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Rural Migration and Agricultural
Development in Colombia*

by

Dale W Adams
The Ohio State University

I. Introduction

During the first two-thirds of the 20th Century rural migration has been a prominent feature in many of the industrial nations. A current surge in internal migration is also taking place in the less developed countries, and in several aspects the problems associated with this phenomenon are more pressing than those previously experienced. Key features of these differences are sharply higher rates of population growth, low rates of increase in agricultural production, and a slow expansion in industrial employment.

Rural migration is notable in Latin America, and particularly important in Colombia. A population growth rate which will double the number of inhabitants in Colombia every 20 years has resulted in an explosion in urban growth, as well as heavy pressure on problematic colonization fronts. In several aspects the migration in Colombia is typical of what is occurring in other Latin American countries.

In the following I argue that economists should integrate rural migration into development plans. A recent proposal to do this by accelerating rural-to-urban migration is discussed. Next, migration data from several studies are presented to indicate some of the characteristics of rural migrants in Colombia. Drawing from this, some implications of rural migration for agricultural development in Latin America will be suggested.

II. Migration and development planning

Most economists working in development have taken only a passing interest in migration. Some attention has been focused on the need to improve resource allocation, equalize labor returns, and provide inexpensive labor to the industrial sector through rural migration. Some interest has also been focused on the existence, extent, and definition of disguised unemployed labor in agriculture. 1/ Generally, economists have explained rural migration in terms of return-to-labor differentials. Often they have treated rural populations and migrants as homogeneous when setting up development plans.

A recent attempt to integrate migration into a development program was made by a Colombian economist. 2/ In his book Currie suggests that the lack of effective demand is the principal bottleneck for rapid economic growth in many of the less developed countries. He argues that urban migration of marginal farm families should be sharply increased, and that this movement would be the most effective way to eliminate "under-consumption". The migrants would be put to work in building urban infra-structure, and employed in more intensively used industrial plants. The small farm units left by the migrants would be combined into more efficient mechanized units.

In addition to an increase in effective demand Currie claims four other major benefits from this massive migration: (1) improved efficiency in agriculture through large mechanized units, (2) a decrease in the rate of population growth with the urbanization of rural families, (3) better educational opportunities for the migrants, and (4) an increase in general welfare for those moving into the cities.

He goes on to suggest that mass migration to the cities should be adopted in Colombia as the principal development tool.

To properly evaluate Currie's proposal it is necessary to know something about the past and present processes of rural migration in Colombia.

III. Background on rural migration in Colombia

Early conquerors in Colombia rapidly enslaved the native population and tied them to work on large land grants or in mines. To a large extent this blocked movement which might have occurred among the Indians. As the slavery systems decayed and population pressures increased within the country, internal migration became more important. About 1800 a steady flow of settlers began to move into the medium altitude areas where coffee production has since flourished. 3/

Significant industrial development began during the early 1900's, 4/ and this resulted in the growth of a number of urban centers throughout the country. 5/ Rapid growth in large cities has been especially notable during the past 30 years. Cities with more than 20 thousand inhabitants increased from 16 in 1938 to 47 in 1964. The percentage of total population living in these centers went up from 13 to 36 percent over the same period. Some 2.5 million people moved from the rural ^{to} ~~an~~ urban areas between 1951 and 1964. 6/ Almost 30 percent of the rural population enumerated in 1951, therefore, had moved to urban centers by 1964. 7/

Although rural-to-urban migration has accelerated, movement into new agricultural areas is still important. The widespread applicatior

of insecticides since World War II, and extensive road development has made many tropical areas in Colombia inhabitable. Between 1951 and 1964 almost 400 thousand people moved into new colonization fronts.

9/ A significant part of this rural-to-rural movement, as well as the urban migration, has been due to rural violence and insecurity which has existed during the past twenty years.

This massive migration has been associated with increase^s in the relative price of food items, heavy pressure on urban infra-structure, large imports of some food items, and large demands for imports of capital goods to increase industrial employment. Inflationary pressures, urban slums, pressure on balance-of-payments, and large numbers of under-employed people in urban areas are also related to this process of migration 9/.

IV. Characteristics of rural migrants

Studies done in some of the more developed countries have indicated that migrants to urban areas are most heavily drawn from the regions which immediately surround the cities. Studies have also suggested that rural-to-urban migrants are generally younger and better educated than non-migrants. Ejnar Neymark, in his study of migration in Sweden, concluded that rural-to-urban migrants lowered the average intelligence levels of both areas. 10/ Unfortunately, intelligence and most other qualitative characteristics of migrants and non-migrants are very difficult to evaluate on a broad scale in a country like Colombia. Age, formal education, and economic background, however, are partial indicators of human capabilities. Data on these indicators from recent

studies in Colombia, plus the relationship between distance to nearest city and rates of rural out-migration, are presented in the following. ^{11/}

A. The distance factor

In Table I, data from seven areas in Colombia are organized into three groups, depending on the distance of the area from an industrial center. The first group includes areas which are one hour, the second group four hours, and the third group eight hours or more of travel time from the nearest industrial city. As can be noted, four of the seven areas had 40 percent or more of the people enumerated living outside of the general area of their birth. Another area had 37 percent living outside the general area. Two of the medium-distance areas, Guamo and San Gil, had one-quarter or less of the population enumerated living outside the general area of their birth. Both of these areas have recently had a rapid expansion in local agricultural employment possibilities. ^{12/} Aside from these two areas, there has been a high degree of migration among the rural residents without any apparent relationship to distance from the large urban centers. It was clear, however, that the proportion of migrants moving to large cities decreased as the travel time was increased. A higher proportion of the migrants in the more distant areas were moving into other rural areas or into nearby towns and villages. ^{13/}

Local opportunities, therefore, rather than distance to industrial centers, appear to be more important in determining rural out-migration in Colombia.

Table I.

Proportion of People Not Living in General Area of Birth
and Average Levels of Education in Seven Areas of Out-Migration in Colombia,
by Travel Time to Large Cities.

Areas by travel time to large cities	Proportion of people not living in general area of birth <u>a/</u>	Average number of years of formal education achieved <u>b/</u>
<u>One hour</u>		
1. Sopó	.37	3.7
2. Barbosa	.45	3.2
<u>Four hours</u>		
3. Guamo	.16	2.2
4. Tamesis	.40	4.0
5. San Gil	.25	2.1
<u>Eight hours plus</u>		
6. Urrao	.45	3.8
7. Contadero	.43	3.4

a/ People who do not live in municipio of birth or in an adjacent municipio.

b/ Refers to all of the people enumerated in the area.

B. Education

The data in Table I on the average level of formal education for each area shows that low levels of education in Guamo and San Gil are associated with low levels of out-migration. Several other studies in Colombia have also indicated a direct relationship between level of education and tendency to leave the rural areas. 14/

By law, all Colombians are supposed to obtain five years of primary education 15/. In fact, less than ten percent of those registering for the first grade complete the full five years of schooling. Moreover, a significant portion of the children in Colombia never register in school; a large proportion of these are rural children. Over one-half of the children in rural areas attend only one-half day of school: boys a-half-day and girls a-half-day. Over three-quarters of the rural teachers have only a primary education themselves.

Secondary schools are mainly located in large urban centers. Eighty percent of the approximately 1,000 high schools in the country are located in departmental capitals, and 30 percent of the total are concentrated in the capital city of Bogota. Only a few of the rural youth can exceed two or three years of formal education and attend high schools.

Table 2 presents the average levels of education of non-migrants and migrants in the various areas studied. In each of the out-migration areas, the average level of education of non-migrants was significantly lower than for the migrants. 16/ A sub-division of the migrants showed a general tendency for those who moved to a neighboring municipio, a rural-to-rural or rural-to-village move, to have educational levels as low, or lower than non-migrants. People who had moved out of the general

Table 2.

The Average Years of Education of Migrants and Non-Migrants by Areas and Types of Migration

Areas of Migration by types	Average Years of Education				
	Non-Migrants	Migrants			
		All Migrants	To adjacent municipios	Within <u>a/</u> department	Outside department
Areas' Average	2.9	3.6 <u>b/</u>	2.8	3.9	3.7
A. Out-migration					
1. Sopo	3.1	3.8	3.1	4.1	3.7
2. Barbosa	2.8	3.7	1.9	3.6	4.6
3. Guamo	2.1	2.9	1.6	3.1	3.5
4. Tamesis	3.8	4.2	4.6	4.1	3.9
5. San Gil	1.7	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.8
6. Urrao	3.1	4.7	1.9	4.1	6.4
7. Contadero	3.0	4.0	<u>c/</u>	3.9	4.2
B. In-migration <u>d/</u>					
1. San Vicente		(2.0)			
2. Avicure		(2.1)			
3. Caqueta <u>e/</u>		(2.2)			
4. Villavicencio		(5.2)			

a/ Movement to a municipio within the Department of birth, but not adjacent to municipio of birth.

b/ Does not include areas of in-migration.

c/ None of the individuals enumerated had moved to adjacent municipios.

d/ Information on farm operators only

e/ Taken from data collected by R. L. Tinnermeier in 1963-64.

area, but stayed within the department, usually a rural-to-urban movement, had significantly higher levels of education than the average migrant. Relatively high levels of education were also generally noted for migrants who had moved out of the department of their birth. Again, this movement was largely a rural-to-urban migration.

The data from the areas of in-migration in Table 2 indicate two things: (1) Most of the individuals who move into newly developed areas as colonizers (San Vicente, Avicure, and Caqueta) have relatively low levels of education. This substantiates the point made above about the low educational levels of rural-to-rural migrants. (2) The second wave of farm operators who move in behind the colonizers (Villavicencio), and buy out the original settlers have relatively high levels of education. Many of these new operators become absentee owners of the land.

Although the above-mentioned data is suggestive, any casual relation between education and migration is somewhat clouded. A number of the individuals who had migrated to large cities did so to obtain more schooling. Thus, in some cases, higher education resulted from migration. Much of this inter-relationship was removed by analyzing the migratory tendencies of those who had four years or less of education. The relative differences between average levels of education of non-migrants and migrants were about the same as the areas' averages shown in Table 2. 17/ This indicated that people who obtain the most education in rural areas are also the ones who tend to move out of the general area of their birth.

As a side light, in several of the areas a number of the middle-sized

farm operators had moved their families into the capital city of the Department. The move was necessary to provide secondary education for the children. The owner thus became an absentee farm operator and often found it increasingly difficult to make sufficient income without seeking additional sources of income.

C. The economic background of migrants

Much of Currie's development plan for Colombia is based on the belief that rural-to-urban migrants are marginal farm families. 18/ He equates marginal with small un-mechanized units that provide low levels of income for their operators. 19/ The economic background of rural migrants, therefore, is an important issue which needs to be clarified. Two indicators of economic background are property held by parents, and educational achievement of parents.

There was no significant difference in amount of land owned by parents of migrant and non-migrant groups. Since most of the families interviewed had less than 50 acres of land, these data have some limitations. On the other hand, a large number of the families who own more than this amount of land live in the large cities. About the same proportion of children from landless families, and children from families with small landholdings migrated. This general pattern held in all of the areas studied.

The lack of difference between the amount of land owned by parents of migrants and non-migrants can be partially explained by the following: (1) Some of the young men from families with 20 to 50 acres of land continue to work on the family farm as a partner in the production of tobacco, coffee, sugar cane, potatoes, or some other

labor intensive crop. (2) Other young men from medium-sized farms also have sufficient farming experience to rent or share-rent land by themselves. (3) Young people from landless families or very small farms appear to be finding some additional employment in the local areas: work on farms, in local industries, or as small merchants. For different reasons, then, out-migration from landless and small-farm families was about equal to that experienced by families who owned medium-sized units.

Another factor which helps explain the absence of difference in migration between these two groups is the lack of a significant relationship between educational achievement of the children and the amount of land owned by parents. Again, information from families owning larger units of land would have likely altered these results. This lack of relationship can be partially explained by the fact that the amount of land owned is only a partial indicator of economic conditions. In some cases rented land, or sources of income outside the farm operation make up a substantial portion of a rural family's economic base. Also, in all but two of the areas studied there were some secondary school facilities available in the local villages. Thus, children who lived within walking distance of the village, or who could live in town with relatives, were able to attend some schooling beyond the two-to-three years offered in the rural area. The distance of the home from a village where additional schooling was available appeared to be the major factor which determined whether children completed more than two or three years of schooling. 20/ In most cases, the families interviewed placed a high priority on their children getting an education. 21/

The level of formal education of parents is another indicator of economic background of children. In years past the opportunity to go to school in Colombia was more closely tied to the economic position of parents than is now the case. Thus, those parents who now have a relatively high level of education often inherited land and businesses. In all of the areas studied there was a significant relationship between average level of education of parents and level of education of the child. 22/ The parents' education is probably a better indicator of family income levels than amount of land owned by the family.

D. The age and sex of migrants

Several studies of migration in Colombia have indicated that a large proportion of the rural-to-urban migrants are young at the time they move. 23/ One study in Bogota reported that 90 percent of the immigrant population to one suburb were less than 30 years of age when they moved to the city. 24/ Another study reports that 68 percent of the immigrant heads-of-households moved to Bogota when between 20 and 40 years of age. 25/ Several of these studies also suggested that most immigrants to the large cities were single when they arrived. Converse, reporting on his study of a barrio in Bogota, showed that 95 percent of the people interviewed came to town before they were married. 26/

The results of this study tended to substantiate both of these conclusions. About 80 percent of the individuals who migrated, left the area of their birth before age 25. Eight-eight percent had left by age 30. A large majority of those who did migrate were single when they moved out of the local area. This was especially true for migrating males. Many of the girls who moved did so because of marriage.

The results were mixed with respect to sex of migrants. In the remote areas it is generally more difficult for girls to migrate than for the boys. Entrance into the military service was a common method for young males to migrate out of the area. On the other hand, the girls who lived near the large cities had a number of employment opportunities as domestics, industrial worker, and clerks in these cities.

V. Migration and Agricultural development

The preceding discussion indicated that rural migration in Colombia has been a massive process over the past few years. Almost one-half of the people enumerated in the rural areas of out-migration have moved from their areas of birth. Moreover, the migration process appears to be quite selective with respect to education and age. The distance of the individual from large urban centers, and his economic background also appear to influence the migration process. It appears that the poor, less productive rural families do not make up a substantial part of the flow of people now moving into the cities. The economic opportunities in urban areas are not very promising for the heads of these types of families. This implies, then, that accelerating migration, as Currie suggests, may not automatically result in the so-called "marginal farmer" moving to the city.

There are a number of indications that agricultural development is a critical problem facing Colombia. Imports of agricultural commodities have climbed steadily over the past 15 years. The value of agricultural exports has been on an even or declining level for the past ten years. The per capita food supply, measured on a daily caloric basis has

steadily fallen over the past ten years. 27/ The price of food has increased faster over the past five years than the general cost of living index. Also, three-quarters or more of Colombia's poor still live in rural areas and depend almost exclusively on agriculture for their sustenance. Colombia must double its production of food over the next 20 years just to stay even with population growth. Unlike many of the developed nations which started their industrial development with relatively strong, health agricultural sectors, Colombia cannot ignore a vital process like migration which may have serious implications for future agricultural development.

The selective nature of the present migration process is drawing out the individuals with the characteristics which are most appropriate for future agricultural development programs. The ability to manage farm units well, organize cooperatives, provide leadership for community development programs and rural pressure groups apparently is flowing into the cities. Weak or non-existent local institutions are perpetuated by the constant drain of ability out of the rural areas. The recurring need to provide leadership, stimulation, plans, and ideas from outside the agricultural sector is directly related to this quality drain. 28/ The selectivity of the migration process also results in a high proportion of non-productive people living in rural areas. This is only partially offset by funds sent from relatives living in ~~rural~~^{urban} areas.

The data presented in the previous discussion were suggestive that education might play a pivotal role in migration. Improved and expanded educational facilities in rural areas of Colombia, other things being equal, would likely accelerate the rural-to-urban migration.

A reduction in rural-to-rural movement might also result. This improved education would assist rural individuals to rapidly integrate into the urban complexes.

Without compensating programs, however, accelerated out-migration would aggravate some of the most pressing problems associated with agricultural production in Colombia. Abundant rural labor, for example, is needed to produce Colombia's principal agricultural exports: coffee, tobacco, sugar, and bananas. 29/ Further mechanization of these crops does not seem possible. Colombia also needs to sharply increase the use of improved agricultural techniques, many of which are available within the country. Many of the potential innovators and adopters of these techniques are migrating out of agriculture. It is doubtful that specific vocational agricultural training, rather than general education, would help to remedy this situation. 30/ Like their counterparts in the United States, few of the students now trained to be "future farmers" in Colombia's 38 Vocational Agricultural Schools return to the rural areas. Educational inputs aimed at improving agricultural production must be directed at individuals who are fixed to the agricultural sector. Adult vocational training programs, extension, and close supervision of development programs might be more beneficial.

On the other hand, a substantially improved educational program in rural areas would help induce middle-sized farm operators to stay on their farms, and not move to the cities to educate their children. I doubt that a broad base of medium-sized, commercial, family-type farm units can be formed in Colombia without better educational facilities in the rural areas. 31/

If out-migration is closely related to education and local employment opportunities, investments in one or both of these could alter the migration patterns. A massive land reform program, for example, could absorb a number of the quality, young individuals who are now moving out of their birth places. A substantial improvement in rural educational facilities along with the land reform would induce operators to stay in place, but later accelerate movement of the children of the new farm operators to the city. The first step would tend to retard rural migration and utilize land and labor resources to boost badly needed agricultural production. The second step would speed out-migration of the next generation who would be better prepared to integrate into the cities. A third step might involve the recombination of many of the units formed by the land reform program into larger units. In some cases this would be accompanied by more mechanization.

Since rural migration is an important aspect of current changes going on in the less developed countries, and has important implications for agricultural development, economists should integrate it into their thinking on development. Currie's proposal, although containing a number of questionable elements, is a step in the right direction.

Notes

- * This study is based on research sponsored by the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin under a contract with the Agency for International Development. The views herein expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the above mentioned entities.
1. See Charles H. C. Kao and others, "Disguised Unemployment in Agriculture: A Survey," in C. Eicher and L. Witt, Agriculture in Economic Development (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) pp. 129-144.
 2. Lauchlin Currie, Accelerating Development: The Necessity and the Means (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).
 3. James J. Parsons, Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).
 4. See Everett E. Hagen, On The Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1962) pp. 353-384.
 5. In this article I restrict the use of the term urban to population concentrations of 20 thousand or more. The general population information cited in this article was taken from the 1938, 1951, and 1964 Population Census of Colombia.
 6. Estimates made by the author based on the 1951 and 1964 Population Census of Colombia.
 7. This rate of out-migration is about equal to that experienced in the United States from 1940 to 1960. See D. E. Hathaway, "Migration from Agriculture: The Historical Record and Its Meaning," in Eicher and Witt, op. cit., pp. 214-226.
 8. See note number six.
 9. One study in Bogotá estimated that almost 15 percent of the urban labor force was unoccupied. See: M. A. Antequera, Ocupación y Disocupación en Bogotá, Monograph #4, Centro de Estudios Sobre Desarrollo Económico, Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá, 1962, p. 3.
 10. "Migration Differentials In Education, Intelligence, and Social Background: Analysis of a Cohort of Swedish Males," Bulletin of the International Statistical Institute, Vol. XL, Book 1, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964) pp. 350-374.

11. These data are summarized from studies carried out during 1964 and 1965 in ten different regions of Colombia. About 700 interviews with rural families provided much of the information. Migration data were collected for the immediate family who were over 15 years of age, as well as for the brothers and sisters of the couple interviewed. Some additional information from local school records on migration was included to fill certain age cohorts. Seven of the areas have experienced mostly out-migration. The remaining three areas were new, and the main flow of people was into the area. A large proportion of the families interviewed owned little or no land. The major focus was on rural-to-city and rural-to-nearby-rural migration.
12. In the general area of San Gil there has been a 54 percent increase in area planted to tobacco over the 1955 to 1963 period. Intensive rice, cotton, and sesame production has become common around Guamo during the past 15 years. Both areas include small land parcelization projects which have settled about 100 and 70 families respectively during the past 8 years.
13. Similar conclusions were reached by: W. L. Flinn, Rural To Urban Migration: A Colombian Case, University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, Research Paper No. 19, July, 1966, p. 17; and M. Urrutia and L. Castellanos, Estudio Económico Social De La Poblacion De Bogotá (Bogotá: Corporacion Autonoma Regional De La Sabana De Bogotá Y De Los Valles De Ubaté Y Chiquinquirá, 1962) p. 27.
14. Flinn, op. cit., p. 31; Urrutia and Castellanos, op. cit., p. 8; M. F. Reyes, "Estudio Socio-Economico del Fenomeno de la inmigración a Bogotá," Economía Colombiana, Vol. 22, No. 65, p. 42; M. Reyes and others, Estudio de la Hoya Del Rio Suarez (Bogotá: Corporacion Autonoma Regional De la Sabana De Bogotá Y De Los Valles De Ubaté Y Chiquinquirá, 1965) pp. 53-54.
15. For discussions of Colombia's educational system see: A. E. Havens, Education in Rural Colombia: An Investment in Human Resources, University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, Research Paper No. 8, February 1965; and Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola, Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Socio-Economico del Sector Agrícola: Colombia (Washington: Pan American Union, 1966) pp. 232-239.
16. Chi square tests of the distributions of non-migrants and migrants by levels of education showed a significant difference between the two groups in all areas (at the .01 level). The differences between the average educational levels of the two groups in all areas was also significant (at the .01 level).

17. The averages were 1.4 years for non-migrants, 2.1 years for all migrants, 1.8 for migrants to adjacent municipios, 2.2 for migrants within the Department, and 2.1 years for migrants outside the Department.
18. In economics we have two usages of the term marginal: (1) the last unit added to/or subtracted from a productive process, and (2) the units, be it farms, families, or people who are poor. The two usages are not necessarily synonymous. A person may be poor and yet be one of the last to leave his present occupation under economic pressures. For further discussion of marginality see: R. M. Williams, "Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies," Rural Sociology, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1940, pp. 292-303; and D. E. Hathaway, Government and Agriculture: Economic Policy in a Democratic Society (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963) pp. 110-130.
19. See Currie, op. cit., p. 33.
20. A. E. Havens also stresses this point in: Tamesis: Estructura y Cambio (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1966) p. 99.
21. Paired questions were asked comparing the value of education of children to; more land, more children, and more cattle. The responses were overwhelmingly in favor of more education.
22. The coefficients of correlation between average level of education of parents and level of education of children ranged from .35 to .66 for the seven areas of out-migration studied. As could be expected the two areas with the lowest levels of average education and the lowest rates of out-migration (Guamo and San Gil) had the smallest coefficients. The other five areas had coefficients of .50 or more. All of the coefficients were significant at the .01 level.
23. See Urrutia and Cosellanos, op. cit., pp. 34-36; G. S. Elbow, Regional Variation in Minifundia Occupance in the Ubate Valley, Colombia, Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Oregon, 1964, p. 68 and p. 86; Reyes and others, op. cit., p. 50; Reyes, op. cit., p. 47; and O. Fals Borda, Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucio (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955) Chapter 4.
24. James Converse, "Some Aspects of The Adjustment of Rural-to-Urban Migrants in Bogotá, Colombia", unpublished manuscript, 1965.
25. Flinn, op. cit., p. 30.
26. Converse, op. cit.

27. Robert E. Adcock, "Agricultural Situation--Colombia: Food Supply, Past, Present and Future," unpublished report to U.S.D.A., Agricultural Attache, Bogotá, Colombia, July 18, 1966.
28. W. C. Thiesenhusen has several examples which are typical of the need for outside leadership in: Chile's Experiments In Agrarian Reform (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966)
29. These commodities provide over three-quarters of Colombia's export earnings.
30. Several observers of the agricultural problems in Colombia have recommended vocational agricultural training as a solution. See: J. M. Hunter, Emerging Colombia (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962) p. 104; and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Agricultural Development of Colombia (Washington: IBRD, 1956) p. 162.
31. An interesting side question is how should rural education be financed? If most of the rural educational inputs flow into the cities, local land taxes may not be an equitable means of financing education.

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