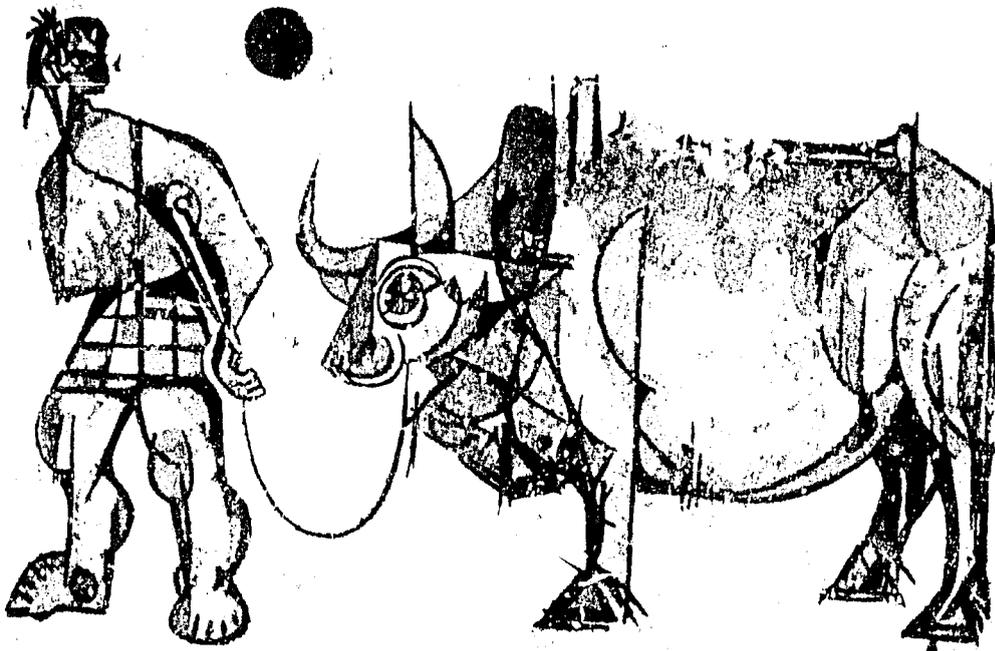


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RURAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE



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LOCAL-REGIONAL-GOVERNMENTAL INTERACTIONS,
AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:**

A Strategy for Baseline Studies

Davydd J. Greenwood

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COMMUNITY-LEVEL RESEARCH, LOCAL-REGIONAL-GOVERNMENTAL
INTERACTIONS, AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

A Strategy for Baseline Studies

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Paper

While continual review and reassessment of goals and administration are fundamental characteristics of academic fields and of international agencies, the current direction of change in both areas holds out renewed possibilities for mutually rewarding collaboration, specifically in the area of local-level research and the planning and implementation of participatory rural development programs.

The basic viewpoint expressed in this paper is as follows: Recent improvements in peasant studies, both methodological and theoretical, offer some useful, if partial, solutions to dilemmas faced by international development agencies. In order to improve their ability to identify significant development problems in the pre-project phase, they need to utilize certain methodologies recently developed in academic social science for linking local-level studies to broader regional and national structures. At the same time, effective use of local-level studies and of methods linking local studies to those at the regional and national level promises to enhance the ability of such agencies to formulate and implement development programs. Finally this paper argues that the standing reproach against local-level studies--that they cannot illuminate more than the specific case covered and are thus of little use in designing and directing significant developmental action--is now wrong. With the appropriate understanding of the connections between local, regional, and national institutions, local-level studies can make a significant practical contribution to development research and planning.

This paper proceeds with two objectives. It will first offer an overview of the interconnected conclusions increasingly accepted among social scientists and historians concerning the institutional and behavioral characteristics of rural populations. These conclusions have important implications for technical assistance methodology--for how such populations should be studied and approached. In the second part, the paper discusses in some detail four specific methodologies that have been found of use in academic research in this area. These methodologies are all directly relevant to the process of identifying significant development problems in the pre-project phase. They provide also a basic framework for the collection, organization and analysis of baseline data on rural communities. These data can and should be incorporated into project planning and monitoring.

The first part of this paper, presented in rather general terms, is essential to the subsequent methodological discussion. The two parts represent a logically interconnected set of ideas, summarizing and integrating an important, emerging consensus among academics on the subject of rural social and economic institutions. Understanding this consensus is important for a development agency's ability to engage academics in specific activities and to use their methodologies for project development.

The plan of the paper is as follows. It begins with a brief discussion of the coincidence between recent academic developments in peasant studies, particularly in regard to the structure of nation-states and the nature and importance of local-regional-national linkages, and international development agencies' new emphasis on baseline local research, pre-project problem identification, and project monitoring. This is followed by a presentation of the interconnected set of lessons, emerging in a variety of academic contexts, that are central to these concerns. Finally there is a section presenting four particularly promising social science methodologies that offer practical solutions to some of the major problems of linking local-level studies, baseline research, and problem identification.

II. CHANGING VIEWS ON THE NATION-STATE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HISTORY

A fundamental reorientation of thought about the internal structure of nation-states is taking shape in the social sciences and history and the resulting new perspectives can be of considerable value to development planners. Specialists in the social sciences and in history have begun a major revision of the existing view of the internal structure of nation-states and consequently a revision of the relationships between research at the community, the regional, and the central government level. The nature of the revised view can be stated simply, even though a good part of this paper will be devoted to explaining it. In essence, we are beginning to view the nation-states as complexly integrated systems of national institutions, markets, socio-geographic areas, and local communities in which all the parts are locked into continuous interaction with each other. These interactions affect the structure of all levels of society.

This contrasts markedly with the previous view of the nation-state which portrayed it as a vast array of local communities in relative isolation from national centers and structures. This permitted students of national society to ignore the dynamics of life in local communities, and it implied that development efforts were directed at autonomous, self-contained social units, having no history of experience with the national "center."

This view of societies was convenient since it obviated the apparent need for interdisciplinary and multi-level analysis. Anthropologists could study local communities without regard to national institutions, and those who studied the latter felt free to divide them up into neat packages to be delivered whole to the separate disciplines of history, political science, economics and sociology. These in turn ignored each other, because their respective disciplinary paradigms did not begin with the premise of complex interactions among variables and across levels. There were other traditions of scholarship, such as political economy and regional science, but these were not dominant and were not often employed in policy analysis.

What we now see is an agreement among many scholars that new and more complexly interactive views of the structure of nation-states are needed. This paper is not an exercise in intellectual history, but understanding some of the forces that have moved us in this direction will aid in appreciating the potential use of present methodologies for local-level analysis and regional and national research.

Experiences Arising From the Practice of Development

To begin with, experiences arising from development programs themselves have been very influential. After a long series of attempts, the community development strategy for national growth was largely abandoned. While the history of this subject is well known, it needs to be emphasized that much of the disappointment with the approach arose from the immense institutional problems that even successful community development programs encountered when they ran afoul of regional and national institutions, e.g., markets, class systems, or political institutions. It has now become established doctrine that community development efforts not accompanied by complementary efforts at the regional and national levels are doomed (see Baran 1957; Beckford 1972; Furtado 1970; Gunder Frank 1969).

Another important lesson arising from development experiences came from the essentially technological approaches to development. The first capital intensive schemes for national industrial and agricultural development met with little success. The result regularly seemed to be creation of "enclave" industries and reinforcement of existing social structures with their maldistribution of wealth (e.g. Beckford 1972; Bodley 1975; Furtado 1970).

The "Green Revolution" produced a similar lesson. While making the materials necessary for significant improvement in yields available, the "Green Revolution" seldom lived up to expectations. It was discovered that the new techniques were most advantageous to a limited segment of the population. This segment expanded at the

expense of the rest, in some cases increasing the existing maldistribution of wealth and adding to the landless population (Frankel 1971; Lele 1975).

From such experiences, and many others, there has arisen an appreciation that a national society is a complexly interwoven system of institutions. To support development by simply trying to deal with one problem, one population, or one community at a time clearly did not work.

Changes in Academic Views About the Nation-State

Experiences of a rather different sort have propelled social scientists and historians toward a similar view. Until recently, it would be fair to say that history, political science, and economics were very much captive of the national elite's view of the state (Uphoff, forthcoming, ch. 3). Generations of history books have recounted the dynastic intrigues, and the lives, loves, and political ideologies of the national elites. The only real people discussed in most of the literature in these disciplines belonged to that one or two percent of the population that controlled national institutions. The regions and local communities and their institutions were only mentioned if an event of national importance occurred there.

No one was surprised to see that poor countries still were plagued by ethnic conflict, regional imbalances in economic growth, and other forms of social heterogeneity. This was attributed to the historical immaturity of these emergent nation-states. Current events, however, contradicted these views. The resurgence of ethnic conflict in Europe (where ethnicity had been declared defunct), the emergence of supranational institutions like the European Economic Community, and the appearance of serious attempts to dismantle existing nation-states in Spain, France, and Canada suggested that the totally unified and integrated nation-state was more an elite ideology than a social reality (Esman 1977).

This sent historians back to the archives with renewed curiosity. Regional social history began to be taken more seriously, and the more scrupulous attention paid to the ideological function of documents is producing rather major reorientations of historical theory. Even France, long the model of the homogeneous national monolith, is now seen to have enduring regional cultures, serious regional imbalances in development, and different degrees of penetration by national institutions across its territory. Features attributed to Third World countries are readily found in advanced industrial societies.

Political science has undergone a similar disenchantment with the idea of unified nation-states. Long content to analyze electoral

statistics for national campaigns, to study party organization and read the national press, political science, like history, was a captive of the national capitals. However, with the rapidly shattering vision of the nation-states as the endpoint of history toward which the world was inexorably moving, political science has become increasingly concerned with the ways in which the diverse parts of the national society are articulated economically, socially, and politically. Leaving the capital cities, political scientists are seriously studying regional cities, local government, popular participation, and the whole structure of national articulation. Increasingly the political process is being seen as the complex outcome of the interaction between the national center and the highly heterogeneous periphery.

Skipping over sociology and economics, in which similar trends are apparent, brings us to the students of local communities, the anthropologists. While slower to pick up on these same trends, anthropology has seen a veritable revolution in the study of local life.

Generations of anthropologists have seen their role as primarily one of describing life as it is lived at the "grassroots." The assumption has been that a handful of community studies, carried out in isolation from each other and from other disciplines' perspectives would provide an invaluable insight into life as it is lived and understood by everyday people. Indeed, the monopoly on community studies has been a great anthropological conceit.

Often intuitively selected for their small size, isolation, and supposed lack of dynamism (Gilmore 1976), these communities have been studied largely in isolation from the trends being hotly debated by historians, political scientists, and others. The result has been portraits of local life not unlike those flies trapped in amber that so enchant the fossil hunter. Timeless, homogeneous, and apolitical, the local community has appeared to be more folkloric than instructive when it comes to the study of national problems.

A few seminal works in the 1950's notwithstanding (e.g. Pitt-Rivers 1971 and Wylie 1964), this anthropological penchant for isolation of its units of study did not seriously erode until the late 1960's. Now there are a host of attempts to study local communities in realistically portrayed institutional and regional-national contexts and more are on the way. It has been discovered that much of what the anthropologists took to be the product of "tradition" is, in fact, the outcome of complex historical processes involving multiple interactions among local, regional, and national institutions. The result has been a far-reaching revision of the anthropologists' sense of what constitutes a meaningful study of local communities. A variety of approaches are being developed, ranging from center-periphery theories, models of regional systems, to even

the abandonment of the local community as the appropriate unit for anthropological study.

The disciplinary boundaries of two further developments to be discussed are not easily fixed. Regional analysis and the socio-geographic method are the results of interactions among various aspects of history, political science, economics, and geography. Their presentation here will be brief because both are taken up in some detail in the methodological section of the paper.

Specifying the origins of regional analysis depends very much on the disciplinary preferences of the writer. Elements are found in many fields. It is probably fair to point to the confluence of economics and geography as the origin. Clearly the most comprehensive work in regional analysis organized around problems of development is E. A. J. Johnson's *THE ORGANIZATION OF SPACE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES* (1970). Much of what is being done on this subject draws its stimulus from Johnson. However, the recent boom of regional studies in anthropology is very much the product of the work of G. William Skinner and his students. These developments are handily summarized in Carol Smith's two volumes on *REGIONAL ANALYSIS* (Smith, ed., 1976).

Skinner himself began with the study of rural marketing areas in China (Skinner 1964, 1965). In this work he found that attention to the transport, communication, and distribution systems involved in rural marketing produced very orderly results. Skinner was able to demarcate a hierarchy of market towns and cities, each with a definable marketing area. When plotted on a map this gave rise to a neatly hexagonal division of the Chinese countryside. Based on this, he was able to make a number of statements about the nature of Chinese political and economic integration.

The symmetry of these arrangements, coupled with Skinner's provocative generalizations, encouraged others to try the methods elsewhere. While this inevitably complicated the models a great deal, it also created a sense of optimism that has made regional analysis popular within anthropology. The Smith volumes summarize some of the findings and communicate much of the optimism.

The point to stress is that the scholars involved began by charting basic economic activities in rural areas geographically. When they did, they encountered the existence of extremely complex and highly integrated indigenous regional systems. Indeed, the information is so convincing that it is hard to believe that we could have been ignorant of these relationships and of their consequences for social change occurring in national systems. Regional analysis offers an elegant methodology and a rudimentary understanding of the complex nature of local-regional-national linkages.

Another, related development can be termed the socio-geographic perspective. This has been primarily presented by Edward W. Fox (Fox 1971). Less rigorous methodologically than regional analysis, it is a good deal more attentive to the nature of national-regional political linkages. Again the discussion here will be brief because this approach will be dealt with fully in the methodological section below.

Fox's basic argument is deceptively simple. He points out that all human achievement depends on social cooperation between those that produce food and those that do not. He then stresses a point that tends to be overlooked. This human cooperation inevitably takes place in specific geographic situations, because humans always act in space and because food production normally involves the use of land. The cooperative problem is one of moving food from the production to the consumption point.

In pre-industrial situations, the difficulty of moving bulky goods over land restricts agricultural exchange to a fairly narrow radius, except in times of great need. By contrast, messages can circulate over very large distances. This implies a major distinction between transport and communication in agrarian systems.

He then goes on to point to a fundamental difference between communications established over water and over land. Maritime communication involves expensive ships, making mere travel expensive. But such ships can transport large quantities of goods relatively easily and cheaply. Thus a far greater division of labor is possible where water transport is available.

At this point Fox contrasts land transport systems and water transport systems politically. The land-based systems can be more effectively organized for military and administrative purposes. Indeed the modern nation-state is their legitimate heir. Water-oriented systems are the beneficiaries of a massive exchange of staples between port cities and their plantation farms and they produce a far greater surplus than do land-based systems. They also tend to be at odds with the land-based administrative systems that seek to tap their wealth and regulate their activities.

Fox's approach is relevant because it suggests yet another way in which nation-states are not necessarily homogeneous political and economic entities. It also suggests that the study of local phenomena cannot be usefully done until the nature of these broader types of linkage is understood. Fox uses this model to discuss the history of France but the similarities between this and the classic literature on dependency and colonialism is clear. All of these issues will be taken up in the methodological section of this paper.

Conclusions

Thus development theorists and planners, historians, political scientists, anthropologists, and geographers--and a similar case could be made for the rest of the social scientists--have been independently learning the same lessons. The nation-state is best viewed as a highly complex interactive system of institutions with causal networks that connect the national government to the regions and the communities and these differ significantly from region to region within any national territory.

With an understanding of this, a renewed concern with the nature of local-regional-national relationships has emerged. The next section details the relevant research results emerging from this reorientation.

It is clear from what has been said so far that research results gotten from Western Europe are being applied to the analysis of non-Western countries. The sentiment has long existed that the European experience has nothing in common with that of the rest of the world. This paper is not the place to debate the point, but the burden of proof lies with those who reject such comparisons. It seems that methodologies and conclusions from studies like Tarrow's of Italy and France (Tarrow 1977) and Scott's of Southeast Asia (Scott 1976) closely parallel each other. If the utility of understanding the Western experience for analysis of a particular non-Western country is to be questioned, then it must be questioned with reference to a specific body of evidence which an alternative formulation explains better. Mere appeal to the "inherent" differences between the Western and non-Western world is insufficient.

The other side of this point is perhaps less important to people interested in development, but it bears mention. The vast body of evidence and analysis dealing with peasant societies outside the Western world has provided the relevant theoretical foundation for the reanalysis of Western history upon which much of this paper is based (see for example Blok 1974; Cole and Wolf 1974; Franklin 1969). In this case the extrapolations from the non-Western to the Western world were exceedingly useful.

III. SIX LESSONS FROM THE RECENT LITERATURE ON LOCAL- LEVEL STUDIES AND LOCAL-REGIONAL- GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

This section reviews, in some detail, six major lessons emerging from the most recent research on local communities and local-regional-governmental relationships, presenting and analyzing the results of a sample of particularly instructive studies.

Specific case studies serve as the framework for this discussion, despite the fact that the paper includes an annotated bibliography, for several reasons. First, most of these lessons have emerged from individual efforts to deal with complex materials and refractory problems. There is little available synthesis and the growing points are still to be found in the monographic literature. Second, taken together these lessons constitute as much a generalized way of thinking about problems as they do a set of results. Therefore, sketches of the arguments of a variety of works serve the purpose of this paper best. When a particular argument seems especially interesting, then the reader will know exactly which works to consult and why. In what follows each lesson is stated and then developed in the context of specific works. The lessons are placed in a logical order, running from the more general to the more specific.

LESSON ONE: THE MOST VALUABLE SINGLE ASSUMPTION TO MAKE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH, WHATEVER ITS PURPOSE, IS THAT HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS A RATIONAL RESPONSE TO SOCIAL CONDITIONS

A comprehensive argument for this conclusion far exceeds the scope of the current paper since it involves the results of research and theorizing from a large number of fields. It also repeats what is already widely accepted by development theorists. This principle has been presented with much documentation in a variety of formats (Scott 1976; Shanin 1971; Wharton, ed. 1969; and Wolf 1966).^{*} A quick review of the reasons for beginning with it as a first principle in this paper is in order.

First, it is necessary to explain what is meant by positing rational behavior as a research assumption. This is to say that researchers are best advised to assume that all humans in all kinds of

^{*}A long paper of mine concentrates on the implications of this assumption for development work (Greenwood 1973). See also Popkin (1979).

societies are best analyzed as rational actors pursuing complex maximization strategies. Much more is learned when it is assumed that people have good reasons for behaving as they do. If their behavior seems odd, this strangeness is an invitation to study their behavior further. Nothing is more destructive to a serious attempt at understanding human behavior in unfamiliar settings than to quickly judge the behavior as "irrational." This position is very amply supported by the social science literature.

Without this assumption, there is little sense in doing local-level and regional baseline research as a basis for development planning. Studying the complex relationship between communities, regions, and national institutions becomes more important when the problems encountered in development programs are seen as arising from poorly understood institutional constraints which prevent people from behaving in ways they are expected to. If puzzling behavior is attributed to the "irrationality" of actors rather than to constraints created by social institutions, then baseline studies are not likely to be useful.

This can be seen from different approaches to explaining rural poverty in Italy, an area of endemic poverty and political instability. For years the most influential case study was Edward Banfield's *THE MORAL BASIS OF A BACKWARD SOCIETY* (1958). Put simply, Banfield argued that southern Italy was backward because the people had a "culture" of "amoral familism." The term refers to an attitude of total suspicion toward those outside the family and a consequent inability to cooperate in the collective interest. Thus the people were poor because of an irrational cultural orientation that inhibited progress.

There are many studies now contradicting this (Blok 1974; Silverman 1975; Tarrow 1977; and Schneider and Schneider 1976). Some of these will be discussed later. These studies all point out that, while Banfield's description of south Italian behavior might be correct (e.g. lack of cooperation, etc.), his explanation was wrong. These authors emphasize the extremely unequal distribution of property and power in southern Italy, a legacy from an extremely long colonial past. They argue that the inability of the rural people to cooperate is a product of an economic system that forces the poor to compete harshly for tiny opportunities and of a political system that severely punishes any attempt at rural mobilization.

If Banfield's judgment were accepted, then the solution to rural poverty would be education to a rational self-interest in cooperative action. But if we review the data presented by the others, this seems silly. With or without education, unless there is some fundamental social and economic change, no such cooperative action is likely to occur.

It is important to note that Banfield's orientation led away from any empirical attempt to study the political economy of the area. Assuming that backwardness was a product of irrationality, he went no further. The others assumed that people who behaved as "amoral familists" might well have "rational" reasons for doing so. This assumption was rewarded with an impressive array of empirical evidence that displaced Banfield's view and its implications for policy.

LESSON TWO: IN ALL RESEARCH, WHETHER AT THE COMMUNITY, REGIONAL, OR NATIONAL LEVEL, IT IS MUCH MORE USEFUL TO ASSESS THE RELEVANT SOCIAL HETEROGENEITY THAN IT IS TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE DATA INTO CENTRAL TENDENCIES

While this methodological premise has a respectable ancestry in the social sciences, it is worth underscoring here. There is now sufficient data to state that even the most homogeneous community or region has considerable social heterogeneity and that this has to be understood in order to comprehend and predict people's behavior.

This has practical implications for development planners to consider. It is supported by a growing body of evidence and it need not constrain attempts to plan wisely. The costs of ignoring relevant heterogeneity should be by now apparent to everyone. For example, the variety of unexpected and unseemly effects of introducing Green Revolution technology into the agrarian systems of poor countries has motivated both impassioned exposes and defenses of this particular approach to agricultural development.

Of the many points made in Francine Frankel's study of the political economy of the Green Revolution in India (1971), one that stands out is the naivete with which the possible negative social effects of this innovation were ignored or assumed away by policy makers. By failing to understand that communities, even in poor countries, are socio-economically differentiated, planners did not expect that the new technology would affect the socio-economic positions of local people so differentially. As a result of this social heterogeneity, the new technology was more effectively and rapidly utilized by the middle peasants, who eventually were able to dominate the local political economy more fully than ever before. Thus a technology, in principle neutral with respect to size and supposed to aid in the eradication of poverty and hunger, when passed through the structure of local social heterogeneity, gave rise to an increased maldistribution of wealth, despite the technical success in productivity it brought.

Such cases are now commonplace and the intractability of the maldistributive results of development efforts is now widely discussed

among planners (e.g. Poleman and Freebairn, eds. 1973). Indeed, concern with the problems of small farmers as the central focus in development policy has resulted partly from a recognition of these negative results. Unless the social structure into which the small farmers fit is made the focus of attention, even successful development technology cannot decrease small farmer poverty.

Because this point is exceptionally important, it needs further discussion.

The studies of local communities in Mexico since the time of Robert Redfield's original works on Tepoztlán and Chan Kom (Redfield 1930; 1934) have stressed, virtually without exception, social homogeneity. The work of several generations of fieldworkers, spear-headed by George Foster (1948) stressed uniform poverty and social mechanisms such as the civil-religious hierarchy (1965), that discourage entrepreneurship by redistributing incipient individual wealth, thus reinforcing general poverty in the community. Of course, contrary voices were heard from time to time (Cancian 1965; Lewis 1951; and Wolf 1966), but by and large, the homogeneous image endured and along with it, the idea of rural poverty as something uniformly distributed among the peasants.

Billie DeWalt provided us a study that challenges this notion directly and does so in a most intriguing way. Rather than choosing an ordinary community as the focus for a study, DeWalt chose to study an ejido community, one of the many created by the early Mexican land reform with the specific intention of distributing resources equally among the landless. That is, he chose a case that should have been more homogeneous than even the average peasant community.

Having taken this focus, DeWalt conducted detailed field research collecting good data on local geography, agronomy, landholding patterns, production regimes, and social structure with the specific intention of examining heterogeneity. These data, when rendered in statistical form, were subjected to a variety of analytical techniques, including cross-tabulations, factor analysis, and path analysis.

Since DeWalt's methodology will be discussed in detail later, a brief example will be provided here. Among other things, he divides the community into quartiles of wealth and correlates the adoption of fertilizer with these quartiles. Clear relationships between differences in wealth and adoption of fertilizer appear such as a high percentage of fertilizer adoption among the lowest and highest quartiles, but a lower percentage in the middle quartiles. DeWalt then shows how this makes good sense when placed in the local context. Similar kinds of systematic differences appear in other areas of adoption of new technology, making his argument for the significance of heterogeneity in the community very strong (DeWalt 1975).

What emerges from this analysis is not some randomly complicated pattern of heterogeneity, but a highly organized and intelligible picture of local conditions. DeWalt is ultimately able to establish the existence not only of vast inequalities in resource holdings which had developed in the ejido, but also to differentiate between a number of farming strategies within the ejido. Each of these strategies was so different that farmers using them responded to markets, new technologies, and other incentives in different ways. Using his models, DeWalt was able to predict which of the peasants would accept certain technologies and which would not. By implication, he was able to show that anyone who ignored this heterogeneity in planning a development program for this ejido would be doomed to virtually total failure. And if this is true of an ejido community, which is more homogeneous than many other kinds of communities, then it is probably even more of a problem for development planners dealing with communities having longer and more complex histories. DeWalt's study indicates that the unexpected failures of many development plans and the bad distributional effects of existing approaches are not accidental. They are built into any methodology for development planning that ignores the heterogeneity of local communities and regions. At the same time, the heterogeneity is not opened. DeWalt could identify a number of major sub-groups in the community and approach them analytically. This suggests that dealing with heterogeneity in analysis and planning is neither impossible nor particularly complex. It is really a matter of being convinced that understanding local heterogeneity is important for development problem identification and project planning.

My own study of the commercialization and demise of family farming in the Spanish Basque country (Greenwood 1976) makes similar points with regard to the heterogeneity of family farming systems. Since later in this paper one of the central methods in this study will be presented in detail, only the overall argument of the research will be presented here.

Rural exodus has been a major policy concern in Spain over the past 15 years, as is the case in the rest of Western Europe. The agricultural population of the country dropped from well over 50 percent of the total in 1960 to roughly 20 percent by 1977 and no region of the country has been untouched (Aceves and Douglass, eds. 1976). National planners attribute the decline to the operation of simple push-pull economic factors assuming that individual family farming units simply are too inefficient to compete successfully with large-scale commercial operations. Thus there is no sense of crisis; indeed rural exodus is taken to be a sign of increasing industrial development.

My study provides a detailed portrait of the socio-economic history and economic structure of family farming in a large Basque town near the Spanish-French border. Covering the period from 1920

to 1969, the study documents the transformation of subsistence-oriented family farming into fully commercial family farming, leading ultimately to the destruction of agriculture in the town.

A combination of methodologies is used. For the 1968-69 period a detailed socio-economic census is given. This is combined with the results of a year-long study of 25 farmers in which techniques, productivity, sales, and factor and product mixes are studied. This material is rendered in two major forms. First there is a complete aggregate accounting for agriculture in the town which is subdivided by major product mixes and factor combinations. This results in a series of accounts and investment-profit ratios. Second, there is a highly detailed study of the variety of means by which the factors of production are assembled, including production, appropriation, purchase, rental, reciprocity, inheritance, and marriage. This combines the study of factor and product markets and institutional arrangements to show the constraints under which farmers operate.

The results of this research were surprising. For the two major types of production activity: dairying and vegetable truck farming one finds some farms are highly specialized and others combine these products. Farms are generally quite small, some vegetable farms being as small as an acre. Despite the small size and unimpressive appearance, the economic study shows that these farms produce very high profits both absolutely and as a ratio on investment. It also shows that decisions about different factor proportions and product mixes yield different profit structures; farmers are aware of these differences and act to maximize profits consistently.

At the same time, the historical study shows that the number of farms has declined greatly. By 1974, agriculture had virtually disappeared. This is a situation in which rural exodus is combined with extremely profitable agriculture. The farms being abandoned are not the marginal ones and farmers are moving to the city to take insecure and low-paying factory jobs.

The explanation for this phenomenon is complex, but the study of means of access to the factors of production shows that the political economy of the area plays a significant role in driving farmers out, despite the profitability of agriculture. It also shows that a major cultural crisis is underway in which the prestige of agriculture has declined so greatly that very few families are able to convince one of their children to take these profitable farms as an inheritance.

Without the detailed economic study revealing the heterogeneity of profit structures and farmer maximization strategies it would never become apparent that profitable farms are being abandoned. Without the study of the means of access to the factors of production and the cultural concepts regarding farming, it would be impossible to explain this anomalous situation.

The broader policy relevance is also important. If this situation is common in rural Spain, then the push-pull model of rural exodus is not only wrong but dangerous, breeding complacency and policy inaction. If farmers are regularly leaving agriculture when market prices signal them to stay on the farms, then urban unemployment and a major increase in the cost of food could combine to create an extremely dangerous political situation.

The lesson is similar to that coming from DeWalt's study. By examining local practices in considerable detail, with an explicit focus on heterogeneity and quantification, it can be discovered that existing explanations of farmer behavior are probably wrong and that policy based on these explanations may be counterproductive.

Another example is Polly Hill's well-known study of MIGRANT COCOA-FARMERS OF SOUTHERN GHANA (1970). Hill's work describes a situation in which a successful indigenous development of commercial cocoa-farming took place despite the government's misdirected attempts to develop the industry. Indeed the government was quite ignorant of the indigenous cocoa-farming industry. Since Hill "discovered" the indigenous industry, it is important to know how she did it. The industry was invisible to both the government and to local officials because local people had quietly formed a variety of kin-based corporations that bought up lands far from their home communities. They maintained their local activities but many of the men were absent for long periods, taking care of their cocoa farms.

Hill's success came partly because she tried to examine different components in the economic make-up of local budgets, whether their source was local or not. She dealt with individuals and attempted to chart the variety and heterogeneity of ways of earning a living. As a result, she eventually discovered the cocoa plantations outside the community under scrutiny and began to study them. Once she got on to this, she again sought out heterogeneity in practices and found that different types of kinship corporations formed different kinds of plantations. Eventually she came to understand the complex relationships between kinship organization, local economic activity, and the distant plantations.

To accomplish this she dealt in a wide variety of materials. She developed a detailed analysis of local kinship organization; rules of inheritance; local, regional, and national political economy; history; and geography. Eight detailed appendices to the study document migration patterns, laws, local history, and numerous case histories of kin-based corporations.

Virtually everything she discovered contradicted the prevailing wisdom about the group she studied, the governmental policies, and existing plans for development of the cocoa industry. She was able to point out that the development problem the government saw did not exist and that governmental policy was actually counterproductive.

She also was able to convey an unusually detailed sense of local villagers' entrepreneurial capacities, control of information, and ability to carry out complex activities that required substantial long-term economic risks.

Such findings are not restricted to farmers directly incorporated into state-level societies. Studies done among relatively independent tribal peoples, such as Strathern's ROPE OF MOKA (1971) which deals with "big-men" in the New Guinea Highlands, show that there is great variability in resource holdings and entrepreneurial strategies even within such societies.

Regional analysis also provides a coherent formal methodology for organizing the heterogeneity of a region into a comprehensible whole. Its application to development problems promises similar insights into the complex, and occasionally contradictory relationships between the local communities and the rest of the country.

Enough has been said here to make the following point. An orientation toward social diversity is a sine qua non for the explanation of farmer behavior, local and regional economy, for the recognition of significant development problems and for the design of projects to meet genuine needs. Without this focus it is very hard to understand the differing constraints and opportunities created by existing institutions or potentially created by the development programs themselves.

LESSON THREE: ADEQUATE BASELINE DATA AND MONITORING OF THE EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS ARE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

This discussion will be quite brief since the point to be made is an obvious one and because its rationale has already been covered. Still it bears repetition in order to show how it fits into the general approach taken in this paper.

Without baseline data, the definition of development problems and the creation of programs to solve them must be based on conventional wisdom about the nature of the life in the communities and regions. Time and again, we have seen the negative effects of such an approach. It is assumed that X is the problem and a program is designed to solve it. Then the program fails and someone goes out to study the situation only to find that X was not the problem at all; rather it was Y. This is the lesson to be drawn from studies like DeWalt's (1975), Greenwood's (1976), and Hill's (1970). There is a long list of such works. Some outstanding additional examples are Hoben (1972), Bohannon and Bohannon (1968), Paul, ed. (1955), and Spicer, ed. (1952).

Another reason is that lacking baseline data, the effects of particular development programs cannot be measured except against vague guesses about what the conditions were before the program began. Any number of anthropological community studies have this failing so the fault is not confined to development practitioners. Anthropologists often state their purpose to be the study of social change. This is accomplished by contrasting what they believe to be changing to what they believe to have been the case before the hypothesized changes took place. In those cases where we actually know something of the history of the communities involved, it has invariably turned out that the hypothetical conditions before change supposedly began were nothing like what the anthropologist supposed them to be. As a result the entire study of social change is compromised as in the case of Barrett, 1974; Watson, 1958, to mention only two of many such studies.

In the context of development programs such errors can mean taking credit for changes that did not occur, blame for changes that may have had little to do with the development program itself or simply failure to identify the significant problems at all. In other words, it is better to assume that we do not know what is going on or what went on before and to have some methods for finding out rather than to make false assumptions about the causes of poverty and to draw incorrect conclusions about the effects of development programs.

Current strategies for developing baseline data are not very effective and certainly do not address most of the issues stressed in this paper. This will hardly be disputed by anyone.

Employing teams of social researchers to undertake the study of a large number of communities by means of ordinary community study techniques is time-consuming, expensive, and has not produced good results. It takes time because each researcher of the team is devoting a great deal of time to developing a portrait of local communities when in fact, it is likely that only a small part of that information is directly relevant to getting a program started. It is costly because of the man-hours involved and also because someone has to coordinate these activities and is often charged with the nearly impossible task of summarizing the results of the diverse studies being done. Finally, it has not produced many useful results because a community by itself is probably not the relevant unit of analysis for development purposes; rather the relevant units are socio-geographic areas characterized by certain types of production activities and certain kinds of relationships between the community, regional, and national institutions.

An alternative means for defining the baseline for development work is the survey technique, whether sociological questionnaires or more general census-type surveys are employed. These methods have been widely used and widely criticized. The relevant point here is

that these techniques are capable of producing a great deal of useful information if they are well designed. However, a well-designed survey relies on a great deal of prior knowledge about local conditions and problems. In practice, one often needs good baseline data in order to do a good survey. As a result, the survey technique is a poor one for establishing the baseline, except for broad statistical measures, even though they are very helpful once an area is somewhat known.

Another problem with the survey technique is that statistical aggregations of data do not easily produce explanations of people's behavior (see Greenwood 1976). Statistics may enable us to discover phenomena, such as rural exodus, spontaneous colonizations, etc. that interest us, but such data will provide few clues about the causes. For this, a more behavioral and observational approach is required. Some combination of behavioral and statistical baseline data is needed, and yet, current methods are time-consuming and expensive. Later, this point will be taken up to argue that guided by the minimum approach to linking micro-studies, regional analysis, and development planning, a combination of behavioral studies and social surveys can be worked out that will provide meaningful baseline data for development planning.

LESSON FOUR: THE TRANSITION FROM SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE TO COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE IS NOT A UNILINEAR SHIFT FROM ONE WORLD INTO ANOTHER; INDEED, MIXED SUBSISTENCE-COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE MAY ITSELF BE A FAIRLY STABLE ADAPTIVE SYSTEM

Analyses of any kind of socio-economic system are strongly conditioned by assumptions about the "necessary" direction that the overall process of human history must take. It is often assumed that societies must "progress" from "traditional" to "modern," from "folk" to "urban," from "peasant" to "industrial." While generations of scholarship have produced a number of critiques of this kind of belief in some overall direction in human history, there is now an increasing rejection of such views both in academia and outside. Indeed fears about ecological collapse, overpopulation, and nuclear destruction suggest that our belief in the inherently progressive character of history has been shaken.

The transformation of rural society in industrializing societies is not a simple process. Subsistence agriculture and commercial agriculture are not two successive phases of human history and they often exist in complex and highly successful combinations. A few examples from the literature on this subject will be reviewed and some lessons for development planning will be drawn from it.

Doubts about the necessity and wisdom of the total transformation of rural society in response to the rise of intensive commercial activity can be traced back to the early physiocratic economists and to some social theorists of the French Revolution. This continued to receive attention throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the work of many scholars (e.g. Chayanov 1966; Rappaport 1967; Greenwood 1973; Franklin 1969).

This point is a rather tricky one to argue because much of the rhetoric surrounding it involves naive rural romanticism or outright reactionary politics. Yet a fundamentally important point about the structure of peasant-based societies must be made.

In states where there is considerable reliance on peasant family farming to produce subsistence for the majority of the population, agricultural activity is broadly dispersed over the national landscape. Subsistence for both the farming and non-farming populations tends to be produced in areas not far from the consumption sites. That is, the national territory is blanketed with multiple subsistence cells. Characteristically in such societies, transportation of bulky goods is quite costly and the national government is ill-equipped or lacks the resources to provide social welfare programs for impoverished groups.

Commercially-organized states are quite different. Food production and consumption sites are often quite distant. The national territory is organized into specialized production regions and the subsistence of the whole population is dependent on the effective interaction of market forces. This, in turn, depends on the existence of relatively inexpensive and effective transportation and communication systems and on governmental capacity to carry some parts of the national population through periods of market dislocation.

The upshot is that peasant-based states and states based on commercial agriculture differ in a great deal more than agricultural techniques. The transition from one to the other must proceed both at the level of agricultural techniques and of national transport, communication, and welfare systems. To attempt to transform peasant agriculture into fully commercial agriculture without the necessary national changes can subject the entire national population to needless risk.

This point is stressed because there continues to exist a strong tendency to regard peasant agriculture as a kind of system that has failed to become fully commercial. Such a view supports strenuous and often thoughtless efforts to eliminate subsistence agriculture and replace it with commercial agriculture when national institutions are unprepared to assume the consequent burdens. A consequence of the viewpoint put forward here is that rural development in many cases must be viewed, not as the radical transformation of peasants into

agribusinessmen, but as a complex process of simultaneous transitions on all levels of the national society.

Once this is accepted, it makes sense to analyze the literature for what seem to be effective transitional arrangements in which the features of peasant and commercial systems are combined. There are, it turns out, many examples of national systems in which peasant and commercial elements are successfully combined, examples which may provide ideas about ways to handle this process of transition. Before discussing these, it should be repeated that no argument is being made to justify maintenance of peasant systems for their own sake. Gradualism in this kind of change process is not reactionary; it is both humanitarian and prudent.

The conception that led us to assume commercial agriculture will necessarily supplant peasant agriculture and in turn is the basis for industrialization was supposedly derived from the development experiences of the Western nation-states. It now appears that this is not correct; indeed, it seems to be just the opposite. This can be seen from a couple of examples from that "ideal" nation-state, France. Work done by social and economic historians like Edward Fox (1971) and Eugen Weber (1976) on France has recently concentrated on the role played by agriculture in French history and their findings are quite surprising. While it is clear that major French cities were supplied by specialized agrarian plantations located nearby, it is equally clear that even as late as 1920, French agriculture was dominated by peasant family farming in most regions.

This finding means that the major industrialization of nineteenth century France was accomplished in a nation-state dominated by peasant family farming. The development of major urban centers was not impeded by the predominance of peasant agriculture, and the political power of France in Europe and beyond was underwritten by an essentially peasant system. The legendary political centralism and citizen discipline of the French was being practiced by peasants and urbanites alike.

In France, then, peasant agriculture was not an obstacle to industrialization, urbanization, political centralization, or political participation. It would seem to be just the reverse. These major accomplishments were made precisely because the national government did not carry a vast dependent population on its fiscal back. This implies a fundamental rethinking of the relationship between peasant agriculture and national development, a relationship that is obviously crucial to economic development planning.

France is not an exception. Documentation of a similar sort could be produced for other Western countries, although it would take us far afield. What then does this mean in the context of contemporary poor countries? Are there similar findings?

Developers already know that anthropologists often are disposed to defend the viability of local cultures and institutions against plans for change. To the extent this arises from anthropological romanticism there can be justifiable objection. But there is more to the concern with indigenous social and economic organization than romanticism. Anthropologists, by and large, are dubious about the ultimate viability of many development schemes both because they doubt that human history "naturally" leads toward progress and because they have in-depth experiences with viable combinations of peasant and commercial agricultural systems. Peasants and anthropologists alike see the change to a fully-commercial system as one filled with risks, particularly if the national administration in charge of development is as disorganized and inconsistent in the application of programs as is so often the case. Anthropologists, having worked in the field, tend to come away from the study of the "transitional" farming systems with a sense that these are highly refined and flexible systems--not some imperfectly evolved or aborted versions of commercial agriculture, and that changes should be introduced with care. This can be seen from some striking examples.

One excellent case study has been elaborated by Sutti R. de Ortiz *UNCERTAINTIES IN PEASANT FARMING* (1973). This study will be mentioned again below so the treatment will be brief here. Ortiz studied a community of Paez Indians in Colombia, a group that practices mixed subsistence and commercial family farming. Their commercial agriculture involves the production of coffee for export. Ortiz noticed that the Paez have a very clear sense of economic maximization and considerable farming talents. She also noticed that they maintained a very strong barrier between subsistence items which they generally transacted through reciprocal and redistributive community ties and the coffee which they treated as a commercial commodity using recognizable pecuniary logic in dealing with it. She argues that the judiciously maintained restriction on the sale of subsistence items was the key to the viability of Paez society. It prevented them from the risks involved in becoming fully dependent for their subsistence on the market and it allowed them a degree of social independence that would otherwise be impossible.

This is an important lesson. Further analysis of her data shows how the Paez continue to produce and sell more coffee as the international price goes down. To an outsider this would appear to be an example of economic irrationality and yet it is not. Remembering that the Paez have a mixed system in which they do not buy and sell subsistence items and that they have very few outside obligations to meet helps us to understand an important factor in their system. Since not all parts of their system are commercialized, they are not subject to profit and loss in the same way commercial agricultural operations are. No matter what the price of coffee, Paez subsistence is secure. So long as subsistence does not require their full-time labor and so long as the capital costs (not land or

labor costs) of coffee production and sale do not exceed the income derived from it and so long as other commercial crops are not easily produced in the area, it is perfectly rational for the Paez to produce coffee, even though the international price is falling. As a supplementary activity, coffee production is profitable so long as monetary income exceeds monetary costs.

This kind of behavior with regard to export crops is probably common in peasant systems. It can be understood by appreciating the viability of mixed subsistence-commercial agriculture as described here. Clearly these are matters relevant to development planning.

Anthropology has also produced a huge amount of literature on corporate peasant communities virtually everywhere in the world, though not enough of this literature has stressed subsistence sources. On the basis of this literature, a number of points can be made. A great majority of peasant communities around the world seem to guard carefully their ability to subsist and treat the commercial agricultural market as an opportunity to tap for cash income. They do not view it as a source that one should rely on for subsistence items. An example comes from Eric Wolf's portraits of the "closed corporate peasant community" (Wolf 1957). Wolf notes that these kinds of communities are set up to resist reliance on outside forces of all kinds and to resist their full penetration into local subsistence activities.

In this view, what has long been categorized as peasant "traditionalism" and "backwardness" may be a rational strategy developed to protect subsistence against too deep incursions of the market and too great reliance on the unpredictable (if not predatory) government. Given the price swings of national and international agricultural markets and the often unstable national governments involved, one can hardly find fault with this behavior.

Another example of this phenomenon is found in the complex array of peasant marketing arrangements, documented for Mexico (Beals, ed., 1975; Cook and Diskin, eds., 1976), the Caribbean (Mintz 1974), the Philippines (Davis 1973), Java (Dewey 1962) and Africa (Bohannon and Dalton, eds., 1965), to pick only a few examples. In all these situations, numbers of subsistence-commercial communities are articulated into larger-scale marketing systems which bulk peasant surplus and which provide access to cash and employment opportunities.

Dewey, for example, argues that the peasant marketing system in Java, with its large array of very small producer-sellers and middlemen, provides not only for the subsistence of cities but provides employment opportunities for quantities of peasant labor with low cash productivity to produce income. The market woman, making a tiny profit on a variety of small transactions, is a common feature of all

the systems mentioned above and her activities enhance the welfare of her family with small cash increments to the family budget.

Thus the plethora of indistinguishable small producer-sellers and the tiny profit margins involved which are characteristic of many peasant marketing systems may represent a partial solution to the problem of underemployment and of cash needs for some portion of the peasantry. These activities and their adaptiveness cannot be judged unless the peculiar adaptive logic of the mixed subsistence-commercial systems found in many societies is understood in detail.

Another example is provided by the work of Polly Hill on cocoa farmers alluded to earlier in the paper. In this case even local observers had simply failed to notice that the farmers were involved in the commercial sector at all. Assuming that peasants live in villages and that their village economy is entirely localized, observers in Ghana had not realized that entrepreneurial corporations based on principles of organization drawn from the kinship sphere had been founded far away from the village community. This process of foundation of commercial cocoa plantations required a remarkable amount of economic acumen. First, it required an evaluation of the international cocoa market which in turn required the acquisition of suitable land from other tribal communities. This involved locating the land, collecting the needed capital, and initiating the land transactions. Land, then, had to be prepared and trees planted in expectation of yields far in the future. Finally, marketing arrangements had to be worked out. All of this activity was done without governmental knowledge or assistance and was financed out of village resources. None of this could have been done without use of the village resources, the local institutions which served as the organizing principles for the cocoa plantations, and without much indigenous planning. Once again the complementarity of the subsistence and commercial spheres in such societies is made clear.

The current state of the art, then, with regard to the transition between peasant and commercial systems seems to point to a variety of relatively successful intermediate states in which elements of both subsistence and commercial systems coexist. Prejudices about some necessary and radical transformation of peasant societies into commercial societies long kept this circumstance from being fully appreciated. However, social science studies that have focused on local heterogeneity and on local systems of adaptation are in the process of correcting this bias. What is emerging is a sense that the transition between the two systems can be a gradual one; that it must occur simultaneously on many social levels at once; and that development programs must be concerned with the gradually shifting balance between peasant and commercial agriculture rather than with demolishing one to bring in the other.

One caution should be mentioned. The above discussion refers to peasant family farming in poor countries. The transformation of

existing export agricultural systems in poor countries raises a different set of regulative and transitional questions which are not taken up here.

LESSON FIVE: IN MANY CASES, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT INVOLVE THE "CREATION" OF LINKAGES BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITIES, REGIONS, AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES. RATHER DEVELOPMENT GENERALLY INVOLVES THE "ALTERATION" OF EXISTING PATTERNS OF ARTICULATION

This lesson is, by now, relatively uncontroversial because of the wealth of available supporting evidence and yet it requires substantial alteration in the kind of development thinking that has centered on development as "integration" of a disconnected periphery to the national center. The lesson is also important because it contradicts the widely-accepted view of the historical process by which modern states developed. It also requires in-depth knowledge of the society under study. A brief paraphrase of the previous view will be useful.

Most national development theories have rested on a set of theoretical and historical assumptions that held sway during roughly 150 years of scholarly activity. The first assumption was that urban societies and rural societies are completely different. Urban societies were taken to be heterogeneous, dynamic, and exciting. Rural societies were understood to be relatively homogeneous, static, and placid. Contained here has been the long-held assumption that all significant historical changes in society emanated from urban areas and that rural society was merely dragged into the process as an unwilling participant. The notion that significant historical change could take place in rural areas was widely ignored by social scientists and historians alike. Indeed, the whole concept of rural society as "traditional" is based on such an assumption.

The concept of "traditional" society, already criticized above summarizes the essence of this line of thinking. If these images of urban and rural society as dynamic and static respectively are accepted, then certain consequences follow. National development, including the creation of national markets, effective national political institutions, communication systems, and so on, is thought to emanate solely from the urban part of society, possibly even from capital cities only. The theory sees these cities gradually penetrating the countryside creating linkages where none existed and rousing the rural people from their "slumber." The national society, before the emergence of a strong national government, is assumed to consist of a number of cities with limited markets and a vast number of static and poorly connected village communities. State-building

is viewed as the process of creating linkages which create change where there was none before. This is a kind of "beads on a string" theory of development which has all the linkages and initiatives coming from the apex down to the local communities.

The fundamental similarities between this view of the history of Western nation-states and popular theories of nation-building in poor countries are clear. Perhaps the major problem with this approach is that in every single case in which it has been seriously questioned and in which serious historical research has been done, it has proved to be substantially wrong. This theory of the history of the state has only survived when no research on the nature of rural history and rural-urban links has been carried out. The certainty with which this view of national history was held kept the relevant research from being done for generations. Only recently, in the wake of strong challenges to the integrity of Western industrial nation-states from within and without, has serious research into this problem begun.

Since this view of the nature of national societies and their developmental histories was first elaborated in the context of Western European nation-states, it makes sense to begin there and then to carry the implications beyond that area. If the theory does not apply to the Western case, which has been taken as the model for national development worldwide, there is even less likelihood of its being useful for the study of developing countries.

There are three levels on which the research has taken place: intellectual history, the study of institutional articulations, and the study of local history. A brief excursion into intellectual history will show that the stereotypes of the city as dynamic and historical and the country as static, traditional, and morally unified came down to us in an unbroken line from Plato and other Greek philosophers. While the country has occasionally been treated in Western intellectual history as the source of all moral value, it has virtually never been treated as a source of great dynamism (Caro Baroja 1963). Social historians and literary critics like Raymond Williams and Leo Marx have argued that the images of the opposition between the country and the city are a constant element in Western literature and bear some relationship to elite justifications for their social leadership (Williams 1973; Marx 1964). The point of this observation is that the ideas that have been current about national development arise from deeply held and totally untested assumptions we have held about our own history.

There is a great wealth of material dealing with the various dimensions of this general subject. To deal with it in detail would exceed the scope of this paper but a great many significant works have been written on the subject.*

*At the macro-level of international analysis, Immanuel Wallerstein's THE MODERN WORLD SYSTEM (1974) has treated the interlinkages of

In order to make this point, it has been necessary to argue a general principle regarding linkages. Of course, there are significant differences between cases. In many poor countries, communication between the national government and local communities may be quite infrequent, and the process of development may indeed bring the creation of a variety of new kinds of linkages. However, the thrust of the lesson still stands. Even when communication is minimal, the local communities and the government have worked out a modus vivendi which must be understood when planned change is being contemplated.

Taken together a great many studies show the pervasiveness of local-regional-national linkages and their causal importance. To undertake development planning, it is first necessary to understand these existing relationships which are covered in the next lesson.

LESSON SIX: GOVERNMENT-REGIONAL-LOCAL INTERACTIONS ARE MULTIPLE AND CAUSAL IN BOTH DIRECTIONS, i.e., FROM THE GOVERNMENT DOWN TO THE COMMUNITY AND FROM THE COMMUNITY TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE NATURE AND PERFORMANCE OF ANY PARTICULAR SEGMENT OF SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NATURE AND PERFORMANCE OF THE OTHER SEGMENTS

Some of the evidence for this point has already been provided. This issue is underscored because it is possible to accept the notion that there are various local-regional-governmental links and then to argue that all the initiatives filter down from some central apex of power. Such a view is not supported by the literature. It is necessary to emphasize that nearly all the case studies we have which focus on government-regional-local interactions show that such relationships

international, national, and regional institutions as part of his explanation of the emergence of modern capitalism. At the national level the already cited works by Fox (1971) and Weber (1976) contribute a major revision of French history based on a new understanding of the nature of local-regional-governmental relationships. Local level studies that link the local community to its regional and national context also have contributed significantly to our understanding of this point. Some of the major studies are Cole and Wolf (1974), Epstein (1962), Hoben (1972), Pitt-Rivers (1971), Schneider and Schneider (1976), Silverman (1975), Tilly (1964), Wylie (1964), and Wylie, ed. (1966). Already mentioned studies that are relevant are DeWalt (1975), Greenwood (1976), Hill (1970), Ortiz (1973), and Smith, ed. (1976). General results, specifically with regard to clientelistic organization of these linkages are summarized in Graziano (1978), and Scott (1976).

work consistently in both directions. Even governments with great power cannot simply coerce regional and local institutions to follow their wishes at all times. Indeed if they could, development or poverty could be said to be the result of governmental activity alone. Nor are local communities devoid of power. Despite their relative weakness vis-a-vis the regional and governmental institutions, clientelistic relations, involvement in external market and the ability to manipulate information can give local communities some ability to control the world beyond the community.

Historically speaking, nearly all the communities in Europe and Latin America for which we have data were not simply "spontaneous" settlements that somehow just appeared. They were usually chartered by governments and these charters and other relevant national legislation included boundaries, land use patterns, law, and many other aspects of local organization. Thus in many cases, communities are themselves "creations" of national policy from the very beginning. This is a point that has rarely been made because of insistence on the vision of a timeless "traditional" community.

The study of structures that link local communities with regional and national institutions is developing very rapidly in political science and history. In political science the work of Sidney Tarrow on center-periphery relationships is very interesting (1977). His empirical materials concentrate on center-periphery relationships in Europe but his argument has much wider implications. He discovered that differences between countries in the structure of national and regional institutions make it necessary for local officials and political organizations to adopt different strategies to capture the national resources that their constituencies need locally. They lose power if they fail. That is to say, local political behavior and institutions are in significant measure structured by the nature of the regional and national institutions with which they articulate.

Such a framework applies to other cases. It is necessary, in order to understand the structure and nature of local institutions and local responses to outside initiatives, for us to be aware of the logic and structure of the regional and national systems with which they have interacted in the past and with which they will interact in the future.* It is fair to say that there is an emerging consensus that local-regional-governmental institutions are locked in continual, causal interactions and that the structure of each is affected by the structure of the others.

* This point is widely supported by the work of Gunder Frank (1969), Malefakis (1970), Martínez-Alier (1971), and Scott (1976), to name only a few.

This is relevant to development planning because it again argues that development work is always done in the context of pre-existing institutional structures. It also argues that unless these institutional structures are known, the development efforts risk being ineffective and also court real dangers for their supposed beneficiaries.

An understanding of these institutional structures proceeds from research cognizant of the methodological and theoretical lessons listed thus far. The rationality assumption is a prerequisite for such research. Without it, the behaviors of the various components of society will not be studied as responses to institutional conditions that shape and constrain action. Stress on heterogeneity is relevant because the same constraints touch different segments of the population differently. Unless the heterogeneity of that population is understood, then their responses to the constraints will not be intelligible. The transition from peasant to commercial agricultural systems is also relevant because the transition itself cannot be understood except as an alteration in the relationships among the local, regional, and national levels of society. Thus all the arguments that have gone before are essential to the discussion of local-regional-national relationships.

The study of Basque agriculture discussed already (Greenwood 1976) exemplifies this approach. The opportunity to commercialize local agriculture was not generated locally. Rather it arose from a complex set of local-regional-national relationships. The community is located next to a major urban industrial complex that was being developed in this century because of its proximity to the Spanish-French rail network. A part of a regional and national strategy of industrial development, the growth of this city provided a major new market for agricultural produce and stimulated local production.

At the same time, in the 1960's the Spanish government made an immense commitment to the international tourist industry, a commitment that gained Spain as many foreign visitors in one year as there are Spaniards. The relative underdevelopment of Spain compared with the rest of Western Europe made it a very attractive tourist destination. The community I studied in the Basque region quadrupled in population in the tourist season and the demand for food increased exponentially. This provided major stimulus to local development. Thus the sources of the impetus to commercialize local agriculture emanated from outside the community.

At the same time the forces that eliminated agriculture also arose from these relationships. As the community was invaded by the population from the neighboring industrial city and by tourism developers anxious to construct summer homes, hotels and other facilities, competition for local land became intense. These powerful forces eventually took over the local government, re-zoned the municipality to restrict agriculture, and reorganized the taxation

and communication system in such a way as to drive the farmers out. Once the farms were closed down, they were immediately replaced with construction, making a return to agriculture impossible. Thus even the profitability of agriculture could not compete with the powerful local, regional, and national forces that were at work.

Finally, and on a more subtle level, the tourist invasion and the experience of impotence against outside forces led many young farmers to both revise their previously high esteem for farming as an occupation and to become politically radicalized as Basques. This political process was intimately related to their experience of external forces and shows the degree to which even the subtle cultural dimensions of local life are responsive to alterations in local-regional-national relationships.

Anyone who would endeavor to understand the development and collapse of agriculture in this local community without an awareness of the nature of these external forces and their interaction with local institutions would simply fail. Virtually identical arguments could be made using any of the local case studies referred to in this paper so far.

Perhaps the best theoretical treatment of this subject is provided by Eric Wolf's book PEASANTS (1966). Wolf, basing himself primarily on his extensive research in Latin America, formulated a view of peasant societies that is most illuminating. The conventional wisdom in anthropology has always spoken theoretically of the peasant type of society as "part societies," the usual implication being that they are "partly civilized" or "partly integrated." Wolf has altered the meaning of this idea by insisting that peasant societies are constructed out of a set of interactive relationships, built around transactions over agricultural surplus and governmental services. In Wolf's view, the meaning of "part society" is shifted to emphasize that peasants partly subsist and partly rely on outside institutions.

The major point arising from Wolf's treatment of this question is that the nature of the interactions between the peasant community can be quite different in different countries or in the same country at different time periods. In some cases the taxes are collected directly; in others they are collected indirectly; and in yet others, various kinds of services will substitute for the payment of taxes. In a few, the market is the major sphere for interaction between peasants and the rest of society. It should be quite clear that the way in which the local community is articulated with the outside will deeply affect its internal structure and operations.

For example, there seems to be a strong relationship between the direct and coercive collection of taxes and quite closed, unified peasant communities. The nature of the outside interactions has a great deal to do with the nature of community structure and the tone

of everyday life. Understandably, communities which are being heavily exploited and taxed in money are likely to demonstrate the characteristics generally associated with the stereotype of the "backward" peasant: closure, poverty, and suspicion. But ethnographic and historical records provide examples of many peasant communities that are relatively open and dynamic. Such openness and dynamism is at least partly a product of the institutional context in which the communities operate.

For Europe, there are a number of studies with sufficient historical depth to be able to support this (Le Roy Ladourie 1974; Douglass 1975). These long-range historical studies show that communities that appear at one time to be closed, corporate and totally disinterested in outside initiatives will appear at other times to be open, dynamic, and innovative communities. The source of these alterations over time seems to be the nature and operation of the institutions that link these communities to the other segments of the national society and the shifts in the amount of pressure being exerted on the local community from outside.

Thus the internal structure and the performance of a local community or a region is significantly influenced by the nature of its relations with the rest of society. At the regional level the argument is the same. Regional political and economic institutions and events are heavily influenced by local, and national institutions.

A variety of Marxist or Marxist-inspired interpretations of both the emergence of the capitalist system itself and the spread of capitalism around the world all contain elements of the interactive view of societal development. For example, Wallerstein's *THE MODERN WORLD SYSTEM* (1974) discusses the emergence of the capitalist system by showing that the histories of international alliances, nation-states, regional patterns of development, and the development of institutions such as slavery, serfdom, sharecropping, and so on can best be understood as the products of a complex set of interactions between local, regional, national, and international conditions. While some of Wallerstein's specific interpretations are being contested, the basic perspective is not.

Andre Gunder Frank's *CAPITALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA* (1969), Paul Baran's *THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH* (1957) and many other studies of poor countries all argue that underdevelopment itself and its institutional and demographic characteristics are products of the interaction between international, national, regional, and local forces. These general perspectives in turn give rise to more specific case studies of small areas in which poverty, overpopulation, maldistribution of resources and wealth and other characteristics of endemic poverty are seen as local outcomes of larger processes (e.g. Frankel 1971; Furtado 1970).

Another literature that deals with similar problems but does not use the overall Marxist perspective stresses the nature of the national-regional-local articulations themselves. Center-periphery theory in political science is an example. Tarrow's study discussed above (see p. 27) shows that the nature of political behavior at the grassroots level of society is partly a product of local history and conditions but also partly a result of the ways local communities and regions have to organize to capture resources from the central government. Work supporting this general approach has been done all over the world (e.g., Bailey, ed. 1973; Esman, ed. 1977; Fallers 1965; Fox 1971)

If the focus is shifted to the economic dimension, we can examine the already mentioned literature on regional analysis. This literature shows that regional systems are not randomly structured. Regions producing significant amounts of export crops or having particularly difficult or easy transport problems have very different internal structures from regions where conditions are different.

These regional systems in turn have a series of important consequences for both the local communities within them and for the national governments that must deal with them. The location of communities within these regional systems has a great impact on the sort of production they engage in; helps determine their patterns of social communication; and influences patterns of local political, economic, and social organization. Conversely, these regional systems influence the way in which national governments organize their activities as well. The higher order marketing centers also become centers of political articulation (Skinner, ed. 1976) and the chains of relationships that tie the national government to the local communities pass down through regional centers to the local communities in a highly structured fashion.

This literature also shows the effects of major changes in articulation. Regions that suddenly find or lose an international market for some significant part of their produce will undergo some important changes in their internal structure and in the nature of their external articulations. Their locally observed behavior is likely also to change as well.

In virtually all of the examples given, the emphasis has been on the degree to which changes in regional and national institutions bring about changes in local communities. This is a fundamentally important point since development programs emanate from these regional and national levels. However, this point cannot be carried so far that the local communities are made to look like mere "reactors" on the historical scene. To develop this point in detail would exceed the scope of this paper, but the general argument can be made briefly.

Virtually every useful anthropological community study mentioned in this paper shows a variety of ways in which local communities have been innovative in facing their economic and political needs through the adoption of certain technologies, through the development of local institutions that supports certain activities and prohibit others, and through the judicious control of people and information. Local communities often hold their own against state power and occasionally cause revision in state policy. That local communities have their own agendas and methods for dealing with the outside world is a lesson that is of considerable importance in development work.

The importance of all the above-mentioned work for development planning and implementation is great. These works insist that the structure of local institutions and the nature of people's behavior can only be properly understood in the context of a well-developed picture of regional and national conditions. In addition, the perspectives laid out here all suggest that development work itself is a complex and risky matter because it constitutes intervention into multi-level interactions that have such a ramifying impact throughout society. The alteration of one set of institutions may set off many more changes than the developers envisioned or wanted, changes that may ultimately compromise the entire development activity.*

These works also offer models for the development planners to use in seeking systematic means for gaining more realistic understanding of the causes of local problems. Of course this greatly increases the types and quality of data that planners must master in order to produce viable development strategies. Simple statistical surveys that measure population, productivity, and other features of an area and ensuing generalized assumptions about peasant behavior are not a sufficient basis for sound policy decisions. If local and regional patterns of development and articulation are the complex products of multiple forces, then the policymakers must understand these forces and the ways in which different policies may affect or be affected by them. This complicates the planning task, but it does not make it impossible. Enough work has been done so that the gathering of such information can proceed in an expeditious fashion. This will be taken up in the latter section of the paper.

*By the same token, it must not be forgotten that life in small-scale subsistence communities is also quite risky. The high cost of variations in climate and population and of errors of agricultural judgment is reflected in the malthusian cycles that seem to accompany subsistence agriculture in large areas of the world.

Summary and Conclusions Drawn From These Lessons

A restatement of the six lessons I have articulated will make the emerging views of social scientists and historians clearer to the reader. It argues very strongly for the collection of more and better baseline data for development problem identification and planning. Moreover, the data need be treated in a theoretical framework which does not regard them as isolated, random measures.

- ONE: THE MOST VALUABLE SINGLE ASSUMPTION TO MAKE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH, WHATEVER ITS PURPOSE, IS THAT HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS A RATIONAL RESPONSE TO SOCIAL CONDITIONS

- TWO: IN ALL RESEARCH, WHETHER AT THE COMMUNITY, REGIONAL, OR NATIONAL LEVEL, IT IS MUCH MORE USEFUL TO ASSESS THE RELEVANT SOCIAL HETEROGENEITY THAN IT IS TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE DATA INTO CENTRAL TENDENCIES

- THREE: ADEQUATE BASELINE DATA AND MONITORING OF THE EFFECTS OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS ARE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

- FOUR: THE TRANSITION FROM SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE TO COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE IS NOT A UNILINEAR SHIFT FROM ONE WORLD INTO ANOTHER; INDEED A MIXED SUBSISTENCE-COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE MAY BE ITSELF A FAIRLY STABLE ADAPTIVE SYSTEM

- FIVE: IN MANY CASES, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT INVOLVE THE "CREATION" OF LINKAGES BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITIES, REGIONS, AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES; RATHER DEVELOPMENT GENERALLY INVOLVES THE "ALTERATION" OF EXISTING PATTERNS OF ARTICULATION

- SIX: GOVERNMENT-REGIONAL-LOCAL INTERACTIONS ARE MULTIPLE AND CAUSAL IN BOTH DIRECTIONS; i.e., FROM THE GOVERNMENT DOWN TO THE COMMUNITY AND FROM THE COMMUNITY UP TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE NATURE AND PERFORMANCE OF ANY PARTICULAR SEGMENT OF SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NATURE AND PERFORMANCE OF THE OTHER SEGMENTS

The first three lessons together argue for a particular view of society which in turn has implications for development work. By assuming that all peoples' behaviors are rational and that the

obligation to understand their behavior falls heavily on us as social researchers and planners, we call into question a variety of stereotypic visions of local communities and of poor countries in general.

By assuming that social heterogeneity is a relevant feature at all levels of national societies, including local communities, the works cited argue that such societies are extremely complex, but in intelligible ways. If this is accepted, then greater care in planning and in conducting baseline research should follow.

The first three lessons add up to an insistence on the importance of adequate baseline data and on the researchers' and planners' responsibilities to gather such data. If behavior in such situations are complex, then it is necessary to study them in some detail before attempting to propose and implement remedies.

Lesson Four is not logically related to the first three or the last two and yet without accepting the other lessons it is quite unlikely that we would have come to regard the transformation of subsistence into commercial agriculture as not necessarily an abrupt and discontinuous one. Without attention to Lessons One through Three with their emphasis on rationality, complexity, and baseline data, we would not recognize this.

Lessons Five and Six suggest that the particular balances of commercial and subsistence activities in any community or region will be the outcome of interactions between a set of local-regional-national and even international relationships.

One immediate implication of this is that baseline studies, against which development efforts are to be judged, are both more important and more demanding than was previously thought. If important institutional linkages already exist and these are influential forces in rural life, attempts to proceed with development plans without detailed baseline information are wrong.

A second implication arising from these lessons has to do with the scope of change. If linkages already exist and the various levels of society are already adjusted to each other to some degree, then a change in one level is likely to produce major ramify ; changes on the other levels. Obviously, then, we should not engage in actual development efforts without first knowing something about the existing linkages. Otherwise we may create many more effects than we wish and many of these may increase aggregate poverty.

Another implication is that we cannot afford to accept the neat segregation of expertises in development planning and execution. The standard division of labor gives analysis of different levels of national society to different disciplines who also come to "possess" different levels of development program administration. The effect is to isolate these interacting levels of national society in the

minds of the development agents and to overlook the kind of insights about the nature of these interactive linkages that would seem to be central to the whole problem of development, both in its technical and social dimensions.

Taken together these lessons constitute a summary view of the state of the art in this field, as it applies to problems of development planning and implementation. If these points are accepted, then it is clear that the problems that developers face in collecting and interpreting baseline data are very serious. The key question is whether or not these lessons can be added up to create some advice for developers that it is feasible for them to take.

The final section of this paper addresses this problem through the presentation of four methodologies that are both consistent with the above lessons and that promise some positive results when applied to the problems of development planning and implementation.

IV. METHODOLOGIES FOR LINKING LOCAL-LEVEL STUDIES TO REGIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

The purpose of this section is to provide some practical guidelines by which the detailed riches of local-level studies can be more effectively mobilized in development problem identification and program design. Such an aim must be met if appropriate development programs are to become a reality.

One problem is that a number of existing sophisticated methodologies have rarely been mobilized in micro-research. Works like those of Pelto and Pelto (1977) and Penny (1973) offer a wealth of suggestions and techniques, but when one reviews the long list of micro-studies, one sees how few times any of these suggestions have been put into practice.

There seem to be two basic reasons for this. First, the connection between the methodologies and the research problems which fieldworkers have been interested in has not always been clear. That is, careful methodological formulation has not always seemed necessary to the investigation of many problems. In this paper, everything possible has been done to dispel that notion. The six lessons taken together constitute a case for more careful attention to methodology lest many of the important dimensions of local communities and their interaction with the rest of society escape notice.

A second reason for neglecting such useful methods is that it is very easy to engage in statistical overkill. Complex formal methodologies can be introduced which quickly swamp the researcher

with data and analytical possibilities. This, in turn, leads to pre-occupation with statistical manipulation and relegation of systemic interactions, which are so important, to the background. While there is a time and place for such methodologies they are likely to be inappropriate for many of the problems raised here.

Thus far, the paper has outlined a set of understandings about the nature of local communities and their relationships to the rest of society. The investigation of these relationships promises to assist greatly in development problem identification and in the planning and monitoring of programs. But this is only a promise. At this point, it makes sense to outline a "simplest possible" methodology. If it provides useful results, further elaboration is possible without much difficulty.

What follows is offered in the spirit of a "simplest possible" approach consistent with the six lessons outlined in the first part of the paper. The aim is to provide adequate baseline data from micro-studies that can be, in turn, linked analytically into the regional, and national context, and secondarily can provide results to be further pursued by standard survey techniques.

The plan of this section is as follows. It briefly discusses methods for setting the context of the community prior to local study, particularly emphasizing socio-geographic analysis and regional analysis. Then an exposition of some methods for carrying out detailed socio-economic analysis at the local level is made, including censusing, accounting, and the study of access to factors of production. An argument is made that these methods provide a useful way to identify local problems; to examine their distribution within local populations, and to link these problems into the regional and national context.

Step 1: Socio-geographic Analysis

For purposes of this paper, the presentation of this approach will be very brief. The state of the art in socio-geographic analysis and in regional analysis requires a separate treatment. However, its mention is important here because the only reasonable way to select local communities for study is through some understanding of the socio-geographic regions of which they are a part.

The general outlines of the socio-geographic method have been laid out above (see page 7). While the data required for a full-scale socio-geographic analysis are extensive, it does not take long to get a sense of the general socio-geographic context of a region. Through examination of the transport, communication and production mechanisms within a nation or region, and a study of the general location of these in relation to national and international economic

systems, one quickly gets a sense of relevant context.

Some of the relevant contexts are these. While most of the communities that development agencies are interested in will have a mix of subsistence and cash cropping, it is vitally important to know the type and extent of market cash cropping. In some cases, cash crops go to support large administrative centers. In others, cash crops go to maritime cities for transshipment, ending in the international market. There are situations in which rural communities have only the most limited subsistence base and are being used by maritime cities essentially as agrarian plantations or by administrative systems as sources of tax or tribute.

Each one of these different situations implies a fundamentally different understanding of the nature of local activities. Connection to different kinds of external systems with differing cycles and mechanisms of articulation implies fundamental differences in the structure of local communities, just as the six lessons suggest. As a result, the selection of communities for micro-study must be done in the context of an understanding of this larger context, lest the questions asked be irrelevant and the results misleading.

While this may seem to be a point so obvious that it is hardly worth mentioning, there are very few examples of detailed micro-studies in which the broader socio-geographic context was even partially understood before the study was undertaken. (For positive examples, see Hill 1971; Schneider and Schneider 1976.)

Step 2: Regional Analysis

Adequate exposition of this approach also requires a detailed, separate treatment. It is a most useful and promising methodology, but discussion of it goes beyond the terms of reference for this paper. At best, a brief discussion is in order because it follows closely on the logic of Step 1. Regional analysis is much more limited in empirical scope than is socio-geographic analysis, since it focuses specifically on the direction, types and quantity of flows of goods. In return for this restriction, it provides a formalized mapping, both in spatial and quantitative terms, of the internal differentiation and relationships within regions. A brief example will show this. The example is taken from anthropological uses of regional analysis. For other uses, see Johnson (1970).

Gordon Appleby in his article "The Role of Urban Food Needs in Regional Development, Puno, Peru" (in Smith, ed., 1976) examines the pattern of urban food demand as it influenced the distribution of production activities and exchange centers in Puno. Appleby

begins with a standard map of the region. From there he moves on to identify district capitals (with and without markets), rural markets, and their alteration over time. Population density and shifts are also factored in. In addition he presents a detailed analysis of levels of markets ordered according to an index of the goods sold in them. The results of this are then superimposed on the original map to provide a detailed analytic view of the internal relations and articulations among local communities in the Puno region.

The effect is to convert the map into a kind of portrait of the circulatory system of the region. From this, one can proceed in a variety of directions. Knowing this context, it is possible to compare communities with similar or different relations to the regional system or some part of it. It is possible to trace the movement of certain products or of the penetration of national and international market forces, and so on. In all, it is a very useful analytical device.

What is important about such regional analysis in the context of this paper on local-level studies is that it provides a very detailed sense of the variety of local communities and a knowledge of which are linked to which by what kinds of economic relationships. With this information in hand, it is then possible to pick local communities for study with a clear idea of what the nature of the sample is.

To return to Appleby's case for a moment, let us assume that Puno is the target for a major development initiative and that it is necessary to define three or four major development problems in the area and to elaborate methods for solving them. Given this assignment, I would be inclined to select one or two communities from each of Appleby's market levels for more detailed study on the grounds that the major development problems of the area would be likely to show up through sampling such a range of communities. If, however, the program's aim were to incorporate primarily subsistence communities into the national marketing system, then Appleby's regional analysis provides the basis for the selection of some other relevant set of communities.

In all, regional analysis can be an invaluable tool in the process of selecting local communities for research and ultimately for linking the results of local studies into a larger regional picture.

Step 3: The Local Community

At this point the confluence of information from general socio-geographic and regional analysis has provided a sense of both

the overall systems of which local communities are a part and an inventory of types of communities from which a sample can be chosen for more detailed study. In what follows, guidelines are indicated for the collection and analysis of community information.

A. Selection of a Sample of Communities

As suggested above, community selection depends very much on the nature of development initiatives being considered. For each type of initiative, a different sample of communities will be relevant. Once again, it must be emphasized that this obvious point has often been overlooked by fieldworkers selecting communities for in-depth studies, and this constitutes a major impediment to the utility of local studies for development policymaking.

B. Setting Limits on the Scope of the Community Studies

All of the logic of this paper so far has pointed toward a particular view of community studies. This view insists that community studies, to be useful theoretically or practically, must be problem-oriented. Ethnographic thoroughness is a laudable objective in the abstract, but the specific intent of the proposals made here is to single out only a few dimensions of local life for detailed study. These dimensions center on the study of farmer rationality, institutional constraints on local behavior, and quantitative magnitudes of different kinds of activities. These dimensions capture most of what is contained in the six lessons from the first part of the paper. Besides, they are complex enough to require a great deal of investigative effort.

C. Detailed Socio-economic Census

After a set of communities has been chosen, a fundamental step is the development of detailed quantitative evidence on a farm by farm basis, data which can also be aggregated into more general magnitudes. No one contests the need for a socio-economic census; most anthropologists feel obligated to make one. And yet such census data rarely play an important enough role in development-related research, mostly because methods have been lacking that permit utilization of this data to make points about community structure and problems. The potential contribution of such data has been demonstrated in detail already in this paper in the discussions of the work of DeWalt (1975); Greenwood (1976); Hill (1971) and Ortiz (1973). Without such data, none of the conclusions

of these studies would have been possible.

What census format should be used? There are as many forms as practitioners and some are tremendously complex. Once again, the best choice is for the simplest possible methodology that will satisfy the requirements of the study.

The census approach I used in my Basque research can serve as a model because despite its simplicity, it worked. The format contained the following categories of information:

- reference number for the farm
- date of interview
- location of farm
- tenant or owner operated
- name of owner
- full names of all residents
- ages
- relationship to farm owner or manager
- date of marriage
- place of birth
- history of residence
- occupations past and present
- education
- farm size
- soil characteristics
- distribution of land
- value of land
- farm capital (house, tools and machinery, work animals, etc.)
- active labor force
- crops cultivated and land areas devoted to each
- number of harvests per year per plot
- livestock (numbers, ages, sexes, physical facilities)
- appliances in the house
- vehicles owned
- census taker's judgments:
 - overall state of the farm
 - intensity of cultivation
 - idiosyncracies of the case
 - other comments

Clearly there is a great deal of latitude in any census for levels of detail. In my own study, I opted for a general census of this sort which I then aggregated into a set of figures. Those gave me ranges, means and other information that provided a context for more detailed case studies. One could opt for a more detailed farm census and management survey.

D. Analysis of the Socio-economic Census and Selection of Case Studies

At this point in the research, activities must be more analytical than empirical. The census data must be analyzed reasonably carefully in the field before more in-depth research makes sense. The crucial factor dictating this is what was discussed under the heading of "significant heterogeneity" in Part III of this paper. Until the field researcher has at least a preliminary handle on the significant local heterogeneity, there is little more that can be usefully done in the study.

In my own study of Basque agriculturalists I subjected the census to a hand analysis through which I discovered the existence of three major types of farming enterprises: those relying solely on vegetable production, those mixing dairying and vegetable production, and those involved solely in dairying. This in turn correlated with farm size, soil types, capital values, size of labor force, etc. As a result, I selected a sample of farms from these three types for detailed quantitative treatment and case histories of production. Ultimately this provided a major basis for my analysis of agricultural decline.

Another use of census data is that found in DeWalt's already mentioned study (see pp. 12-13). It is sufficiently different from mine to merit mention. DeWalt was interested in both proving the heterogeneity of peasant communities and in explaining the differential adoption of agricultural innovations locally. He identified four major innovations that local people could adopt or reject: forage production, animal improvement, tractor use, and fertilizer use. After having developed a very detailed socio-economic census of this community, DeWalt subjected the census to analysis in terms of local heterogeneity. He quickly discovered significant ecological, economic and other inequalities in the community. He then correlated these inequalities with the adoption or rejection of different agricultural innovations. The result was significant correlations that showed a systematic set of relationships between the local inequalities in access to and in types of resources and the sorts of innovations people would adopt. This made local behavior rationally intelligible and provided the basis for much more realistic development planning in the future.

If the question underlying the local research has to do with the profitability and viability of family farming enterprises, then it is necessary to take an additional step. This involves the selection of a sample of farms to study in quantitative and qualitative detail.

E. Formal Economic Analysis

While the analysis of the general socio-economic census can both provide a kind of overall economic accounting for local agriculture and the basis for the study of local heterogeneity, certain kinds of problems center on the profitability of particular combinations of farming activity. Even at the local census level, it is possible to misunderstand the relationship between cash crops and subsistence crops and to make recommendations that would be locally ineffective.

Here again the complexity of potential methodologies come to the fore. Agricultural economics provides a huge array of farm management and accounting survey techniques that can be used. Again, I would opt for the simplest possible methods. In the study of Basque family farming, I selected a sample of 26 farms for detailed study, a selection made to include the variability in product mixes found in the analysis of the census, and also to include varieties of size and intensity of production within each type. Each of these farms was studied over a six-month period and was visited for perhaps as many as 30 hours overall. For each, detailed mapping of land-use patterns and soil types was done, production histories were taken, capital stocks and labor force were studied in detail; and complete life histories were taken. At the same time, a detailed accounting of all production and sales for a 12-month period was kept. The results were detailed economic accounts and case histories for these farms.

At this point it was possible to return to the general socio-economic census. Each of the sample farms provided detailed information on per acre productivity, costs, etc. for each kind of production activity and intensity. Using this data as a base, the full set of the farms in the census was classified and an aggregate accounting was set up. This resulted in an overall formal accounting for vegetable gardening, for gardening combined with dairying, and for dairying plus a summary account of agriculture as a whole.

Such analysis is expensive in time and effort and should only be done if real questions about the profitability of agriculture and the rational allocation of resources have arisen. What is provided is the following. First, it gives an overall sense of the magnitude and profitability of agriculture in the community--always within the real human context of case studies. Second, it provides a picture of the sources of profits and difficulties in local agriculture. Third, it provides a formal analysis that can be theoretically manipulated by development planners to assess the advisability of various different courses of action. Fourth, for the anthropologist and planner, it provides a portrait of the major local adaptive strategies, which incorporates the complexities of the mix of commercial and subsistence agriculture in local communities,

assumes the rationality of peasant farmers, and incorporates significant local heterogeneity into the analysis.

F. Analysis of the Significant Institutional Problems of Local Agricultural Communities: Contextualizing the Factors of Production

Thus far in the presentation of methodologies, stress has been placed upon the formal dimensions of analysis in which a variety of types of quantitative measures and modes of analysis can be combined to create a differentiated portrait of local systems. However, there are many important local problems that cannot be examined quantitatively. Indeed, this is the argument that anthropologists make against survey methods and in favor of ethnographic research. The problem is that methods of general ethnographic research are often quite time-consuming, and vague. The aim here is to provide, once again, a simple approach to the institutional structure of local communities, an approach that is both orderly and replicable.

The methodology for contextualizing the factors of production to be discussed here is my own and it was developed as a way of organizing the study of Spanish Basque rural exodus already discussed. Its virtue, besides its operational simplicity, is that it provides a way of understanding local production decisions in the context of the technical and institutional systems used in a local community. It helps place these in the context of local, regional, and national factor markets and political economy.

The concept of factors of production and its origin is a concern of intellectual historians. While there has always been a good deal of debate about the definition and number of factors of production which need not concern us here, one point is important. Economists, in employing these concepts, have been less interested in the technical processes of production themselves than in the distributional implications of ownership of different factors.

It is intrinsic to the nature of micro-studies of development that we be interested in the substantive process of production itself. To that extent this analysis uses the concepts in a way different from their normal deployment. The analytical focus of this methodology is on what are generally called factor proportions decisions, i.e., decisions made within management units about the varying combinations of factors of production that will be employed in the production process itself. Methodologically this implies that the investigator must know all of those conditions, technical, institutional, market, etc. that affect the relative availability of the different factors of production. The central assumption is that when the relative availability of the factors is understood, then production decisions will be understood and aggregate distributions

of economic activity will make sense.

For the researcher in local communities, the study of factor proportions problems requires analysis of institutional contexts beyond those normally included in the concept of factor markets. One must investigate the various social institutions and jural rules affecting the acquisition and disposition of the factors of production, as well as the conditions of supply and demand relating to them. At a minimum, the analysis of local factor proportions decisions must include the factor and product markets relevant to these, the institutional conditions affecting access to the factors, the social and technical character of the production process, the units of production, the nature of returns to the factors, and statistical information about the actual distribution of factors among the various alternatives.

There is no question that this is a demanding methodology. To analyze production in this way, the researcher must come to understand the ecology, productivity, units of production, quantities of the factors available, the costs and conditions affecting factor availability, and the technology (including alternative techniques). In addition, accounting procedures for analyzing total production, production by technique, and comparison of alternative techniques are often needed. Most of these data have to be developed by the fieldworker because reliable statistics and descriptions are usually not available. Of course, the level of detail will depend on the nature of the questions being addressed. Besides this complexity is not more extreme than that in most micro-research endeavors.

The Means of Access

Limiting attention to the conditions affecting the relative availability of the factors of production normally discussed in economics, one includes, under the heading of factor markets, the market conditions relating to the purchase, rental, and production of the factors. Relevant social institutional arrangements include institutional contexts such as marriage, inheritance, and reciprocal exchange. Assumptions about contract, property, and occupation among other things, must also be examined to see how they affect access to factors of production.

For the study of local economies, the exclusion of the institutional conditions relevant to the availability of the factors of production, or the failure to relate them to the factor markets, results in an inadequate understanding of problems of production. In any given case it cannot show why certain factor proportion decisions are made instead of others, and by extension, why certain distributions of the factors of production among alternatives tend to occur in the economy generally. A technique that allows the

simultaneous consideration, within one frame of reference, of all the conditions affecting the availability of the factors of production is most useful. It gives a more realistic picture of the context in which producers make decisions. It provides a framework for comparisons of economic activity that includes the full range of conditions affecting factor proportions decisions. This is certainly preferable to analyses based solely on different responses to price incentives.

The concept of "means of access" is not original; it is borrowed from Emrys Peters (personal communication). It rests on his distinction between the elements in a social situation and the means by which people in that situation gain access to those elements. In this perspective analysis of the means of access is the analytical linkage between the elements, behaviors, and the observed distribution of activities and elements in the social situation.

The traditional three factors of production are used (land, labor, and capital) though the inclusion of management or enterprise would not change the argument. Then an attempt is made to enumerate all the possible means of access. The following are the seven major means of access: purchase, rental, production, appropriation, marriage, inheritance, and reciprocal exchange. Brief definitions of each follow:

- A. Purchase: ownership of the factors of production gained through payment of cash or services in return for total legal possession of them.
- B. Rental: control over the disposition of a factor and at least partial rights to the profits of production through payment of cash or services.
- C. Production: creation of factors through the expenditure of personal land, capital, and/or labor.
- D. Appropriation: use of the factors with no other claim to them beyond the exercise of one's own production activities.
- E. Marriage: insofar as it is related to the factors, it can be seen as the passage of ownership and/or control over the factors through entrance into a conjugal relationship.
- F. Inheritance: passage of ownership and/or control of the factors through testamentary or non-testamentary means from one generation to another.

- G. Reciprocal exchange: various temporary conferrals of control over factors in return for similar or equivalent rights at the same time or at some future time, often with regard to different factors of production.

Exploration of a variety of data is necessary for contextualizing the factors of production in this framework. For each of them and each of the means of access, the investigator must know the following in order to understand existing general patterns of factor allocation:

1. long-run and short-run commodity markets relevant to factor proportions
2. long-run and short-run factor markets
3. relevant national law (contract, civil code)
4. relevant customary law
5. general production possibilities
6. alternative techniques of production
7. a general accounting of the distribution of the factors among alternative techniques and the economic result of these

In addition, one needs further information for the analysis of specific factor proportion decisions at the production unit level:

1. actual production possibilities of the individual unit
2. means of access employed in the individual unit's assembly of the factors
3. alternative techniques of production available to the individual unit

These production unit data would include information about the specific magnitude of the factors in the unit with information about soil types, capital stocks, domestic cycle, and family history.

Though the listing of the relevant data for this type of analysis occupies a small amount of space, anyone having attempted production analysis will realize that an amount of empirical research is required to provide the necessary data. It involves learning the inputs and outputs of production, the production techniques, the overall production of the economy, and the economic and social conditions related to the availability of the factors of production, and developing a means for production accounting. However, once collected within this framework, these data allow us to understand a good deal about the the production decisions made and hence the reasons for the existing aggregate distributions of the factors among alternative techniques. This is a worthy return for the effort.

To show how this method works, I will return one final time to my study of Spanish Basque rural exodus. According to this study, Basque family farmers responded to the growth of the market for food occasioned by local industrialization and tourism by gradually commercializing their small subsistence farms. An accounting showed that these small commercial farms produced extremely high absolute profits and profit-investment ratios.

Formal Accounting of Cattle Raising and Gardening,
9/68-8/69 (in pesetas)

A. Land	41,741,770.00
B. Capital	90,925,616.73
C. Production	82,182,845.75
Costs	19,951,781.48
Gross profits	62,231,064.27
Interest	7,960,043.31
Labor	21,931,875.00
Net profits	32,339,145.96
<u>Profit</u>	<u>32,339,145.96</u>
<u>Investment</u> =	<u>132,667,386.73</u> =

24% or \$452,748 net profit

Greenwood, 1976, p. 80.

At the same time, the socio-economic census showed a rapid and ultimately nearly total rural exodus, with the closing of the

farms and the movement of the local population into relatively low-paying and insecure factory jobs.

Once this paradoxical situation had been established through the use of formal economic analysis, it was clear that further use of economic analysis would not provide an explanation of this apparently "irrational" behavior. Farmers, who very successfully commercialized their farms and carried out quite complex economic calculations and managerial functions, suddenly decided to leave the profits aside and move to the city.

It was at this point that the study of means of access to the factors of production became relevant. Detailed documentation on all the means of access to the factors was developed. This included markets for land, capital, and labor, marriage systems, a complex of inheritance practices, and a variety of inter-farm cooperative arrangements. It should be noted that much of this material is normally developed in the course of a community study so that it does not present many new empirical demands.

Once all this material had been gathered together, it was possible to draw-up a comparison between means of access to the factors in 1920 and 1969. In 1920 the pattern of means of access to the factors of production looked like this:

MEANS OF ACCESS TO THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION: 1920

Means of Access	Factors of Production		
	Land	Capital	Labor
Purchase	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rental	Yes	Limited	No
Production	Yes	Yes	Yes
Appropriation	No	No	No
Marriage	Yes	Yes	Yes
Inheritance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reciprocal Arrangements	No	Limited	Yes

Briefly, one could gain access to farm land by producing it. This involved reclaiming land in a large flat river bottom area and was a common practice. Also one could purchase land, rent it on long-term or short-term leases, marry into a family having a farm (an option open to both males and females), and finally one could inherit a farm from one's parents.

The limited amount of capital used at this time was also available through production, marriage, inheritance, and purchase, and to a limited degree through rental and reciprocal arrangements. Important capital items included farm buildings, steel plows, and ox teams. Labor could be gotten through production, purchase, and rights over labor or its disposition could be gotten through marriage and/or inheritance. Also reciprocal labor arrangements were commonplace. By 1969 the pattern had altered greatly.

MEANS OF ACCESS TO THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION: 1969

Means of Access	Factors of Production		
	Land	Capital	Labor
Purchase	No	Yes	No
Rental	No	Limited	No
Production	No	Yes	Yes
Appropriation	No	No	No
Marriage	Yes	Yes	Yes
Inheritance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reciprocal Arrangements	Limited	Limited	Limited

Greenwood, 1976, p. 122.

Land could only be had through marriage or inheritance. Reclaiming land in the river bottom was prohibited and purchase of land, even for highly profitable farming, was impossible. The reasons for this are quite complex, but suffice it to say that this municipality had become a popular summer spot for Spain's wealthy. They are willing to pay developers incredibly high prices for land to build summer homes on. Hence, the land market was invaded by speculators and the values set on a piece of land actually involved the view to be had from it, its access roads, and were unrelated to its agricultural potential. Farmers had effectively been closed out of the market. Also a large country club was established, which, through a combination of wise purchases and political power plays, had been able to wipe out a large number of profitable dairy farms.

Capital was the only factor for which the means of access had not narrowed. There were a large number of capital items employed by the farmers to make their land more productive. These included garden tractors, power tillers, power reapers, milking machines, fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides, and herbicides. They invested heavily in these.

Labor was no longer available through the payment of wages. The development of a cultural prejudice against agricultural labor, regardless of the wages, coupled with ample employment possibilities

in the tourist economy, in local industry, and in fishing, had dried up the pool of wage labor for farming to such a degree that even farmers willing to pay high wages could not get laborers to work for them.

Thus between 1920 and 1969 the means of access to land and labor narrowed in significant ways, leaving only production, marriage and inheritance open. These, of course, are the least flexible, least expandible means of access, and the ones most closely hedged about with cultural rules. Only capital has remained easily available.

An understanding of shifting means of access helps to disentangle the complex elements in the process of rural exodus. Land and labor had gradually become extremely difficult to obtain while capital had not. In response to this, the farmers had separated out dairying and vegetable farming and concentrated all available resources on vegetables which were land intensive and responded to increased capitalization by producing more than commensurate increases in marginal returns. Dairying, in this context, showed diminishing returns with increased capitalization (under the particular circumstances of this municipality) and was deemphasized. Hence the farmers had chosen product mixes suited to the differential ease of access to the factors of production and showed real economic acumen.

This adaptation by the farmers accounts for the picture of high profits that emerged from my analysis of agriculture in 1968-1969. But this adaptation could not resolve the broader problems presented to rural life by the combined effects of industrialization in nearby areas, the tourist industry, and the decline of the prestige of agriculture as an occupation. In this broader social context, the profitable adaptation worked out by the farmers could only be a stop-gap measure.

The impingement of this broader context on farming is seen in the historical picture of the narrowing of the means of access resulting in the ever-increasing fragility of agriculture. With access to land dependent on marriage and inheritance and access to labor on production, marriage and inheritance, a single accident in the domestic cycle (an heir that chose to remain unmarried, a barren marriage, and so on) was sufficient to remove one more farm from production, with land speculators and buyers ready to purchase it. Capital, the widely available factor, alone could not ensure the continuation of farming. Gradually, the trickle of farm abandonment had become a mass exodus as each remaining farmer began to feel that, profits or no, his future in farming was likely to be dark.

It is worthwhile to point out that two Cornell graduate students have employed this technique in the study of different kinds of farming systems. One study involved German immigrant family farmers in a region of latifundio agriculture in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

(Kluck 1975) and the other involved the study of ranching and cash cropping in Northeast Brazil (Clay, in preparation). In both cases, the methodology provided useful analytical results.

What are the advantages of this methodology? First, this way of looking at the local economy works toward a combined sense of the dilemmas individual farms face and the pattern of aggregate solutions worked out in the whole community. It permits a behavioral understanding of farmers' activities while helping to characterize local technical and socio-economic systems. In this respect it permits the investigator to relate a sense of the diversity of individual family farming units and of their solutions to problems with an overall sense of the more-or-less standard solutions characteristic of the community as a whole.

Second, it provides a partial means for eliminating the over-emphasis on the boundedness of rural communities. In collecting information about inheritance systems, factor markets, etc., the investigator necessarily incorporates data about extracommunity institutional systems and conditions that directly affect local production decisions. Third, it gathers and reduces a great deal of data into manageable form. The types of data needed to carry out an analysis of this sort are often scattered throughout standard ethnographies under diverse and often unconnected rubrics such as "the kinship system," the "marriage system," etc. By organizing the collection and presentation of all such data around the means of access to factors of production, this framework unifies the research and interpretation of local behavior.

Fourth, this approach lends itself to systematic comparison between different farming systems. By characterizing production systems through the means of access framework, it is possible to arrive at useful comparative statements about the relative advantages and bottlenecks in various farming systems, which in turn, can provide a meaningful baseline for problem identification and program planning.

Fifth, once a number of such studies have been done for a particular part of a country, it should be possible to outline the critical problems that each area faces. Having identified problems in this way, it should be possible to structure questionnaires that focus on these problems and survey the rest of the communities in the relevant region to assess the overall distribution and severity of the already identified problems. If, for example, a handful of case studies indicate that the major problem in agriculture in a particular region is limited access to wage labor, then survey instruments can be used to assess the extent of this problem throughout the region in which the initial studies were carried out. With this kind of information in hand, planners are in a much better position to formulate realistic and relevant development programs, and to project the nature and extent of the effects of a variety of proposed programs.

G. Summary

The overall set of approaches offered here is designed as a kind of simple, and minimal package that will take advantage of some of the major lessons learned in the social sciences and history over the past 25 years. They provide a means for choosing ways to study communities and analyze census results to comprehend significant local heterogeneity; ways to analyze that heterogeneity formally and produce an overview of local production and exchange activity, and finally, means to analyze the role played by local and extralocal institutions in structuring local activity. By the end of the analysis, the community is once again set in its regional and socio-geographic context.

On the basis of such information, meaningful development programs can be erected, or alternatively, further research can be added to discover details of the distribution of problems identified in the microstudies before programs are designed.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Most of the appropriate conclusions have been spelled out. There is little point in repetition. The six lessons from Part III were stated in detail and their implications were considered extensively. Part IV developed a set of relatively simple methodologies by which communities could be chosen, studied, and analyzed in ways that would produce data relevant to development problem identification and to program planning.

The one general implication to be drawn out in detail involves the relationship between the lessons and methodologies outlined here and the need for more participatory development programs. Despite the acceptance of policy statements arguing for improvement of the participatory dimensions of development programs, it is clear that delivering participatory results requires major new steps in both social science theory and methodology.

It is in the nature of problems of participation that local socio-economic organizations become a key issue. In order to elaborate participatory policies, the nature and functions of local institutions must be well understood. This necessarily implies knowing a great deal about a great mass of people, a task of major dimensions. One substitute for this kind of extensive knowledge has been survey research, which often sacrifices accuracy and sensitivity for scope, and in-depth community studies that sacrifice generalizability for detailed understanding of the logic of local institutions.

This extremely difficult problem is by no means new to development agencies, but the new emphasis on participation exacerbates it.

In this paper, an avowedly optimistic, partial approach to the problem has been put forward. By reviewing the major lessons learned in the social sciences and history in recent decades, the paper has put into focus the principal generalizations that are widely accepted about local institutions. While examining these generalizations, the paper reviewed a variety of methods used to delve into local institutions and to extrapolate from local situations to larger contexts. On the basis of these lessons and methods, a minimal set of techniques was proposed.

The key to the appropriate use of these methods is the selection of communities for intensive study on the basis of good socio-geographic and regional information and use of a clear set of ideas about the possible nature of local problems. Once this sampling has been carried out, then the methodology resolves itself into a variety of ways for studying local institutions and activity both quantitatively and qualitatively. These are constructed so that the results will take account of the major lessons already learned and so that the results can be put back into the regional and national context for use in development policymaking.

While the demands of such research are high, the overall message of this paper is positive. It is indeed possible to link the fine detail of local in-depth studies to broader regional and national policy questions. It is not only possible but quite desirable, because such methods hold out the possibility of more accurate identification of development problems and more realistic construction of programs to deal with them.

VI. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- Bailey, F. G., ed.
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A veritable classic in the analysis of rural society, this book puts forward an interpretation of rural poverty that this entire paper is aimed at criticizing. In essence, Banfield argues that South Italians are poor because they have a cultural pattern that inhibits cooperation. The effect is to blame their culture for their poverty and to ignore the vast inequalities in the political economy of this region.
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- Barrett, Richard
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A negative example, this book commits a fundamental analytical error common in the study of social change and development. Barrett assumes what the "traditional" time before "change" began was like and then tries to explain

change. The risk (and the effect in this case) is to mis-identify social changes taking place and to explain them quite inaccurately. This leads to false policy conclusions, along with systematic ignorance of relevant history.

Beals, Ralph, ed.

1975 THE PEASANT MARKETING SYSTEM OF OAXACA, MEXICO. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beals' study should be paired with that of Cook and Diskin, 1976, since both grew out of similar research projects. Beals attempted to study the Oaxaca market system by having a variety of people study individual markets and towns, but a difficulty arises when the data are aggregated. Without a unifying theory to deal with regional phenomena, the analysis falls short, resulting in much enumeration but little sense of the political economy of Oaxaca.

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An extremely sensitive analysis of the mafia, this work is a model for community research linked into regional and national analysis. Using historical records and contemporary research, Blok is able to develop an explanation of the mafia as the result of certain structures and distributions of power and wealth within the regional and national systems of Italy. It is a fine example of the way in which local analysis can be enhanced by attention to regional, national, and historical context.

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A collection of case studies designed to prove that in most of Africa, while there were marketplaces, there was no "market system." Instead reciprocal and redistributive relationships held sway, only to be broken down eventually by capitalist market economy. Despite the ideological agreement, the book has problems like those of Aceves and Douglass, 1976 and Bailey, 1976. A group of case studies rarely add up to a regional or national explanation of the kinds of behaviors development agents are interested in.

Cancian, Frank

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1966 THE THEORY OF PEASANT ECONOMY. D. Thorner, B. Kerblay, and R. E. F. Smith, eds. Homewood, Illinois: published for the American Economic Association by Richard D. Irwin, Inc.

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because it argues a view of peasant family farming as a balancing of subsistence and commercial forces with special problems regarding the treatment of family labor as a commodity.

Clay, Jason

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1974 THE HIDDEN FRONTIER. New York: Academic Press.

A most intriguing study of alpine Italy in which two communities are compared. They lie side by side in the same ecosystem and yet have different patterns of inheritance, major differences in political organization, and fundamental differences in ethnicity all attributable to the effects on the local communities of different, far distant political centers.

Cook, Scott and Martin Diskin

1976 MARKETS IN OAXACA. Austin: University of Texas Press.

This should be compared with Beals, 1975. Growing partly out of the Beals project, this effort departed from it by trying to apply Marxist political economy and regional analysis to the case. Unfortunately the integrity of the community study method was left intact and frustrated attempts at synthesis. Also there is a strong undertone of romanticism regarding the "pre-capitalist economic formations" of Oaxaca which does some violence to the rather harsh social realities.

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A study, with excellent detail, of the structure and importance of social relationships in the marketplace, it is limited by inattention to the regional area that the marketplace serves and which is socially articulated, in part, by the market. It limits the concept of market to refer to a specific location, rather than to an interaction between supply and demand. These rich data, placed in a regional context, could provide an interesting analysis of this socially complex area.

DeWalt, Billie

1975 MODERNIZATION IN A MEXICAN EJIDO: CHOOSING ALTERNATIVE ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs. This study is currently in press at the Cambridge University Press.

Extensively discussed in the text of this paper, this study is probably one of the very best on peasant communities ever done by an anthropologist interested in development. DeWalt chooses an ejido community and then, using carefully collected census data, disaggregates it into a limited number of different adaptive strategies and then shows how behavior with regard to innovations in agriculture can be predicted by understanding the diverse local adaptive strategies. Thus the book provides a methodology and a set of results showing how important the study of local heterogeneity is for development planning.

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A study of a marketplace in Java, this work attempts to argue that the presence of vast numbers of small traders is socially functional because of the large amount of regional unemployment and the poor quality of transportation networks.

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1975 ECHALAR AND MURELAGA. New York: St. Martin's Press.

A comparative study of the social organization and history of two Spanish Basque communities, Douglass' book shows that by linking local studies into their regional context and setting these properly in historical context, one can provide, not only a good interpretation of local history, but also considerable insight into regional and national history as well.

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- 1948 EMPIRE'S CHILDREN. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 6, Smithsonian Institution.
One of Foster's earlier publications, it sets the basic framework he uses for dealing with "folk culture" and for interpreting peasant society.
- 1965 Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST 67:293-315.
An article that sparked great controversy, it is in some ways a sequel to Banfield's study (1958). Foster's argument is that the ethos of the local community is that anyone who gets ahead does so at someone else's expense. Hence the emphasis on coercing people into a state of shared poverty. Foster also seems to change his view occasionally and argue that the "goods" are really limited anyway. In any case, the community is treated as a homogeneous unit and the primary cause of poverty is deemed to be backward cultural orientations, just as in Banfield's book.

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Based on Chayanov's perspectives, Franklin's book documents the final stages of the commercialization of family farming in Europe in which labor itself becomes fully commoditized. The book contains a variety of country-specific studies that show the different impacts of this transition in different ecosystems and under different political regimes.

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This paper summarizes much of the anthropological literature on the subject of peasant "rationality" as of about 1972 and argues that the assumption that peasants are "rational" is the only defensible one.

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Extensively discussed in the text of the paper, this study combines census data, formal accounts, means of access to the factors of production, historical data, and the study of value systems to provide an interpretation of Basque rural exodus that shows that it is not caused by declining profits but rather by the shifting political-economic relationships in the region and by the commercialization of agriculture itself which brings farming into conflict with basic Basque values.

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A collection of articles all centering on the idea that underdevelopment in Latin America is a direct product of the expansion of the world capitalist system.

Hill, Polly

1970 THE MIGRANT COCOA-FARMERS OF SOUTHERN GHANA. Cambridge at the University Press.

Extensively discussed in the text, this classic study "discovered" that seemingly traditional villagers had developed a highly capitalistic cocoa-farming enterprise far distant from the local villages and requiring long-term investments, all in response to the international market for cocoa. Detailing the history and organization of these farms, Hill provides an incredible story of development without governmental aid or knowledge and forces a major revision in the usual explanations of rural poverty as the result of "traditional" mentalities and backwardness.

Hoben, Allan

1972 Social Anthropology and Development Planning--A Case Study in Ethiopian Land Reform Policy, JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES, 10:561-582.

Through his detailed study of the local land tenure system, Hoben is able to show that the problems in the local economy do not center around the distribution of land, as the government had thought, but around transportation, and other problems. In this way, he shows the potential power of local study for revising the priorities of national development agencies.

Hunter, Guy
1969 MODERNIZING PEASANT SOCIETIES. New York: Oxford University Press.

A summary of the literature on peasant societies and development. It is quite readable and is generally sympathetic to the views put forward in this paper. However it suffers from its own goal in that the survey treatment of any particular subject turns out to be quite superficial.

Johnson, E. A. J.
1970 THE ORGANIZATION OF SPACE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

The central work on geographic approaches, especially regional analysis, and their relevance for the study of development. Beginning with a wide ranging history of the subject, the book goes on to detail a variety of applications of these perspectives and to give detailed case materials to back them up. For a more anthropological view of this topic, see Carol Smith, ed., 1976.

Kluck, Patricia
1975 DECISION-MAKING AMONG DESCENDANTS OF GERMAN IMMIGRANT FARMERS IN RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRAZIL. Ithaca: Cornell University Latin American Studies Program Dissertation Series, No. 61.

A case study of an ethnic group of family farmers forming an enclave in Rio Grande do Sul. Kluck uses techniques similar to those in Greenwood, 1976 and discussed in this paper--especially means of access to factors of production--to show how successfully the farmers were able to respond to a variety of market opportunities and to survive despite a governmental policy aimed at eliminating their presence on the grounds that they were too small to be efficient.

Lele, Uma
1975 THE DESIGN OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT: LESSONS FROM AFRICA. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

An exceptionally useful survey of decades of experience in the design and implementation of development projects in Africa.

Le Roy Ladourie, Emmanuel
1974 THE PEASANTS OF LANGUEDOC. John Day, trans. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

A fine example of the French Annales approach to the study of regional social history, this book documents the relationships between population, resources, and institutional and cultural change in Languedoc between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries.

Lewis, Oscar

1951 LIFE IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE: TEPOZTLAN RESTUDIED. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

An anthropological classic written to counter the interpretation of Tepoztlán put forward by Redfield (1930). While Redfield stressed the collective cultural understandings that unified the community, Lewis stressed the local heterogeneity and conflict. Which of the two interpretations is correct is a question that has entertained anthropologists for a long time. The proper answer seems to be that both are accurate portraits of aspects of the community, reinforcing the notion that the model one begins with is instrumental in formulating the conclusions arrived at.

Malefakis, Edward

1970 AGRARIAN REFORM AND PEASANT REVOLUTION IN SPAIN. New Haven: Yale University Press.

One of the very best historical studies of the origins of agrarian conflict ever done. Malefakis combines demographic data, the study of social institutions, and the analysis of the national political process into a powerful interpretation of the Spanish Civil War that sets it in a clear historical and institutional context and in turn permits other students to study local communities historically with a clear sense of the relevant questions.

Martínez-Alier, Juan

1971 LABOURERS AND LANDOWNERS IN SOUTHERN SPAIN. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield.

A fascinating study of the stability of latifundistic systems. Martínez-Alier confronts directly the problem that the landless poor maintain ideologies about a good day's work for a day's pay, etc., despite their belief that the latifundio system is unjust. Thus they seem to clearly contribute to their own exploitation. Rather than following the common approach of calling this false consciousness, he argues that so long as the unjust system seems stable, the workers go along. At the moment instability appears, they become a radical revolutionary force. Thus it is not so much false consciousness as it is a sense of realism that accounts for their actions.

Marx, Leo

1964 THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN. London: Oxford University Press.

This study documents a variety of culturally generated images of urban and rural life in America that have great power for us. One reading this study is impressed with the extent to which these images have influenced attitudes (supposedly scientific) about rural societies around the world.

Mintz, Sidney

1974 CARIBBEAN TRANSFORMATIONS. Chicago: Aldine.

An elegant summary and extension of Mintz's richly detailed work in the Caribbean. In it he takes up the question of nationhood, as well as issues centering on political economy and race relations.

Ortiz, Sutti R. de

1973 UNCERTAINTIES IN PEASANT FARMING. London: University of London: The Athlone Press.

Discussed in detail in the text, this book provides an interesting analysis of the ways in which a community of Paez maintains a radical separation between subsistence items (transacted only in terms of kinship and reciprocity) and commercial items (transacted with cash according to profit maximization motives). Close analysis of her data also shows how the Paez behavior in the export sphere makes sense only when their subsistence activities are understood.

Paul, Benjamin, ed.

1955 HEALTH, CULTURE, AND COMMUNITY. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Long a definitive sourcebook on public health programs in poor countries, this set of case studies, like Spicer's (1952) shows the anthropologist in the venerable role of explaining why programs generally did not work. While quite useful, the promise that a clear set of lessons for development planning would emerge from this strategy has not been fulfilled. It is partly to avoid the weaknesses of this strategy that this state of the art paper was written.

Pelto, Pertti and Gretel Pelto

1977 ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH: THE STRUCTURE OF INQUIRY. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A very fine book outlining a variety of operational research methodologies for local-level studies. The authors' insistence on operationalization and on the use of statistics to discover anomalies to be explained through further research makes this a very useful compendium of materials. See also Penny 1973.

Penny, David

1973 HINTS FOR RESEARCH WORKERS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Occasional Paper, Department of Agricultural Economics, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

This monograph is a little-known gem written by an agricultural economist after years of research experience. In simple language, it lays out perhaps the most intelligent operational approach to social research I have seen.

Peters, Emrys

1977 PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Pitt-Rivers, Julian

1971 PEOPLE OF THE SIERRA. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Originally published in 1954.

The classic monograph on rural social structure and conflict in Spain. It assumes that communities existed before the state and that the penetration of the communities by the state causes rural rebellion. Though interesting, I believe it to be historically incorrect since communities and the state co-evolve and because the regional level of organization is left out.

Poleman, Thomas and Donald Freebairn, eds.

1973 FOOD, POPULATION, AND EMPLOYMENT: THE IMPACT OF GREEN REVOLUTION. New York: Praeger.

A conference collection, this book systematically questions the received wisdom on the Green Revolution, providing positive and negative perspectives that permit the reader to form a kind of personal balance sheet as well as to identify some of the main flaws of the Green Revolution strategy.

Popkin, Samuel

1979 THE RATIONAL PEASANT. Berkeley: University of California Press.

A tour de force examining and criticizing the literature on peasant economic and political behavior and exploring in detail Vietnamese rural history up to the anti-colonial war of liberation. Takes strong issue with the "moral economy" formulations of Scott (1976) and Migdal (PEASANTS, POLITICS, AND REVOLUTION. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), in favor of more rationalistic "political economy" explanations. Deals with conditions under which peasant initiative is more or less likely, considering also European peasant history up to the rise of capitalism.

Rappaport, Roy

1967 PIGS FOR THE ANCESTORS. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Probably the most discussed case study in cultural ecology, this book argues that, in the absence of markets and state politics, New Guinea tribal societies are able to regulate population-resource relationships by means of institutionalized, low mortality warfare and cycles of pig feasting.

Redfield, Robert

1930 TEPOZTLAN: A MEXICAN VILLAGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

One of Redfield's classic community studies which stresses the shared quality of cultural traditions, it is disputed by Lewis (1951). See Lewis (1951) for further discussion.

Redfield, Robert

1934 CHAN KOM: A MAYA VILLAGE. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 448.

Another of Redfield's community study classics which set the tone for the analysis of peasant communities as homogeneous entities.

Schneider, Jane and Peter Schneider

1976 CULTURE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN WESTERN SICILY. New York: Academic Press.

An extraordinary book which is possibly the best synthesis of political economy and local-level research yet done. This study documents the political economy of Western Sicily in the context of Italy, the Mediterranean, and the modern world system while examining the structure and maintenance of the great social inequalities characteristic of the area. In so doing, it provides an interpretation of the mafia as well. Perhaps no other study so far links local-regional-national-international research so well.

Scott, James C.

1976 THE MORAL ECONOMY OF THE PEASANT. New Haven: Yale University Press.

This interesting study is one of the very few that links the study of peasant subsistence with the study of national political upheaval. It does so from a variety of perspectives and escapes the narrow environmental and cultural determinisms of many previous attempts. The interactive view of local-regional-national relations is very close to that offered in this state of the art paper.

Shanin, Teodor, ed.

1971 PEASANTS AND PEASANT SOCIETIES. London: Penguin.

A very good compendium of writings on the subject ranging historically from Marx to the present and incorporating materials from the Western and non-Western world. Contains many useful bibliographic leads.

Silverman, Sydel

1975 THREE BELLS FOR CIVILIZATION. New York: Columbia University Press.

An attempt to study the history and structure of a central Italian town through a concentration on the inhabitant's conceptual framework for thinking about history and social life. Armed with this conception, Silverman works through the historical sources to an overview of central Italian history.

- Skinner, G. William
1964 Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China: Part I
JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES, 24:3-43.
- 1965 Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China: Part II
JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES, 24:195-228.
These are Skinner's early applications of the methodology of regional analysis to the study of Chinese marketing hierarchies. The emphasis here is on the degree of fit between the model's predictions and the actual distribution of markets. Later his emphasis will shift to the utility of this approach for the interpretation of Chinese history and urbanization (see Skinner 1976).
- Skinner, G. William, ed.
1976 THE CITY IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
A variety of studies of Chinese urbanization including applications of the regional analysis model to the subject.
- Smith, Carol A., ed.
1976 REGIONAL ANALYSIS, Volume I: ECONOMIC SYSTEMS and Volume II: SOCIAL SYSTEMS. New York: Academic Press.
The most handy single source for anthropological studies using regional analysis. The collection contains general articles outlining the aims and methods of regional analysis and many case studies of the use of regional models. There is also a great deal of bibliographic information.
Although the overall tone is quite optimistic and the work done is impressive, the articles are of very uneven quality.
- Spicer, Edward, ed.
1952 HUMAN PROBLEMS IN TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Like Paul (1955), this is a casebook of community development projects. In most of the cases, the community development efforts did not succeed fully and the role of the anthropologist was to explain why. The defects of this approach are discussed under Paul 1955.
- Strathern, Andrew
1971 THE ROPE OF MOKA. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
One of a multitude of anthropological studies of tribal societies that focus on the internal complexity of tribal organization. This study is particularly worthwhile for non-anthropologists to read because it makes a systematic attempt to organize the local heterogeneity and to show how understanding this helps understand the society as a whole.

Tarrow, Sidney G.

1977 BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERY. New Haven: Yale University Press.

One of a handful of political science studies done in Europe based on detailed field research. Tarrow compares the organization of grassroots politics in France and Italy to show the existence of systematic differences between the two attributable to the differences in the national/political structures themselves. It also contains an excellent review of the literature on local-regional-national relationships.

Tilly, Charles

1964 THE VENDEE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Based on nearly 10 years of research, this study documents the reasons for the counter-revolutionary fervor in the Vendee. Tilly's belief is that local heterogeneity and the pattern of urbanization is responsible. Whether or not one accepts his conclusion, it is clear that by examining internal differences in the area, he is much better able to link the regional study into the national political arena.

Uphoff, Norman

forth- THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT--NEITHER "MODERNIZATION" NOR
coming "ORDER," AS LEARNED FROM MKRUMAH'S GHANA. Princeton:
Princeton University Press.

Uphoff's soon to be published case study covers many relevant points centering on the relations between micro-and macro-analysis. Chapter 3 contains a full discussion of the ways in which conceptions of the state in political theory have tended to reflect the ideologies of national elites.

Wallerstein, Immanuel

1974 THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM. New York: Academic Press.

Thought to be a major landmark in political economy virtually from the date of its publication, this work carries a view of nation-states as conditioned by the structure of the international system of political economy. Wallerstein succeeds analytically because he links various levels of analysis together and studies the links historically. In a way it is in tune with the view of local-regional-national relationships outlined in this paper.

Watson, William

1958 TRIBAL COHESION IN A MONEY ECONOMY. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Used in this paper as a poor example of the analysis of social change, this book makes the error of assuming that the tribal system and the urban-industrial system are

totally separate and that the former is homogeneous and static while the latter is heterogeneous and dynamic. As a result opportunities for the study of the linkages and interactive effects between the home communities and factory towns are lost and a false view of social change is generated out of an idealistic definition of the tribal situation.

Weber, Eugen

1976 PEASANTS INTO FRENCHMEN. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Perhaps the most detailed study so far that revises the view of post-revolutionary France as an urbanizing, modern society, Weber's book provides an astonishing array of evidence that the peasant economy survived well into the latter part of the nineteenth century and perhaps into the twentieth. This, in turn, demolishes a whole variety of interpretations of national history that insist that countries with large peasant populations cannot industrialize because it did not occur that way in Europe.

Wharton, Clifton R., Jr., ed.

1969 SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Chicago: Aldine.

An enormous collection of articles, with ample references, on the subject of subsistence farming and development. A common ideology cannot be said to emerge from this material; rather it provides a clear sense of the state of the art as of 1969 in a whole variety of social science fields.

Williams, Raymond

1973 THE COUNTRY AND THE CITY. New York: Oxford University Press.

An intriguing study of the shifting evaluation of rural and urban life in English literature by a famous Marxist literary critic. Williams argues that the changing value of rural and urban life in literature reflects structural changes in the capitalist economic system. This kind of book is important here because it indicates the degree to which our conceptions of rural life are biased by our own cultural traditions.

Wolf, Eric

1957 Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java, SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY, 13:1-18.

One of Wolf's many fine articles on peasant social structure, this concentrates on the idea that the closed, corporate community is not some kind of "generic" characteristic of peasants, but is the product of a specific type

of local-regional-national interactions. Reference is made to Mesoamerica and Java to support the argument. See also Wolf 1966.

Wolf, Eric R.

- 1966 PEASANTS. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
Probably still the best brief treatment of the concept of peasant society available. Wolf manages to set the tone for consideration of peasant communities as structured by the continuous process of interaction between the local community and the regional and national systems of which they are a part. For further discussion of Wolf, see Greenwood 1973.

Wylie, Lawrence

- 1964 VILLAGE IN THE VAUCLUSE. New York: Harper & Row, originally published in 1957.

In what was essentially the first modern study of a local community in France, Wylie created an unforgettable portrait of local life and tried to understand something about France in general through the "window" of a single community. Particularly interesting is the new final chapter in the second edition which revises his rather static notion of local social structure.

Wylie, Lawrence, ed.

- 1966 CHANZEUX. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Together with a group of his students, Wylie gathered a vast array of geographic, demographic, economic, social and religious information on a community in the heart of the counter-revolutionary Vendee region. An excellent overview of the interactions between local-regional-national relationships over time, it also provides an intriguing comparison with Wylie, 1964 which deals with a town that sided with the Revolution and which still votes on the left.

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