$9,100,000	\$10,520,000

* Estimated values based on local market prices.

Roble Hueco. The agroecological production system has not been taken to a commercial scale, because the local market does not pay a premium for these products.

Economic balance (monetary)

The economic analysis of family farming units is based on average monetary costs and income, generating positive results (Tab. 8). However, two crucial aspects must be considered. First, the fluctuation of market prices for agricultural inputs and food affects the value of the balance sheet, as these prices are sensitive to factors such as inflation, supply and demand of agricultural products, and local constraints such as transportation in rural areas. Second, farmers underestimate the value of family labor and internal production resources, making a standardized analysis difficult. Available balances after expenses do not allow for significant savings, limiting the capacity to undertake new projects with external financial support, such as bank loans. Additionally, the balance result indicates the savings capacity of the peasant in this territory. The values presented in Table 8 reflect a low savings capacity that hinders the scalability of productive projects and an increase in crop area for the two study cases. This situation is prevalent in other rural territories, where production costs are high, especially in areas far from urban capitals, where inputs are more expensive due to transportation costs.

TABLE 8. Average annual (monetary) economic balance in Colombian Peso (COP) of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Expenditures	Roble Hueco (Municipality Bojacá)	Rincón Santo (Municipality Zipacón)
Household incomes	\$16,291,500.00	\$24,700,000.00
Household expenses	\$9,948,714.29	\$14,581,071.43
Average monetary costs of agricultural and livestock production	\$3,675,000	\$7,103,000
Balance	\$2,667,785.71	\$3,015,928.57

Agricultural productive economy

Agricultural and livestock production and processed products

Table 9 shows the amount of production represented in terms of sales levels in each of the villages under study according to their production system. The values obtained in Table 9 correspond to the commercial production (without considering the values of self-consumption) under the price perceived by the farmers at the time of the interview. Fruit and transitory crops have a higher percentage in the production measured from the family income, while the highest participation in the production of both villages is bovine production.

Production costs

Table 10 shows the production costs grouped by type of items. Labor, Fertilizers, and Pesticides have the highest percentage weight in the cost structure due to the lack of labor supply in the territories under study caused by youth migration and the gradual depopulation of the villages. Regarding fertilizers and fungicides, it was identified that the territories implement technical assistance systems of a commercial nature, which causes the peasantry to depend on technological packages of high monetary value, translating into purchases of highly effective yet costly chemical fertilizers and phytoprotection inputs. Items related to the cost of land and services connected to the productive activity do not have a weight in the production cost structure, since the land used by the peasantry is their own or family-owned, incurring no monetary expense in the implementation of productive systems. Regarding services such as technical assistance and vaccination, the community chooses to use the state institutional offer linked to local mayor's offices.

Marketing

Marketing and availability for consumption are crucial in food production. The two studied villages presented two types of distribution channels, which vary depending on

TABLE 9. Sum annual agricultural production in Colombian Peso (COP) of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Products	Economic peasant unities								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Roble Hueco (Bojacá)									
Blackberry	\$4,800,000	\$1,440,000					\$10,000,000		\$16,240,000
Passion fruit	\$4,000,000								\$4,000,000
Foliage									
Pea	\$1,500,000						\$4,700,000		\$6,200,000
Livestock production			\$2,764,000	\$1,800,000	\$400,000	\$7,100,000		\$7,000,000	\$19,064,000
Poultry production	\$200,000		\$300,000	\$168,000					\$668,000
Pig production							\$6,000,000		\$6,000,000
Honey production	\$600,000								\$600,000
Transformation		\$2,600,000							\$2,600,000
Total	\$11,100,000	\$4,040,000	\$3,064,000	\$1,968,000	\$400,000	\$7,100,000	\$20,700,000	\$7,000,000	\$55,372,000
Rincón Santo (Zipacón)									
Blackberry							\$7,000,000		\$7,000,000
Tomato		\$2,000,000	\$2,000,000						\$4,000,000
Tree tomato							\$1,000,000		\$1,000,000
Aromatics							\$500,000		\$500,000
“Brillantina” (Pittosporum Shiny)							\$1,500,000	\$7,000,000	\$8,500,000
Yellow potato	\$800,000	\$5,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$12,000,000					\$20,800,000
Carrot					\$4,400,000				\$4,400,000
Coriander				\$5,000,000	\$3,600,000				\$8,600,000
Pumpkin				\$5,000,000	\$8,000,000	\$7,000,000			\$20,000,000
Livestock production			\$1,000,000			\$500,000	\$500,000		\$2,000,000
Total	\$800,000	\$7,000,000	\$6,000,000	\$22,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$7,500,000	\$3,500,000	\$7,000,000	\$69,800,000

the product marketed and the organization of institutional events that facilitate the exhibition of harvested food.

Long distribution channels

These distribution channels are the most common in the villages and represent the easiest form of marketing for products such as foliage, dairy products, and fruits. This type of marketing relies on intermediaries who sell directly to consumers or to collection and distribution centers such as “Fruvers” or marketplaces. The selection of this type of distribution channel represents an advantage in sales, as farmers negotiate 100% of their harvest; however, this channel does not offer the best prices, directly affecting the profitability of the production system.

Short distribution channels

These distribution channels are linked to events such as farmer markets or fairs organized by the municipal

governments; some of those surveyed also choose to set up sales stands in the urban centers, taking advantage of the influx of tourists to sell directly to consumers. In Roble Hueco, another option is internal marketing to external agents such as visitors or inhabitants of the village, which eliminates logistics and transportation costs. This type of channel offers better purchase prices, but typically results in lower sales volumes since it is limited to specific periods, such as weekends.

Profitability

A general analysis of the profitability of the peasant production systems in the territories under study showed that they had positive profitability indexes, with an average profitability of 88% for Roble Hueco and 23% for Rincón Santo. It is worth noting that the costs used in the analysis are monetary costs, which indicates that, in the Roble Hueco area, profitability is due to the use of family and community

TABLE 10. Sum of annual agricultural production costs in Colombian Peso (COP) of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Type	Economic peasant unities								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Roble Hueco (Bojacá)									
Land									
Labor	\$2,500,000	\$250,000					\$3,500,000		\$6,250,000
Seeds	\$400,000						\$700,000	\$200,000	\$1,300,000
Fertilizers	\$1,500,000	\$600,000					\$3,000,000		\$5,100,000
Pesticides	\$800,000						\$1,500,000	\$100,000	\$2,400,000
Tools and equipment	\$200,000	\$200,000	\$100,000	\$200,000			\$1,000,000		\$1,700,000
Infrastructure maintenance	\$700,000		\$300,000	\$400,000		\$1,000,000		\$1,000,000	\$3,400,000
Food and supplies	\$400,000	\$1,000,000	\$700,000	\$850,000		\$1,700,000		\$2,400,000	\$7,050,000
Maintenance of fields and corrals		\$500,000		\$100,000	\$100,000	\$500,000		\$500,000	\$1,700,000
Services						\$100,000	\$150,000	\$-	\$250,000
Others								\$250,000	\$250,000
Total	\$6,500,000	\$2,550,000	\$1,100,000	\$1,550,000	\$100,000	\$3,300,000	\$9,850,000	\$4,450,000	\$29,940,000
Roble Hueco (Zipacón)									
Land		\$800,000	\$800,000	\$2,000,000	\$1,400,000	\$650,000			\$5,650,000
Labor	\$100,000	\$1,000,000	\$500,000	\$3,000,000	\$2,700,000	\$1,200,000	\$700,000	\$2,000,000	\$11,200,000
Seeds	\$20,000	\$70,000	\$70,000	\$1,000,000	\$800,000	\$100,000	\$1,000,000	\$600,000	\$3,660,000
Fertilizers	\$130,000	\$800,000	\$800,000	\$6,000,000	\$6,000,000	\$2,500,000	\$2,500,000	\$1,500,000	\$20,230,000
Pesticides	\$200,000	\$1,500,000		\$1,200,000	\$2,000,000	\$1,150,000	\$1,000,000	\$800,000	\$7,850,000
Tools and equipment	\$100,000	\$200,000	\$300,000	\$1,500,000	\$900,000	\$600,000	\$750,000	\$250,000	\$4,600,000
Infrastructure maintenance							\$700,000		\$700,000
Food and supplies			\$750,000	\$300,000			\$300,000		\$1,350,000
Maintenance of fields and corrals			\$220,000				\$200,000		\$420,000
Services						\$250,000	\$120,000		\$370,000
Others						\$800,000			\$800,000
Total	\$550,000	\$4,370,000	\$3,440,000	\$15,000,000	\$13,800,000	\$7,250,000	\$7,270,000	\$5,150,000	\$56,830,000

labor that is not paid transactionally, savings in inputs using resources internal to the production unit and the small scale of the production systems. Rincón Santo, unlike the municipality of Bojacá, is transitioning towards commercial agriculture with larger areas, monocultures and distribution channels focused on monetary gain, which is why the production costs are proportionally higher (Tab. 11). In the case of farm number 7 in the municipality of Zipacón, there is a negative profitability indicator, showing that production costs exceed profits by 52%. A specific analysis showed that the strategy of the owner of the farm is to invest in livestock infrastructure and to diversify production in such a way as to ensure food for his family, by investing in agricultural and livestock activities with capital from ancillary labor and transportation activities.

Organizational economics

Economic organization

Organization at the social and economic level is one of the keys to the resilience of peasants in the territories, since through collective groups, peasants can gain market power, access programs and projects and achieve greater visibility not only to government agencies but also to private financing. However, despite the importance of this activity, 100% of those interviewed stated that they are not part of any association or cooperative, commenting that efforts have been made by some local actors without success due to the lack of cohesion and cooperation within the community.

TABLE 11. Annual profits and costs for agricultural production in Colombian Peso (COP) of the peasant families of Roble Hueco (Municipality of Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Municipality of Zipacón).

Type	Economic peasant units								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Roble Hueco (Bojacá)									
Costs	\$6,500,000	\$2,550,000	\$1,100,000	\$1,550,000	\$100,000	\$3,300,000	\$9,850,000	\$4,450,000	\$29,400,000
Incomes	\$11,100,000	\$4,040,000	\$3,064,000	\$1,968,000	\$400,000	\$7,100,000	\$20,700,000	\$7,000,000	\$55,372,000
Profits	\$4,600,000	\$1,490,000	\$1,964,000	\$418,000	\$300,000	\$3,800,000	\$10,850,000	\$2,550,000	\$25,972,000
Profitability	71%	58%	179%	27%	300%	115%	110%	57%	88%
Roble Hueco (Zipacón)									
Costs	\$550,000	\$4,370,000	\$3,440,000	\$15,000,000	\$13,800,000	\$7,250,000	\$7,270,000	\$5,150,000	\$56,830,000
Incomes	\$800,000	\$7,000,000	\$6,000,000	\$22,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$7,500,000	\$3,500,000	\$7,000,000	\$69,800,000
Profits	\$250,000	\$2,630,000	\$2,560,000	\$7,000,000	\$2,200,000	\$250,000	-\$3,770,000	\$1,850,000	\$12,970,000
Profitability	45%	60%	74%	47%	16%	3%	-52%	36%	23%

State support

State support for the communities under study is limited to assistance programs for the delivery of inputs to support productive systems. In Roble Hueco, subsidies are related to the advanced age of the population or pension support as well as some productive initiatives such as the delivery of animals or beehives for beekeeping. In Rincón Santo, the presence of the state has been limited, with only the delivery of plant material to support fruit production systems, ignoring the real needs of the rural population, especially the peasantry.

Conclusions

The study shows that both villages have similarities (land and labor) and differences (income and expenses). The changes in the past and present profile of the farmer include pluriactivity, diversification of income sources, reduction of self-consumption, and monetization of production. These points are detailed below.

The farming families of Roble Hueco (Bojacá) and Rincón Santo (Zipacón) have small production units (2.5-3.0 ha) and limited human resources (2.25-2.75 people per farm) for agricultural and Agroindustrial activities. These activities are a source of income for farming families in both villages; however, they are no longer the main source of income. Proximity to the city has allowed families to diversify their economic activities. The self-consumption generated by agricultural production and processed agricultural products has little monetary value. The peasant units in Rincón Santo generate more income, but also incur more expenses; they have higher profitability in their economic activities than those in Roble Hueco. In both villages, a

monetary surplus is generated per peasant unit. The State supports them with some subsidized materials and inputs, more so in Roble Hueco than in Rincón Santo. Finally, both villages show a low level of community organization, which does not favor their economic development.

Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this article.

Author's contributions

DALM provided the new information, systematized the information, and collaborated in the writing; JCBF structured the article, collaborated in the writing, and translated the document. Both authors reviewed the final version of the manuscript.

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