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THE LAND TENURE CENTER

THE FIELD PROGRAM

DECEMBER 31, 1964

ANNUAL REPORT -- SUBSTANTIVE

PART II

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The Land Tenure Center, a cooperative
research and training program of the American Nations, the
Agency for International Development and the University of Wisconsin

310 King Hall Madison, Wisconsin

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FOREWORD

This is the second part of a two-part annual report on the progress and project activities of the Land Tenure Center. This report reflects generally more than just the 1964 activity -- it often refers back to the program started more than two years ago. Part I of the annual report reviews the various research approaches used so far by the Land Tenure Center, it describes the training, services and facilities, and lists the research personnel, advisory committee and administrative staff. Part I cites in detail the publications and research materials of the Land Tenure Center. It should be used in connection with this report in checking on research documentation available from field projects described here.

Readers of this report will quickly note wide diversity in the statements of staff members from country to country. There has been no effort to reduce that diversity or to make the reports complete in every program detail. However, several themes stand out and help illustrate one of the important policy guides of the LTC. Almost all of the writers speak with enthusiasm about the kinds of local cooperation and assistance they are receiving from Latin American organizations and how local people are using and applying -- almost overnight -- the knowledge and experience they have gained from being a part of these research groups.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION:

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

Don Kanel

Associate Professor, Agricultural Economics

I. Analysis of tenure and size of farm with concepts of economic theory of resource allocation.

Tenure and size of farm affect farm organization, production and income in several ways:

1. The division of gross income between landlords and tenants influences tenant incentives to use purchased inputs such as fertilizer.

2. The division of gross income and insecurity of tenure influences conservation of soil and other existing resources and investments in new resources.

3. In some types of farming, economies of scale require large scale organization; in plantation crops in particular, the need to integrate production with processing facilities and with marketing often tends to favor large scale organization of agricultural production. In most of agriculture, economies of scale are obtainable on family farms commanding adequate amounts of land and capital.

4. Within each type of farming the basic package of resources per farm worker (land, draft power and equipment) depends essentially on the stage of economic development. The consequences of economic development appear to farm people through employment opportunities outside of agriculture and through costs of labor and capital in agriculture. Population growth accompanying economic development can fulfill the labor requirements of growing nonagricultural industries. Only at fairly advanced stages of development are nonagricultural opportunities abundant enough and labor costs high enough to stimulate substitution of capital for labor in the basic package of farm resources; this substitution takes the form of mechanization which enables each farm worker to operate more land. On large farms, mechanization decreases the number of workers per farm; on family farms mechanization is made feasible by farm enlargement by some families which in turn depends on migration to nonfarm jobs by other families. This reorganization of resources is not the only form of economic development of agriculture. Long before this reorganization is made possible by abundant nonfarm employment opportunities, agriculture needs to increase production to feed increasing population and to meet increased demand for food and raw materials.

5. In most underdeveloped countries a majority of farms do not have adequate amounts of land and capital in proportion to labor, even after giving due account to the low cost of labor and high cost of capital in their economies. Theoretically this can be explained as a consequence of the scarcity of employment opportunities even to labor available at a very low wage (a result of over-abundance of labor in relation to other resources). Under these conditions, small farms of peasant proprietors and large-scale traditional agriculture can serve to give access to employment and income to a larger number of people, than if employment depended on economic incentives of employers.

The economic analysis of the above interrelations provide a straightforward way of appraising existing tenure systems and recommending land reforms. Much of the discussion of tenure issues has proceeded largely with arguments based on the above theoretical relations. Some existing studies of actual data tend to verify the consequences expected on theoretical grounds, though the evidence is not fully consistent.

The policy implications of the above analysis point to the possibility of increasing production by improving incentives to farm people to do better with traditional technology. The opportunities disclosed also depend on the validity of the assumption that managerial skills of land reform beneficiaries are equal to those of the pre-reform managers.

II. New emphasis: Economic development of agriculture depends on providing new alternatives to traditional agricultural technology.

The conclusions that are now emerging in economic analysis of agricultural development are that farm people need to be given new profitable alternatives, and that only limited opportunities for growth are made available by reorganization within the scope of traditional technology. According to this analysis, the following are needed to promote the development of agriculture: agricultural research capable of providing a constant supply of profitable production innovations; two-way communication between experiment stations and farmers bringing new knowledge to farmers and farm problems requiring research solutions to experiment stations; a well organized system for distribution of production inputs to farmers (seed, fertilizer, etc.); and service agencies to aid farmers in production and marketing such as credit, marketing cooperatives, grading and market news, etc. The accumulating experience suggests that the accomplishment and integration of these tasks is very difficult even where the tenure system and the political and social conditions seem favorable.

III. Role of tenure system and other local institutions in agricultural development.

The relation between the tenure system and agricultural productivity and development becomes more complex when viewed from the perspective of the newer theories of agricultural development. The older conceptions

regarding tenure tended to imply that the tenure system was the major obstacle to development, and once this obstacle was removed, the ordinary incentives of farm people could be depended on to provide progress. Of course it was recognized that farmers would have to be aided by extension, credit, cooperatives and other service agencies. The newer conception of development directs attention to the difficulties of providing new alternatives to farmers. The overcoming of these problems depends on incentives and effective organization within development agencies and private marketing firms as much as on the tenure system and incentives of farmers. And among farm people, attitudes toward change and ability and willingness to innovate become more important than good management with traditional practices.

At the present stage of theoretical development, it does not seem as feasible to design research projects to answer the general question about the influence of the tenure system on agricultural production. Instead, a number of separate questions appear, not all of which can be clearly related to each other.

A. Tenure and agricultural development

1. Communication of knowledge of new practices to farmers.

We and others are making a number of studies of communication channels and characteristics of early and late adopters in relation to the tenure system and other aspects of rural social structure. These studies attempt to answer two types of questions: (a) does the tenure system influence communication and adoption of new practices and (b) what procedures can be used to improve communication to and adoption of practices by small farmers, land reform beneficiaries and farm people in colonization projects.

2. Managerial skills, attitudes to change, social structure and education of rural people.

Operators of farms of different size and tenure, land reform beneficiaries and pre-reform managers are likely to differ in managerial skills and readiness to innovate. These differences are not direct consequences of size and tenure of farm, but are results of the social structure, of historical development of traditions of different social classes, and of on-going processes of change. The present situation may be one of active entrepreneurship by many large farmers, or almost complete lack of entrepreneurship among a class of traditional large landowners; in most cases in Latin America small farmers are reported to be lacking in entrepreneurship. These conditions can and do change.

The most useful research questions to ask are probably:

a. How do farmers in different size and tenure categories differ in managerial performance (particularly yields and practices)?

b. What are the connections between social structure, attitudes and innovative behavior?

c. What are the managerial difficulties of new managers, land reform beneficiaries and colonists, and how effective is the assistance to them from administrative agencies?

Our work in Brazil, Bolivia, Central America, Colombia and Chile is concerned with these issues.

B. Social and political change and land reforms

1. Social and political consequences of the breakdown of traditional tenure systems.

As stated above, the small farms and traditionally oriented large farms provide access to employment and income to many people in countries where economic development has not proceeded sufficiently far to create sufficient employment through the labor market. One of the dangers of economic development is that the weakening of social obligations (traditional landlords become active entrepreneurs), indebtedness of peasants, population growth and other social changes may drive some peasants out of agriculture before employment opportunities appear in cities. We are attempting to study this primarily through studies of on-going changes in tenure systems. Studies include Colombia and Central America.

2. National political forces and land reform legislation: studies of national interest groups, their emergence and objectives, their interaction at the national policy-making level.

3. Peasant movements and administration of land reforms.

The land reforms in Mexico, Bolivia and Venezuela were forced on the respective countries by the revolt or demands of the peasants, and were not primarily results of national policies to promote development. The questions that these events raise are the following:

What is the history of peasant unrest and organization and to what social and economic changes is it connected?

How do peasant organizations affect the administration of land reform laws?

What happens to enforcement of land reform legislation when peasant organizations are weak or absent?

Our research effort in Bolivia and Venezuela includes a study of these questions.

4. Lessons from administration of land reform (and colonization) programs. Studies in this area, by studying programs in process, attempt to describe problems and workable techniques and thus provide information which can be used in future programs. Our project has included work on this in Colombia, Chile and Brazil.

C. The potentiality of family farming in Latin America

Most observers suggest that innovative entrepreneurship in Latin American agriculture has come from medium and large scale farmers; in northern Mexico, in coastal areas of Colombia, in parts of Brazil, etc., innovation and development seems to be absent among the bulk of the traditional class of large farmers and among small farmers. If this is correct, then this is different from the situation in Western Europe, Japan and Taiwan and U. S. and Canada where increases in production were accomplished on peasant and family farms. A few observers suggest further that small farmers who succeed in rising economically, typically do it by non-agricultural means: owning a store, a truck or through working for wages. A contrary observation of progress by small farmers in Bolivia even before the land reform comes from some preliminary observations by one of our staff members.

The facts described in these observations, if true, are almost certainly not the direct results of size and tenure but are due to other variables. With the general interest in land reform in Latin America, verification of these observations and a study of the conditions which produce them would be very important.

D. General considerations

At this stage of the development of the social sciences and the insight accumulated in them about the problems of agricultural development in Latin America, it does not seem likely that there is any definitive basis for advising countries whether they should or should not adopt land reforms as major means for promoting agricultural development. Nor does it seem likely that there is a researchable way of formulating and answering this question.

A number of other tenure-related issues arise, however, research on which would seem to be very worthwhile. In many countries, land reforms will be forced on political leaders, or will be adopted to satisfy political demands of previously inactive rural social classes. Useful research in these areas needs to be concerned with impact of on-going

social and economic change on the traditional social system including the tenure system, with the feasibility of carrying through land reforms, with the interaction and effectiveness of peasant movements and administrative agencies in carrying out land reforms.

Given the above, a further tenure-connected issue is one of how to help land reform beneficiaries and other small farmers to participate in the process of economic development. In this area many of the analytical techniques of rural social scientists can be used. Proceeding on the study of the above issues, we can also hope to get additional knowledge about the direct influence of the tenure status of farmers on incentives to increase agricultural production.

POLITICAL SURVEY OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM ISSUES IN LATIN AMERICA

Charles W. Anderson

Associate Professor, Political Science

A. Nature of the Project

The basis for this project, and its relation to the objectives of the Land Tenure Center, is to be found in statements five and seven of Amendment 1 (October 3, 1962) of the contract between AID and the Regents of the University of Wisconsin:

> "Identify the political forces having principal concern with agrarian reform programs in each of the countries, analyze their methods of influencing policies and procedures, and measuring their impact on the nature of the program. This will be done on both an intensive national and a comparative analysis basis.
>
> "Describe and evaluate the administrative machinery for planning and carrying through agrarian reform programs, making comparative analyses of various structures."

The over-all issues to which this particular project addresses itself may be defined as follows:

1. What is in fact at issue in agrarian reform controversy in Latin America?

If one adopts the point of departure that basic changes in agrarian structures are imperative to Latin American development then the political problem becomes one of identifying "resistances" and "obstacles" to the implementation of these changes. We would adopt a slightly different approach, and seek to define the apparent terms of controversy for the various participants in this controversy.

2. What is the relationship of agrarian reform to other public policy issues?

It is essential to see the agrarian reform issue in a certain perspective, both as part of the history of public agrarian policy in Latin America, and as an aspect of the total developmental effort of the present era. In a sense, one adopts the policy maker's position and tries to see the issue of agrarian reform as part of a total matrix of demands and goals.

3. How are decisions on agrarian reform issues made in the Latin American political processes?

What political forces are involved in agrarian reform issues? What political resources are mobilized in the political process where agrarian reform is at issue? What forces and what considerations are in fact taken into account in the making of agrarian reform decisions? What criteria are used in making decisions on agrarian reform questions? What are the processes of reconciliation of rival interests?

This topic raises a plethora of issues that have to do primarily with information processes in decision making and representational processes in Latin American political systems. If one starts from the assumption that Latin American decision makers know very little about the actual character of land tenure arrangements in their own nations, one is inclined to ask what factors, ideological or factual, are taken into account in choosing between alternative policies and alternative demands.

B. <u>Investigations Carried Out or in Progress</u>

1. "Life Histories" of the political processes surrounding the formulation, enactment and initial implementation of basic agrarian reform decisions in Latin America.

a. A pilot study of the use of this technique in the case of Colombia was completed (Charles W. Anderson).

b. Preliminary studies of this type were completed for Nicaragua and one is being undertaken for Peru (Terry L. McCoy).

c. One project, on Chile, not directly affiliated with this project, but which will serve as part of the material required for this project, was being researched (Constantine Menges).

d. Preliminary data was collected and analyzed for similar studies of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras and Bolivia (Charles W. Anderson).

2. "Data Collection on Agrarian Policies in Relation to Total Development Strategies: 1945-1960."

Collection and development of this phase of the project for Andean America and Central America was completed during the period (Charles W. Anderson) and is being incorporated into the project.

3. "Analyses of Particular Political Forces Involved in Agrarian Politics."

a. An analysis of the ideology and agrarian reform in the Christian Democratic movement in Chile was initiated (Elsa Chaney).

b. Several studies of rural labor organizations have been initiated, including a study of the Venezuelan Campesino Federation (John Powell), and of the Colombian FANAL (Harold Seeberger).

C. Organization of the Project

In terms of the technique of most Land Tenure Center projects, this study is a bit unique. No field work is formally included within the terms of the project, though the study itself is based on extensive field research by the senior investigator.

Essentially, this is a synthetic project, designed to use the materials developed by the Land Tenure Center and other agencies, and the public record of various Latin American nations, for purposes of broad, national, comparative analysis.

To a very great extent, the work to date has involved the compilation of materials and the development of a conceptual scheme adequate for the political analysis of an issue like land reform. The work has been speculative, theoretical, involving primarily the tentative analysis of the implications of the data collected so far, and of the several specific depth "probes" that have been made.

Several graduate students, affiliated with the Land Tenure Center and doing doctoral work in the field of political science, have been engaged in the project. These include: John Powell, Terry McCoy and Elsa Chaney.

D. Manuscripts and Reports

Much of the material collected during this phase of the project is being incorporated into THE GOVERNING OF RESTLESS NATIONS: POLITICS AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA which is now being completed by Charles W. Anderson. This includes both the study of the Colombian agrarian reform and the materials collected on the relation of agrarian policies to total development strategies in the postwar period. Publication of this book is expected in 1965 or 1966.

The reports of John Powell and Terry McCoy are included in the materials of the Land Tenure Center.

E. Future Plans

Research will continue and will form the primary research concern of the principal investigator for the indefinite future.

During the second semester of 1964-65, the senior investigator will offer an interdisciplinary seminar in the problems of Latin America agrarian reform, which will be sponsored by the Ibero-American Center of the University, though it will be affiliated with the work of the Land Tenure Center, and open to students in that program. Through this seminar, participants will have access to the findings of this project so far, and it is expected that further investigations and refinements of these findings will result.

It is anticipated that the first publication directly derived from the work of this project will be forthcoming during this period.

LTC LEGAL RESEARCH

Jacob H. Beuscher
Professor, Law

A. The Lawyer's Role in Agrarian Reform

Governmentally induced programs to change a nation's agrarian structure are often referred to as "land reform." Such changes, however, typically involve not only rearrangement of landholding relationships, but also of credit and marketing organizations and arrangements. The term "agrarian reform" is therefore more fully descriptive. Agrarian reform programs are, typically, needed first steps in a program of general economic development and usually they involve major shifts of political, economic and social power. A major issue of our time is whether such revolutionary shifts can be accomplished peacefully and without bloodshed. Of course, more is involved than mere legal invention; lawyers alone cannot carry these programs, but, properly trained, they can be of major help.

Major changes in agrarian, economic and legal structure have been carried out at least since Roman times; there is nothing new about the phenomenon. What is novel is the current intense and widespread pressure for agrarian reform in numerous less developed countries all over the world. These include newly independent nations as well as some long independent countries which have only recently reacted to pressures for agrarian reform--pressures that are often a part of a national movement for greater participation by peasants in the economic and political life of the country. A fair number of such programs have been launched since World War II and there is now a substantial body of recent experience in such diverse places as Egypt, India, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, the Philippines, the Sudan, Kenya, Iran, Japan, Bolivia and Puerto Rico. Programs of this type usually develop slowly; Mexico's program which started in 1915 is still strongly active. Demands for, and problems posed by, agrarian reform will be with us for generations.

In terms of landholding relationships agrarian reform programs may include one or more of the following:

1. Expropiration of excess lands from large landowners and redistribution to the formerly landless. This is what is normally thought of when the term "land reform" is used.

2. Rearrangement of landlord-tenant relationships so as to assure the tenant or sharecropper a larger share of the products. This has sometimes led to the creation of special agrarian courts.

3. Consolidation of small fields or small holdings to permit more efficient use of land and the introduction of modern technology.

4. Settlement and colonization schemes involving new, previously uncultivated, land.

5. Establishment of various kinds of so-called "collective" farms on new or expropriated lands; witness the contrasting experiences of Israel and various Communist countries.

6. Amassing of land for, and establishment of, plantation agriculture, as for example the Gezira scheme in the Sudan.

7. Settlement of boundary and title claims and adjudication of squatters' rights. (It is claimed, for example, that 80% of the farmers of Paraguay are squatters!)

8. Adjustment of taxes so as to discourage absentee ownership, inefficient uses of land, large estates, etc.

In terms of credit rearrangements, the programs may include, among other things:

1. Allocation of major capital to specially created agricultural banks.

2. Creation of credit cooperatives or other mutual credit associations.

3. Invention or introduction of new installment credit-security devices with controls on interest rates.

4. Introduction of "supervised credit" which gives the lender a managerial role in agricultural production.

In terms of marketing changes the agrarian reforms may involve:

1. Major farm-to-market road-building programs.

2. Standardization of products and enforcement of standards.

3. Modernization of processing and packaging.

4. Other basic reorganizations of marketing facilities and method including development of marketing cooperatives.

Even from this sketchy outline statement it is evident that agrarian reforms involve challenging law jobs. Among the many legal questions that present themselves are those pertaining to inheritance laws; landlord-tenant relations; adverse possession; secured credit; taxation, particularly land taxation; cooperative association laws; condemnation and valuation procedures; standards for eminent domain

valuation; title registration and title quieting problems and procedures; administrative rule-making and procedures therefor; financing, including the flotation of land reform and other types of bonds, etc. In addition to a wide variety of specific and relatively narrow law jobs there are others requiring the highest order of legal statesmanship and invention. How to accomplish revolutionary changes peacefully; how to preserve what is good in the old while moving to new landholding, credit or marketing arrangements; how to expand citizenship and the range for economic decision-making of underprivileged masses; how to move from tribal status to individual right of contract; how to shift from semi-feudalism to landholding arrangements freed of overlordship; how to use concepts like "property," "police power," "contract," "limited sovereignty," and the like to those high purposes; how to work intimately and successfully with economists, political scientists and others--these suggest the high-level government-counseling tasks awaiting law-trained people in countries involved in or in need of agrarian reform.

B. Education Through Research and Teaching of Lawyers for Agrarian Reform Roles

The very nations most in need of agrarian reform are short on trained and professional personnel. Needed, among other experts, are lawyers with a special background in the economic and socio-political issues and technical legal issues posed by agrarian reform. These attorneys will normally be non-Americans but we should expect to also attract American lawyers willing to devote a substantial part of their professional careers to tasks of technical legal aid to underdeveloped countries. Work would be at the graduate level and should include some joint seminars with agricultural economics and political science. In addition we propose training through research done either here in the libraries of the university of for university credit in countries with potential or operating agrarian reform programs, this research activity preferably to be carried out through agrarian reform research centers to be established abroad.

C. Research and Staff

Ronald Loew, a Williamette LLB, with two years of graduate work in the Johns Hopkins School of International Affairs, has finished a study of real estate title insecurity problems in Costa Rica and their impact on the availability of farm credit. He is no longer working with the program.

Robert E. Price, number one man in his law class at De Paul, with two years of graduate foreign law study at N.Y.U. and an additional year at the University of São Paulo, has just ended his connection with the program. He worked primarily in Brazil where he wrote monographs on:

1. The Brazilian law of expropriation as it affects proposed programs of land reform.

2. The legal structure and form of Brazilian rural labor unions, oupled with a summary description of the rural labor union movement n Brazil.

3. Title registration problems in five Brazilian states where gricultural colonization is in process or is proposed.

rom July to late November 1964, he worked in Mexico where he produced summary of the law and the "social reality" so far as it concerns exico's various landholding relationships.

aniel Stewart, LLB Harvard, with two years of graduate work at Oxford, nphasizing land and water development in Spain, is currently working ut of the Land Tenure Center's headquarters in Santiago, Chile. His s a study of water rights law, in the books, and in action in an gricultural district where irrigation is essential to the growing of rops. He is also concerned with the degree to which water law does r does not facilitate efficient use of water for irrigation. He is nterested in the role of the local canal association and the ossibilities that this autonomous local institution offers for the acilitation of agricultural extension and development programs. He xpects to finish his work in Chile by August 1965.

oseph Thome, LLB Harvard, with a year of law work at São Paulo, is ompleting a study on some aspects of Colombia's law of water rights s they relate to agricultural development in selected "case study" reas of Colombia. Part of his work relates to the problems of hifting from a loose co-sharing riparianism to a tight permit system f water rights allocation. This research has been geared into the otal program of the Land Tenure Center.

ublications are listed in PROGRESS REPORT PART I. Additional comments n legal studies are included with the country projects.

COLOMBIA

A. Eugene Havens

Assistant Professor, Rural Sociology and Chief LTC Representative in Colombia until August 1964

It should be noted at the outset that certain guiding principles were followed in carrying on the Colombian research program. These were: (1) the establishment of a center-type operation, (2) that research would emanate from this center by collaborating with existing Colombian entities, and (3) that the research should be performed in such a manner as to provide training for Colombian nationals. In other words, the major emphasis was on research studies concerned with agrarian change and reform being conducted through existing organizations in the host country in order to (1) gather data which would be relevant to future policy in agrarian reform and (2) simultaneously train as many Colombians as possible in the on-going research program. Up to the present, that is how we have operated in Colombia. This report, then, presents information concerning the organization, activities, and accomplishments of the operation in Colombia.

A. Country Program Organization

The early stages of the Land Tenure Center operation were concerned with the selection of a site for the headquarters of the Colombian Center. Professors Penn, Beuscher, Anderson and Glade were involved in this process, and the Faculty of Sociology at National University was selected as the place where the research program would be headquartered. In March 1963 an "Agreement to Collaborate" was signed between the Land Tenure Center and the Faculty of Sociology. In essence, the agreement formalized the collaboration between the two entities but did not limit either party from collaborating with others.

Upon the signing of the agreement an administrative staff was recruited and established at the Faculty of Sociology. The Faculty, in turn, assigned two project assistants to the Land Tenure research program and donated the time of Andrew Pearse as a co-project director. However, other entities were also involved. The following agencies were contacted and support or collaboration was received in the manner indicated.

1. Facultad de Agronomía en Medellín contributed to questionnaire formulation, assigned Faculty members to assist in direction of field work at no cost to LTC, and six students assisted in data gathering for minimal reimbursement (cost of living). Data gathered were available to students for their theses.

2. Universidad del Valle, Facultad de Economía - assisted in questionnaire formulation, assigned students to assist in data gathering, offered data processing facilities. Return to the faculty: practical training in field research.

3. Universidad del Atlántico, Facultad de Economía - assisted in questionnaire construction, gave secretarial assistance at no cost to LTC, and 14 students helped gather data in Department of Atlántico studies. Return to Faculty of Economía: practical training in field research.

4. Ministry of Agriculture - assisted in making contacts in local areas, offered services of transportation in local areas, provided maps, etc.

5. INCORA - direct contact was established with Enrique Peñalosa and staff. They provided transportation in some areas, data relevant to selection of community to study and assigned some field researchers to assist in data gathering. Return to INCORA: field workers learned how to do research and how to make use of research results. We provided preliminary findings to Basic Studies Division. I taught a week-long seminar to Basic Studies Staff on community research.

6. Acción Comunal - opened their entire files to our investigators, provided transportation in some local areas and assigned promotores to field research projects. Return to Acción Comunal: training and evaluation study of their program.

7. Acción Cívica Militar - assisted with transportation and gave us access to their files. Return to ACM: I taught a one-month seminar with Andrew Pearse and Orlando Fals-Borda to army officers on Community Development.

8. Corporación Autónoma Regional de la Sabana de Bogotá y los Valles de Ubate y Chinquinquira (CAR) - general agreement to exchange information and assist in questionnaire construction, and provided transportation and assistance for Emil Haney's study. Return to CAR: consultation on an irrigation study to be done in Subachoque.

9. Corporación Autónoma del Cauca (CVC) - more directly related to Antonio Posada and Joseph Thome.

10. IICA - CIRA - Dale Adams located in their offices. They are providing office space and secretarial help at no charge. Return to CIRA: Dale Adams is assisting in teaching and providing research opportunities for their students.

11. Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario (ICA) - informal contacts with no definite exchange established at this time.

12. Ford Foundation - it should be noted that the Ford Foundation has recently granted a $1 million aid to the Faculty of Sociology. We were told by the Director that the Foundation was encouraged by the work of the Land Tenure Center.

13. Escuela Superior de Administración Pública (ESAP) - provided 5000.00 pesos for Llanos study. Return to ESAP: research report.

14. Asuntos Indigines - provided transportation and office space for Silvia study.

15. Ecopetrol (National Oil Company) - provided $100,000.00 pesos ($10,000.00) for study of agriculture and industrialization problems surrounding their oil fields. We did the study at no cost to LTC except for my salary and per diem. Data is currently being processed here. Return to Ecopetrol: research results.

16. Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo Económico (CEDE) - entered into an informal agreement to collaborate. As a start they donated 100 books and monographs of out-of-print publications to library, which are now being catalogued.

This is a brief summary of the types of collaboration which were developed and are continuing in Colombia.

B. Research Accomplished

The major research emphasis in Colombia was placed upon directed social change which is taking place in the Colombian rural scene. At the outset it was felt that the programs of Acción Comunal would be a major focal point, but it was soon realized that the general trends of development were much more complex and important than a direct focus on the Acción Comunal effort. Therefore, the general focus of the study was expanded to a treatment of factors related to the success or failure of programs of change in rural Colombia.

By the nature of the study, it was necessary to include action variables for study which are ordinarily considered by economists or anthropologists. Therefore, the study was designed to be interdisciplinary. Full description of the methodology employed to accomplish the interdisciplinary study has been explained in previous writings. However, one point should be made. The studies were improved when an economist, an anthropologist and a sociologist were all located in the same community engaged in the step-by-step process of research. Intensive studies were carried out in the following areas:

1. Caquetá - Tinnermeier's study of directed vs. spontaneous colonos.
2. Contadero, Nariño - intensive study on land tenure, development and change.
3. Támesis, Antioquia - same.
4. Cereté, Córdoba - same.
5. Tenza, Boyacá - same.
6. Orocué, Llanos - same.
7. Granada, Meta - same.
8. Condoto, Chocó - same.
9. Candelaria, Valle - same.
10. Silvia, Cauca - same.
11. Barrancabermeja - (Ecopetrol funds) and land tenure, development and change, plus industrial relations study.
12. Barranquilla - in-migration study.

In addition to the 12 comprehensive field studies, preliminary analyses were made of the cultural area of the Guajira. These studies, with the exception of Caquetá, were conducted by Andrew Pearse and myself. In addition, the following studies have been undertaken:

1. Joseph Thome - historical review of water laws and doing briefs for INCORA on proposed water and irrigation districts. Participating in on-going research of Dale Adams and CIRA.

2. Dale Adams - see following separate report.

Due to the student summer program, we also have data on (1) social organization of Acción Comunal and (2) preliminary work on FANAL.

In addition to these, Padre Jiménez's study on the role of the parish priest in community development and Orlando Fals-Borda's study on Social Change in Saucio round out the research that has been done. For those that are statistically oriented, these studies are represented by over 4,000 research questionnaires or intensive case studies plus hundreds of pages of field notes and diaries. All of this data is currently present on campus and advanced analysis is under way.

C. Publications

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications; more are forthcoming.

A report is also being prepared, based upon overall Colombia data concerning "Colombian Rural Scene and Its Development Implications.

D. Student Training in Colombia

One of the major accomplishments, in the long-run, may be the training of Colombians. As mentioned in earlier sections of this report, we have trained a large number of students during the Colombian program. In some fashion or another some 35 students received the opportunity to participate in the research program. Of these students, 10 have written or are writing theses (five-year) from data they were able to gather in conjunction with the LTC research (six of these are located in Antioquía). Two of these students are currently studying in Chile in FLACSO, one is working with CIRA, three are in research positions in INCORA, two others are engaged in research for the Ministry of Justice. It is not fair to say that all of these students received these positions solely because of their experience in research provided by LTC, but it was a major factor in several cases.

E. Other Activities

Two other activities should be mentioned. These are the summer study program and the seminar held in Bogotá. Six students were given the

opportunity to be introduced to field research during the summer. This experience will be of great assistance when they return to do their Ph. D. thesis research.

In July, a seminar was held in Bogotá concerning theory and methods of agrarian change. Fourteen people from eight different Latin American countries and the United States participated. A final report, plus contributed papers, is being published in Spanish. A full detailed report was also sent to the LTC but as of this writing has not been circulated.

F. Relationship With AID/Bogotá

After a slow start, the Colombian team received full cooperation from the AID/Bogotá mission. We have reached the point where the mission is turning to us for information on policy decisions. The new director has made plans to rely on LTC studies for general information and trends and invest what few research funds are available to him in specific studies related to specific problems. The majority of the Embassy and Mission people are favorably oriented to the LTC-type of contract. One indication of our rapport is that the Ambassador asked in August that I be sent to Washington to present some of our preliminary findings to the Latin American Economic Advisors.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM ANALYSIS OF COLOMBIA RESEARCH (1962-1964) OF THE LAND TENURE CENTER*

A. Eugene Havens

The following listing of tentative conclusions bas
Center's Colombia research effort from 1962-64 is presented for discussion and possible policy implications. Each of these conclusions has been or will be presented in more detailed reports prepared by Land Tenure Center personnel.

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*Summary of comments delivered by A. Eugene Havens to a meeting of Latin American personnel, Agency for International Development, New State Office Building, Washington, D. C. February 10, 1965.

Land Tenure Arrangements

A. Over-all Conclusions

Agrarian reform is more than a simple redistribution of land holdings. In order to bring about an effective agrarian reform, we must understand the social and economic organization that accompanies land tenure arrangements. Redistribution of land holdings which changes these tenure arrangements may have broad consequences for Colombia.

a. Reparcelization of latifundio areas changes more than land holdings; it attacks the social structure which accompanies land tenure arrangements.

b. Basically, this power structure is such that control over the allocation of resources is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of Colombians. Within this relatively small group, opportunities in education, travel and investments are high. Furthermore, this group is well organized and can effectively serve as a pressure group in order to influence policy decisions.

c. Those who are not a member of this more elite group lack opportunities to change their style of life and to influence policy decisions.

d. Given this power structure, it is logical to expect that the decisions taken regarding agrarian reform will be made by those who would be most adversely affected by such a reform.

2. Small land holdings are not going to disappear in Colombia, but there are substantial opportunities for improving the production and levels of living in these areas.

a. There exist several technologies that could be introduced with little capital investment for the farmer and involve low risks which would increase agricultural production.

b. Small plots do not necessarily imply small farm units.

c. Occupations are not strictly limited to agriculture.

3. The agrarian reform dilemma may be summarized as:

a. The enactment of agrarian reform legislation is influenced by those who have more vested interests in not changing land holding patterns.

b. Those who are small owners or laborers are not effectively represented at national decision-making levels.

c. Under these conditions change in land holdings will be slow.

d. But, even when change occurs, those who receive lands may not be able to manage them effectively because of lack of opportunity to be exposed to prior decision-making situations and lack of education.

e. Therefore, the crucial problem with respect to latifundio may not be entirely the concentration of lands in the hands of a few but, rather, the lack of incentive to manage them correctly, since:

(1) The majority of large landowners are professionals with other occupations and do not live on the land;
(2) As a consequence, the only types of enterprises they will engage in are those that can be managed at a distance. This precludes the possibility of intensive farming operations.
(3) The people encountered in areas of latifundio possess extremely low levels of education, which limits their alternatives.

B. Statistical Support

1. About 60 percent of all farmers in Colombia make farm decisions with regard to subsistence and not with regard to markets or prices.

2. Disregarding operators of large units, the average level of education for farm operators and laborers is less than two years.

3. Subsistence farmers have a very low risk tolerance. Any practice that involves a relatively large capital investment may be rejected because of their unwillingness to encumber their small plots for loans.

4. According to measures of aspirations among small farmers, any capital accumulation would be invested in the following order:

a. Education for children.

b. Home improvements.

c. Personal enjoyment.

d. Purchase of improved agricultural practices.

e. Purchase of land in the community.

f. Move to the city.

g. Move to new farming area.

5. Large owners tend to purchase more land as a hedge against inflation rather than a status conferring device, although the latter is still an important consideration.

6. Large owners show interest in industrial investments, but express concern about the security of such investments.

7. Migration data indicates that persons with higher education migrate, while those with lower education remain in the local area. There is some indication that large land owners become absentee owners when educational opportunities for their children are exhausted in rural areas.

8. There is tremendous diversification of occupations among small farm operators. From one-third to one-half of their income is frequently obtained from outside their own farm operations.

9. Our studies of colonization indicate that there is a very high cost in terms of money and human sacrifice in directed colonization programs. A study of the Caqueta area indicates that the spontaneous colonos were more advanced than the directed or supervised colonos.

II. Rural Education

A. Over-all Conclusions

1. Despite the school building program under the Alliance for Progress, educational opportunities are seriously lacking in the rural areas.

2. Classrooms can't teach. Rural school teachers lack (a) training, (b) incentive and (c) materials. Many rural teachers never receive more than 8 of their promised 12 months' salary.

3. The very structure of education effectively eliminates the vast majority of rural children from obtaining more than two years of education.

4. Those with higher education tend to leave their local areas; thus, in effect, the level of education is declining in rural areas rather than increasing as urban opportunities are available for those who have sufficient training to enter into the industrial labor market.

5. Under the present educational program, lack of training will continue to be a major obstacle to increased agricultural production.

6. Education alone will not be sufficient for sustained economic growth, since opportunities to (a) obtain it and (b) effectively employ the new knowledge are differentially distributed throughout the society.

No education is free from the rural family's point of view. Attending school requires new clothes, shoes, books and supplies plus losing the child's labor. Yet, credit facilities for primary education are not available.

8. The current emphasis on secondary education may bring about more unrest and instability.

   a. Secondary schools cannot be entered unless a student has a primary education.

   b. But a full five years of primary education is beyond the reach of the majority of rural people, since five-year primary schools tend to be located in the service or village center. The student, because of lack of adequate transportation facilities, cannot go back and forth to school daily.

   c. The family cannot support the child to live in the village center.

   d. Therefore, the child cannot get the primary education he needs to take advantage of the improved secondary schools.

   e. The result is to widen the gap between rural and urban sectors, which may lead to

      (1) more inherent unrest, and
      (2) more willingness to support mass movements.

B. Statistical Support

1. In order to enter a university, the student must possess a diploma from the college preparatory school. In Colombia, there are only 1,003 such preparatory schools. Over 30 percent of these schools are located in the urbanized areas of Bogotá. Seventy percent of these schools are private, which means that a relatively high tuition must be paid by each student. Over 80 percent of all such schools are located in larger urban centers. Therefore, unless the student has sufficient funds to travel to these cities, pay his room and board, pay tuition, buy his uniforms and supplies, he is virtually excluded from entering the college preparatory schools.

2. Obviously, to enter a college preparatory school one must complete his primary education. These are three different systems of classification for primary schools in Colombia. These are:

a. Official or those maintained exclusively with state funds, and private, or those which receive support from the Catholic Church, private societies or student tuition.

b. Male or female schools.

c. Rural or urban schools.

The majority of primary schools are private, urban, sex-separated schools. In 1958, the government authorized the creation of alternated schools. These alternated schools offer two years of primary education and are attended by boys on one day and girls the next. Despite the fact that each child can spend only half the normal time in school, 53 percent of all rural children were still attending alternated schools in 1962 -- and only for two years.

3. In 1960, there were 19,516 primary schools in Colombia. According to data received from the Ministry of Education, 8,100 new classrooms were built from 1960 to 1964 in predominantly rural areas. This would indicate a total of 27,616 primary schools at the start of 1964.

4. In 1962, there were 48,529 primary school teachers. About 34 percent of these were teaching in rural areas, while the remainder (66 percent) were teaching in urban centers.

5. Seventy-eight percent of the teachers teaching in rural primary schools had received only five years of education.

6. Over 80 percent of students enrolled in rural primary schools never receive a diploma.

7. The average monthly salary for rural, primary teachers is about $65.00, while the urban teacher's average salary is $110.00.

8. Rural children cannot receive five years of primary education unless they are able to travel to the urban center. The schools in the rural veredas rarely offer more than three years of education, and the teachers for these schools are hardly sufficiently prepared to teach.

9. Because of little available money to the rural family, coupled with a five-year school in the immediate area, the road to upward mobility via education is effectively barred to about 60 percent of all Colombians.

III. Rural Social Organization and Personality

A. Over-all Conclusions

1. Our field studies indicate that there is widespread suspicion of the Colombian government by rural Colombians. Yet, because of lack of sufficient internal investment, the Colombian government must be the leading sector for rural development at the present time. Nevertheless, rural Colombians will be suspicious of government-sponsored programs of change until the governmental agencies have operated long enough to prove themselves sincerely interested in promoting their client's situation and not just their own situation at the possible expense of their clients.

2. Preliminary analysis reveals that this high degree of suspicion is partially negated by the participation in voluntary associations.

3. This finding is more understandable when the traditional social organization of rural Colombia is described. Traditionally, the meaningful social groups for the rural Colombians have been the family, the church and the community. But none of these are effective in presenting demands to higher authorities. Voluntary associations are more effective because they represent individuals from diverse backgrounds that share a common interest or desire. The voluntary associations, because their major interests are to attain more specific goals, can bring together all those otherwise diverse interests into one coordinated whole in order to attain what the members could not attain individually.

4. Unless voluntary associations exist, the rural Colombian is not represented in the decision-making process at higher levels of government. Traditionally, they have formed a relatively isolated mass which is easy to manipulate and be exploited.

5. As voluntary associations become developed and effective in presenting demands to higher authorities, the mass becomes differentiated, and, therefore, less manipulative. This guards against manipulation by any type of totalitarian movement whether it be the traditional elite or other interest groups.

6. Where voluntary associations have formed and have been effective in presenting demands (such as FANAL, UTC, Marcha por Tierra, etc.) and receiving concessions, the members display less suspicion of government programs. The relationship between suspicion and membership in voluntary associations does not become attenuated even when age, education, land ownership and farm size are controlled. As a result, the members are more willing to participate in

governmental programs of change, such as the supervised credit program, Acción Comunal, or the land reform movements.

7. Rural Colombians currently display a high degree of knowledge about better ways of life and are desirous of attaining improved levels of living. But up to now, their concern over lack of achievement of these higher standards has not become an unstabilizing factor. Concern over attaining these higher levels of living could probably be generated in a controllable manner if voluntary associations were encouraged to develop in the rural areas and represent the needs of rural people.

8. Rural Colombians value education highly and would send their children to school, if costs were not prohibitive.

9. Rural Colombians are hard working, desirous of change, if it doesn't threaten their livelihood, and have a severe sense of justice concerning their personal liberties. Nevertheless, they feel a strong need for group behavior and are willing to subjugate individual desires for the sake of the group, if the group is meaningful to them. As such, they would probably be active joiners and loyal members of an effective voluntary association.

Implications

1. In the absence of voluntary associations which can effectively present their demands to higher authorities, rural Colombians are highly suspicious of government. This suspicion leads to little use of government-sponsored programs of directed change. When voluntary associations are present and effective, significant development is taking place (e.g. land rights obtained by FANAL).

2. The growth of effective voluntary associations may be the most important change that could take place in Colombia. These associations could transform the social structure of Colombia if higher authorities would seriously consider their demands and grant concessions when appropriate. No government is responsive to individual desires unless they are supported by the weight of a group. Voluntary associations could make the Colombian government more responsive to rural Colombians' needs.

3. Another consequence of the evolution of effective voluntary associations would be the changing of Colombian social structure from a quasi-totalitarian form to a pluralistic society. Such a society is much less conducive to dictatorial take-over.

IV. Specific Policy Implications

A. Raising prices for agricultural commodities would be more deleterious than advantageous at the present time. Since over 60 percent of all farmers are subsistence farmers, prices receive secondary consideration in management decisions for this group. Certainty of outcome is most important for the subsistence farmer. Medium size commercial farms are currently operating at a high productive capacity. Higher prices may bring about a further increase but not a major jump. Large land holders engaged in extensive agricultural enterprises cannot be expected to respond to higher prices, since they do not view land use as a major source of income. Land is considered as an investment and a hedge against inflation. The large owners do not wish to leave their other occupations to manage their holdings on an intensive basis. Also, increased prices would tend to increase the incentives to maintain the latifundio system, since it would be inflationary, thereby a further incentive to buying land as a hedge against inflation. The subsistence farmer would be caught in another price-cost squeeze and would most likely find capital accumulation even more difficult. Any increase in returns for crops sold after home consumption was satisfied would probably be exhausted in higher costs for family necessities.

B. Some production increases on small farms could be obtained by the use of low cost, low risk, socially compatible techniques that are already available in Colombia, such as fertilizer and improved seed varieties. Initial increases would probably be absorbed in consumption, but any capital accumulation realized from these new techniques would most likely be invested in education for the children, according to our findings from our field studies.

C. Incentives to more intensive operations on large holdings could be encouraged by further reparcelization of latifundios, particularly in the Departments of Magdalena, Bolívar and Córdoba. Contrary to the recent statement by INCORA, a definite latifundio program does exist in these areas. If INCORA were to continue the breakdown of large extensive units that tie-up productive land, it would (a) display to the small farmer that agrarian reform is taken seriously by government, thus helping to restore the confidence that government must enjoy if stability is to be attained and (b) display to the large owner that the concept of effective land use as a factor in title security is being given more than lip service.

D. <u>As a part of the over-all agrarian reform program</u>, colonization of new lands should be encouraged by the opening of new lands with farm-to-market roads. The simple opening of these lands appears to provide sufficient incentive to migrate as evidenced by the areas of Ariari, Caqueta and Granada. After the colonos

had established their own homes, INCORA could provide titling teams, so that the colono would have title security and supervised credit. The complete construction of homes, village centers, etc., which is very costly, does not appear to be necessary in order to entice individuals into new areas.

Encouragement should be given to the formation of voluntary associations, such as FANAL, since it is largely through the activity of such organizations that the mobility channels can be opened. However, it should be expected that the traditional authority structure will resist such organizations and will attempt to discredit them. These new associations may be termed communistic by the traditional authorities as one means to discredit them. However, it should be remembered that a communistic take-over is most difficult in a pluralistic society; and, in fact, that a quasi-totalitarian society (which Colombia currently is) is most susceptible to dictatorial take-overs.

F. While encouraging and assisting secondary education and higher education is necessary, USAID should not overlook the blocked channels of educational mobility currently present in rural Colombia. The OAPEC program of teacher-training should be continued and extended in scope. Further assists may be attained by making fellowships available to promising students in the rural, primary schools.

These tentative conclusions are derived from the research studies which were conducted in Colombia by the author from 1962 to 1964. Since they are tentative, they are open to wide discussion. Nevertheless, each one of the conclusions listed is based upon research and not without factual support. It is hoped that these tentative conclusions will provide a basis for discussion within USAID, the University and Colombian agencies. Hopefully, they will be suggestive of hypotheses for more rigorous testing in future studies in Colombia.

COLOMBIA

Dale W. Adams

Assistant Professor, Agricultural Economics

Report covering period February 15 thru December 31, 1964, part of which overlaps the report of A. Eugene Havens. Briefly, this project is aimed at describing the occupational structures of rural peoples with particular emphasis on farm organization, land tenure systems, rural education and rural to urban migration. In addition, we are trying to determine the agricultural experience and background of individuals who are in, or are entering, responsible positions in Colombia's agricultural development programs.

A. Objectives

The basic objective of this project is to describe the economic organization in Colombia at the farm level. As far as possible, the field work is carried out with fourth or fifth year students from the Facultades de Agronomía or the students from the Centro Interamericano de Reforma Agraria (CIRA). The students are trained as interviewers, and at the same time collect data from the project's data to complete their professional fifth year theses. Education of students is an integral part of the project.

The projects to be carried out are selected on the basis of major farm crops or enterprises in Colombia. Additional consideration is also given to prominent tenure arrangements, and special aspects of the rural to urban migration process.

B. Projects Completed To Date

As of November 30, 1964, we have carried out field studies in six project areas. A short description of each of these follows:

1. Contadero Nariño: During May 1964, 35 farm interviews were taken in Contadero. These were in addition to the 100 questionnaires completed by A. Eugene Havens under his project. The objective was to broaden Havens' analysis. Contadero is an area of extreme minifundio where cold climate crops are grown.

2. Urrao, Antioquia: In July 1964, 130 interviews were taken in Urrao. Two fourth-year students and one professor from the Facultad de Agronomia in Medellin assisted in this project. The area is a potential dairy and corn producing center. Large landholdings by absentee operators, however, are a serious limitation in the development of this area.

3. Barbosa, Antioquia: Also during July 1964, 120 interviews were taken in Barbosa. Two students and two professors from the Facultad de Agronomía in Medellin assisted with the field work. Sugar cane and pineapple are the main crops in this area. Sharecropping arrangements are very common in both of these crops.

4. Tamesis, Antioquia: During July 1964, an additional two students from the Facultad de Agronomía in Medellin helped us take 140 questionnaires in Tamesis. This included two studies. The first study included about 100 farm operator interviews. The second study was a sample of about 40 vendors in the Sunday market of Tamesis. Coffee, sugar cane, cattle and platano are the major crops and enterprises in Tamesis.

5. Sopó, Cundinamarca: During September and October 1964, we cooperated with CIRA in taking about 100 questionnaires in the area of Sopó. In addition, a census of all of the rural residents was taken in July. This amounted to about 400 short questionnaires over land ownership and farm organization. Twenty-five students and six professors from CIRA used this as a laboratory exercise for their year-long course. Dairy and cold climate crops predominate in this area.

6. San Gil, Santander: During November 1964, interviews with approximately 100 farmers in the San Gil area were carried out. The focus was on the results of a parcelization project which had been carried out several years ago by the Tobacco Institute. Tobacco is the main crop in the area and most of the production is done by sharecroppers.

C. Agricultural Background Study

In addition to the six studies mentioned above, over 400 students and faculty members of the Facultades de Agronomía in Medellin and Bogotá, and the students of CIRA have completed questionnaires on their experience and background in agriculture.

D. Status of Data Analysis

All of the above mentioned data is on IBM cards except the San Gil Study. Copies of the questionnaires taken in Contadoro, Urrao, Barboso and Tamesis have been made. Students who have cooperated with us up to this point have received copies of these questionnaires, as well as the corresponding IBM cards. Extensive cross-tabs of the Sopó data have been made. Total tabulation of the rest of the studies will be made when the rest of the field work is completed.

E. Additional Training Program

In addition to the six students and three faculty members from the Facultad de Agronomía and the CIRA students already mentioned, four full-time researchers are being trained by our program. These include two Ingeniero Agrónomos who are collecting data within our research program which can be used toward Masters' theses in the United States. The other two individuals are furthering their education by learning how to process and analyze data from the project. Each of these individuals has, or is writing materials which will be published under his own name.

F. Project's Relationship to AID Mission in Colombia

Drafts of all manuscripts are sent to the AID mission here in Colombia for review and comments. Reports of preliminary results of all projects are sent to AID representatives as soon as possible after the field work is completed. In addition, we have informally briefed a number of AID mission representatives on various aspects of Colombian agriculture.

Through personal contacts, made with the assistance of AID personnel, we send draft copies of all manuscripts and research results to the chief of technical studies section in INCORA. A monthly luncheon meeting is held between INCORA personnel and Land Tenure people to exchange research results and ideas.

G. Project Activities Projected January 1965 to February 1966

During the next 15 months we will be carrying out additional studies in the following areas of Colombia:

1. A banana region of the north coast.
2. Another coffee region in Caldas.
3. A rice region of Tolima or Huila.
4. A colonization area in Meta.
5. An area of sugar cane production in Valle.

Arrangements have already been made to assist at least five students from the Facultad de Agronomía in Bogotá and two students from the University of Tolima in collecting data from these projects for their fifth year theses. Some possibilities also exist for assisting two additional students from the Facultad de Agronomía in Palmira, but no firm arrangements have yet been made.

In addition to the above mentioned studies, about 400 additional questionnaires on agricultural experience and background will be taken from congressional members in Colombia, INCORA employees and students from other Facultades de Agronomía.

H. Publications

Since much of our time has been spent in the field or processing the data already collected, not much has been published on this project to date. Results on each of the areas mentioned will be prepared for publication in the next 12 to 18 months. See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications to date.

COLOMBIA

Ronald L. Tinnermeier
Research Associate

This study was a part of the over-all Land Tenure Center research program located in Bogotá, Colombia; A. Eugene Havens was the project director. I was responsible for the research project in the eastern lowlands of Caquetá. In this area a comparative study was made between directed and spontaneous settlement zones. One hundred of the directed colonists and 84 of the spontaneous settlers were interviewed using an interview questionnaire. An additional two case studies were made in each group. All interviews were made during the first part of 1964.

Eduardo Montero, a graduate of the Faculty of Agronomy, Medellin, was the Colombian counterpart on this research project.

In the field the researchers received assistance from the Colombian Agrarian Reform Institute (INCORA). Mules and equipment used during interviewing were supplied by INCORA. The researchers had access to the files of INCORA in Florencia.

In addition to Eduardo Montero, two other Colombian students from the Faculty of Sociology were employed during the interviewing. The students were used for a period of two weeks.

The research results have been presented in a Ph. D. dissertation by Ronald Tinnermeier entitled "New Land Settlement in the Eastern Lowlands of Colombia."

Data from the four case studies will be located at the Land Tenure Center, Madison. The questionnaires were coded and information placed on IBM cards. The Faculty of Sociology, Bogotá, has one deck of the cards with the code sheets. A second deck is at the Land Tenure Center, Madison. These data will be available for use by students or other researchers.

CHILE

Peter Dorner

Professor, Agricultural Economics

Assisted by William Thiesenhusen, Instructor, Agricultural Economics,
Marion Brown, Instructor, Agricultural Journalism and
Daniel Stewart, Research Associate, Law

This report covers the work of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center research group in Chile since January 1, 1964. In February, William Thiesenhusen and myself were joined by Marion Brown and Daniel Stewart. I feel our work has been progressing very well, and cooperation with the Instituto de Economía, AID and other agencies has been excellent. In addition to close cooperation with the staff, the Instituto is supplying us with two half-time research assistants. AID has established close liaison with us, and has been very helpful in supplying us with materials and services.

A. Projects Under Way

1. "The Experimental Land Reform Program of the Catholic Church in Chile as Compared with Government Land Distribution and Colonization." This is William Thiesenhusen's project and is proceeding as outlined in his proposal.

All colonists on Los Silos de Pirque were interviewed and a sample of colonists on Alto Las Cruces, San Dionisio and Las Pataguas, three other projects in the church's reform program. The church is establishing inquilinos on their own land on these fundos. To give perspective to these recent cases, inquilinos were interviewed who had been given parcels through the government's reform programs. The Caja de Colonización Agrícola established some 4,200 colonists from 1928 to 1962. Although publicized as a "reform" very few inquilinos received parcels. This has been documented by visits and interviews at a number of the Caja projects. (Inquilinos-turned-parcel-holders have been interviewed on the following government colonies: (a) Quinta: Curicó, (b) Prosperidad: Talca, (c) Bernardo O'Higgins: Chillán, (d) Rinconada de Tambo: San Vicente, (e) Manuel Rodríguez: Angol, (f) Pampa Alta: Curicó, (g) Cuarta de Longaví: Linares, (h) Vega Norte: La Serena, (i) Juan Antonio Ríos: Santiago, (j) Catemu: Los Andes.)

The major aim was to find out how the former inquilino turned parcel-holder is doing economically. Is he successful? What have been his problems? These questions were elaborated with the hope of getting some evidence on a series of policy questions: What will a government have to do to make a reform succeed? What will the church have to do if former inquilinos are to be successful on their parcels? What has

the government been doing and what has it not been doing to support "reform"? In addition, several colonies of the Italian Colonization agency (CITAL) in La Serena have been studied as have two Indian reservations.

A review has also been made of the new projects of the government's present land reform agency, Corporación de Reforma Agraria (CORA), which took over the Caja's functions under the new agrarian reform law of November 1962. The operations of CORA are being studied to give some ideas of costs of colonization, previous occupations and vocations of those currently receiving parcels and administrative problems.

2. "Analysis of Communication of Technical Information as Related to Land Reform in Chile." This is Marion Brown's project and is proceeding on schedule. In brief outline, it consists of the following:

a. A survey of presently operating agencies and organizations involved in programs of agricultural extension and technical assistance to farmers.

b. A field survey to describe information seeking habits, attitudes toward change, levels of technical knowledge and patterns of interpersonal communication of laborers on traditional large farms, of long established small farmers and of new land owners.

c. An experimental, direct mail information service to the same subjects.

d. A second survey to describe any changes in information seeking behavior, attitudes, knowledge and person-to-person communication that result from the service.

In analyzing present efforts to extend and diffuse technical information (part (a) above) we have become increasingly interested in the role that foreign money and advice have played in these efforts. We find evidence that outside sources of money have stimulated bureaucratic proliferation, competion for scarce personnel and unnecessary duplication of administrative effort. We still lack much data to complete this phase of the study, especially data on the financial history of the agencies. However, we hope to have a rough draft soon.

Our field sample consists of 87 subjects; 30 small farmers, 28 colonists and 28 <u>inquilinos</u>. These have all been interviewed once and the questionnaires are now being tabulated. The experimental sample (half of each tenure group) has been receiving weekly circulars since September 10.

Of course we have no indication of effects as yet, but we are fairly sure that the circulars are at least being delivered. A recent check at the post offices in the sample communities showed that all but one respondent has been picking up the letters. One subject wrote us a letter acknowledging receipt of the first circular and asking some questions related to the topic.

The circulars will be continued through February 1965, at which time we will start the second round of interviews. In the meantime we will analyze the first set of questionnaires.

The study should be ready for publication by August 1965.

3. "Some Aspects of Water Law in Chilean Agriculture: Historical Development, Economic Consequences and Suggestions for Alterations." This is Daniel Stewart's project. The study is divided into three main parts:

a. The historical development of water rights in Chile up to and including the present water code and supporting legislation.

b. The economic consequences of the "law in action" in Chilean agriculture: a case study of the Choapa Valley.

c. Suggestions for altering the existing water code and its administration in order to improve water resource use and to complement land reform proposals.

Chilean water rights, most of which were acquired before the promulgation of the first Chilean water code, and institutions are products of a long and varied history. Thus, an analysis of water law in Chile must include a study of the way in which water rights were originally acquired, of what they consisted, how they were administered and what has occurred to them and the institutions built around them over the course of the last 400 and some years. Based upon research so far, Stewart has found that water rights acquired under the Spanish were always separate from land grants, were limited by what the crown considered from time to time to be the "public welfare" and were not restricted to riparian lands. With independence, the Royal institutions designed to appraise water rights fell into disuse as the powers of sovereignty were completely taken over by the Chilean upper class, predominantly landowning. With the adoption of the Napoleonic Code in the middle of the 19th century more control over water was surrendered by the government to the landowners themselves, until with the defeat of Balmaceda, the process was completed in 1908 with the creation of the autonomous private canal associations; and the concept of an absolute property right to water once granted to a landowner. Public irrigation works, as well, were turned over by the government as soon as completed to the individual owners, grouped into associations with little, if any, control exercised by the government over the operation of the works.

Although a water code was promulgated in 1951 which incorporated some new ideas and controls over water use, previously acquired rights were left untouched and thus still within the discretion of the landowners themselves.

Stewart is presently going through the National Archives in order to document this development as no such work has ever been done in Chile -- by lawyers or historians.

For part two, he has chosen the Choapa Valley to demonstrate how the law works "in action" and what the economic consequences of the present situation are. Along with a Chilean agronomist, he is collecting basic research material on the Choapa zone and will soon be selecting his sample and preparing an interview schedule.

A complete draft of the study, including part three, should be completed by June 1965.

4. "An Evaluation of Profit Sharing Plans on Some Large Farms in Chile." Juan Carlos Collarte is working on this at the present time. This is an expansion of his thesis research. As a result of his thesis and this new study, Collarte has been asked by the new Minister of Agriculture, Hugo Trivelli, to work with a committee on formulating a section of the agrarian reform law to be proposed by the Frei government. This section of the law will deal with profit sharing plans and the nature of governmental action toward farmers with these plans.

5. "Private Sub-division of Land in Chile." Antonio Idiáquez is working on this study under the supervision of Dorner, Thiesenhusen and Brown. The study will attempt to show the extent to which private sub-division and parcelization is proceeding in Chile. After information on the general extent of this practice is established, a sample of these parcel holders will be interviewed to determine the origins of these people, how they financed their land purchase, who operates the parcel, how effectively is the parcel operated, etc. These results can then be compared with those of Thiesenhusen's study in which colonists under government and church land reform programs are analyzed with respect to these same factors.

In addition to Idiáquez and Collarte, César Carmona is now working with us full time. Up to the present, he has been assisting Thiesenhusen and Stewart, but in the future he will work on a project of his own under the supervision of Dorner and a staff member of the Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute.

In addition to these direct employees, the Instituto de Economía is providing two half-time assistants. We also inter-change some work and personnel with the Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute.

6. "Area Studies to Program Possibilities and Requirements in Production, Credit and Marketing." This is a cooperative undertaking among Kurt Ullrich and James Locke from the Instituto de Economía, researchers at the Escuela de Agronomía and myself.

Many of the ideas suggested in several of my previous statements on research proposals are being incorporated in this study. Statisticians at the Instituto have helped design the sample, which consists of about 180 farms located in five comunas in Santiago Province. In addition to the analysis of present farm management and marketing, the study will be used to measure productive potential, credit needs for realizing this potential, the impact of inflation on farm inventories and profit margins as effected by size of farm, and the relationship between tenure and farm size, and marketing channels and prices received.

Several students at the Escuela de Agronomía will develop memorias from this study. Ullrich, Locke and I will be analyzing certain sections, especially as related to the topics outlined above. A preliminary report should be available by June 1965.

B. Special Papers and Reports

1. Peter Dorner - "Three Lectures on Agricultural Policy."

a. "La Organización Económica de la Agricultura y de la Industria: Desenvolvimiento Histórico."

b. "Distintas Maneras de Evaluar los Problemas de Política Fiscal."

c. "Alcance y Naturaleza de las Políticas Agrarias."

Published in Universidad de Chile, ESCOLATINA, Publicaciones Docentes No. 7, Septiembre de 1964. (An English version has also been mimeographed.)

2. Peter Dorner - "Problems in Chilean Agriculture and Land Reform," prepared for USAID Chile, FY 1966, CAP Report, October 1964.

3. Héctor Morales Jara, Productividad Presente y Potencial en 96 Predios de la Provincia de O'Higgins y Su Relación con el Tamaño de las Propiedades, November 1964. (Supervised by Dorner and Delgado; submitted as a thesis for the Ingeniero Agrónomo degree to the Facultad de Agronomía, Universidad de Chile; distributed widely to Chilean agencies, Instituto de Economía, AID, Wisconsin and others.)

4. Juan Carlos Collarte - a summary paper (20 pages) of the CIDA Chile Report, Estudio Sobre La Tenencia De La Tierra En Chile, November 1964. (Under the supervision and in collaboration with Solon Barraclough, at the request of the Chilean Minister of Agriculture, Hugo Trivelli.)

For publications see PROGRESS REPORT PART I.

6. CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina).

7. Escuela de Agronomía.

8. Ministry of Agriculture and related agencies.

9. Other faculties of the Universidad de Chile, especially law and geography.

10. CORFO (Corporación de Fomento de la Producción).

11. Staff people from Economics and Agronomy of Universidad Católica.

12. CITAL (Compañía Italiana-Chilena de Colonización).

13. DESAL (Desarrollo Económico y Social para América Latina).

AID Chile has drawn upon some of our research work in implementing some of their programs, especially the INPROA loan. All our papers and reports are submitted to AID. Dorner attends a bi-monthly staff meeting of the AID Operations Division. Many informal contacts and meetings are held including LTC personnel and people from AID. AID Chile has given our center excellent support. They have provided us with two electric typewriters and some office furniture. On occasion we have used their mimeographing facilities and have obtained some of our office supplies through AID.

The close working relationship between the Instituto de Economía and the Agrarian Reform Training and Research Institute have already been indicated. FAO and the Agrarian Reform Institute also permit us to use their mimeographing machines for some of our work.

Cooperation with the other agencies listed is primarily through personal contact in interchanging publications, ideas and information, and joint supervision of student theses. We are extremely grateful to the Chileans in INPROA, the Ministry of Agriculture and other agencies for making data available to us.

CENTRAL AMERICA

George W. Hill
Visiting Professor, Rural Sociology

A. Costa Rica

At the request of the Board of the Instituto de Tierras y Colonización, the first project of the LTC in Central America was concerned with a socio-economic study of farmers in the pioneer area in the Basin of the Rio Coto Brus which lies on the frontier of Costa Rica and Panama.

With a team composed of Ing. Gregorio Alfaro and two Costa Rican agronomy graduates of the Pan American School of Agriculture, Honduras, and Agron. Alfonso Mora of ITCO, field work was started on June 1, 1963 under my supervision. We were later joined by Manuel Gollás Quintero and James J. Weadock III, both research assistants of the Land Tenure Center. The Extension Service of the Costa Rican Ministry of Agriculture assigned Ing. José Luis Valenzuela, agent for the Coto Brus Basin, to collaborate in the study. Arrangements for the selection of the problem and arrangements with agencies of the Costa Rican government were made by Oscar Chaves Esquivel, Director of the Instituto Universitario Centroamericano de Investigaciones Sociales y Económicas.

From the very beginning of the project in Costa Rica, March 1, 1963, we have been in constant touch with the Rural Development Officer of the local AID Mission, who, in turn, helped in contacts with Costa Rican agencies, made recommendations for project personnel, provided transportation facilities before the project was able to obtain its own, and in every way helped the project from its inception to its finish.

Field work was finished by early September 1963, with a random sample of 228 farm operators and 104 farm laborer families. Analysis was undertaken in September and final manuscripts were submitted to all collaborating agencies, in English on June 1964, and in Spanish, August 1964. The Instituto Centroamericano de Analisis Estadística aided in the selection of statistical methods which were employed in the analysis.

The Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamerica recently published the manuscript in Spanish, according to terms of the agreement between the Land Tenure Center and the Instituto Centroamericano de Investigaciones Sociales y Económicas. It is hoped that wide distribution of the study will be made within all Latin American countries and that specialists in rural development, land tenure, agrarian reform and related issues will benefit from this area study of rural development in Costa Rica. The publication is listed in PROGRESS REPORT PART I.

B. Guatemala

Guatemala AID staff made contacts for us with the Instituto de Transformación Agraria, Ministerio de Agricultura and the University of San Carlos early in 1964. After several months of negotiations, an agreement was signed between the San Carlos University of Guatemala and the Land Tenure Center, stipulating the contribution of each in a study of minifundism in the Western Highlands region of the country. The University is providing office facilities. The LTC has placed Ing. Manuel Gollás Quintero and Dr. Humberto Flores Alvarado as technical assistants on the project.

With funds of the LTC, the Instituto Indigenista de Guatemala placed the services of Dr. Mario Reyna at the disposal of the study group for the three months, August-October. Also the Instituto Indigenista de Guatemala, loaned the services of other employees for the initial stages of the project. All field staff of the Servicio de Fomento Económico Indigenista (SFEI) in each of the communities being studied are collaborating with the project as well as the staff of the Instituto Agrario Nacional (IAN).

By November 1, approximately 275 small farm families had been visited in the Departments of Chimaltenango, Sololá, Quetzaltenango, Quiché, Totonicapán and Huehuetenango. Field work is being completed, after which the staff of the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales y Económicas of San Carlos University will join with the LTC in Guatemala in the work of tabulation and analysis. This work will take about six months. It is hoped a first draft of the manuscripts in English and in Spanish will be ready by early fall of 1965.

Since this is the first study of the small farmer as made up of the tribes, Kachiquel, Quiché, Mam and other lesser sub-groups of the Maya Indians family, I hope valuable data will be obtained for planning development programs for these people in situ, as well as basic data concerning the probable resettlement of these people from the overcrowded areas which are now characteristic of the Altiplano region.

The study will indicate possible adjustments families can make to the limited opportunities in farming. We believe the study will result in some practical suggestions for alternative programs that might be feasible for these people such as (a) farm modifications, (b) the introduction or expansion of agricultural cooperatives in the villages, (c) the movement out to colonization areas, or (d) supplemental employment in handicraft or local industries.

The local AID Mission has collaborated whole-heartedly with the project. It made the first contacts, as has already been mentioned, with the several agencies and continues this same backing with leaders of these agencies.

The project started initially in the Faculty of Economics, and since October the Faculty of Law has entered the program by providing a fifth-year student as one of the field workers. Through this collaboration the Law School will obtain its first concrete data on agrarian problems to help develop its courses on agrarian law of Guatemala.

C. Development Problems in Costa Rica

Starting in December 1963, Ing. Gregorio Alfaro and I made a survey of development problems in four distinct agricultural regions of Costa Rica at the request of the AID Mission to help select one of the regions for a rural development program. After several months of work, the Nicoya Peninsula was recommended as the site. Subsequently, the Rural Development Officer and other officers of AID, together with members of the National Planning Office joined Ing. Alfaro on several trips through the peninsula to plan the proposed program.

The LTC made available James J. Weadock III, a specialist in local government, and he spent the months of June, July and August helping to lay the groundwork for a voluntary rural development agency for the peninsula.

This marks a "first" for Costa Rica in regional planning where the people themselves will do the planning, with the help of outside specialists as advisors. AID has obtained Washington's approval for a minimum budget to finance the activities of the association for its initial two years.

The LTC is continuing to cooperate with Alfaro starting a detailed socio-economic tenure study among a sample of 400 families in the area. Since this study is being undertaken at the request of the newly-created association, that agency will provide the field interviewers to work under Alfaro's supervision. Likewise, once field work is finished about the first of February, Alfaro will supervise the work of a tabulating staff to be contributed by the Association and the Faculty of Agronomy of the University of Costa Rica.

The results of the study should be available in the fall of 1965.

D. Other Activities

1. Utilizing agronomic data obtained in the first project in Costa Rica and which were not analyzed for the report that has been finished, Alfonso Mora of the National Lands and Colonization Institute will prepare his thesis for the degree of Ingeniero Agrónomo at the School of Agriculture, University of Costa Rica.

2. "Local Government and Community Development: A Costa Rican Case Study," by James J. Weadock III.

This study will be an organizational and functional analysis of the rural local governmental units in Costa Rica. The purpose of the study will be to examine the role of the local political structures to see how they are related to rural community development.

The focal point of the research will be the Asociación de Desarrollo de la Peninsula de Nicoya. This development association was created in the summer of 1964. An analysis of its creation and subsequent development as a rural regional development association will serve as the primary unit of comparison for local government and community development in the nation at large.

BRAZIL

Michael Sund

Research Associate

A. CIDA Project

The major activity of the Land Tenure Center in this study has been to collaborate with the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development (CIDA) in a comprehensive study of the relationship between land tenure and economic and social development in Latin America. The study was carried out in seven countries in Latin America namely, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala and Brazil. The collaboration in the execution of this study took place in Brazil.

The principal working hypothesis of the study undertaken by CIDA in response to the Punta del Este Conference is that existing land tenure systems in Latin America, dominated by latifundia and minifundia, can be modified to encourage more rapid economic and social development. The corollary of this is that existing land tenure systems often constitute major obstacles to development. It is believed that judiciously made reforms of existing tenure systems to redistribute the rights and benefits of land ownership more in favor of those who actually work the land would encourage substantial improvements in agricultural productivity through fuller use of land and labor resources. It is also believed it would stimulate economic growth through creation of new consumption and investment patterns by the recipients of agricultural income, would create opportunities for social and economic advancement for the less privileged groups in the agricultural population, stimulating social mobility and community integration and efforts, and would encourage the growth of democratic institutions and processes in rural areas.

The major over-all objective of the CIDA land tenure study is, of course, to provide evidence for this general hypothesis. More specifically, the study was designed to describe the land tenure situations and the problems they engender, with particular emphasis on determining the nature and dimensions of the minifundia and latifundia problems, to investigate the relationships between land tenure and development and to provide criteria for evaluating land reform proposals and for measuring progress toward the Charter of Punta del Este land reform goals.

The CIDA land tenure study was carried out at two levels (1) a detailed analysis of the existing data--quantative and qualitative--was made, which have a bearing on the land tenure situation in the country, including an analysis of the census data of 1950 and 1960 (where available), and (2) a field case study in specific pre-selected areas characterized by different tenure situations. But in both instances, the research was directed to the following aspects:

a. The historical background and the general institutional economic framework.

b. The man-land relationships.

c. Details on farm owners and operators, such as types of operators, their attitude toward farming and agricultural progress, their access to farm inputs.

d. Farm laborers and working tenants: their characteristics, the contracts under which they work; their participation in community and political affairs, etc.

e. Land use and cultivating patterns, efficiency and use of products.

f. Agricultural incomes and their distribution.

The case studies, 11 of them in all, have been completed and the analysis of the existing information including the census materials has essentially been completed. The results have been incorporated into a country report, the first draft of which is completed and the final draft should be published shortly.

B. Collaboration

The entire CIDA project was headed by Dr. Solon Barraclough. The CIDA consultant for Brazil who was in charge of conducting the study in that country was Dr. Ernest Feder. LTC staff members involved in the study in Brazil was research associate Michael Sund. Major personnel among the Brazilians who worked on the project were:

Manuel Diégues, Jr., Director of Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais.

Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Executive Secretary of Centro Latino Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais.

José Arturo Rios, Coordinator of case studies in Northern Brazil.

Carlos Alberto de Medina, Coordinator of case studies in Southern Brazil.

In addition, the 11 case studies were conducted by the following 10 Brazilian sociologists: Paulo Della Piazza, J. Ferreira de Alencar, M. A. Carneiro, J. G. da Costa, Geraldo Semenzato, María Brandão, S. Iutaka, Julio Barbosa, Carlos Alberto de Medina, and L. Medeiros.

Also special reports on various aspects of Brazilian agriculture were written by the following: Clovis Caldeira, José Arturo Rios, J. Bennema and Mendes, C. A. Krug, A. Lopes da Costa, Pedro Mejía-Eder, Julian Chacel, and M. L. Rodrigues de Almeida.

Agencies and groups which worked on the study were the following:

Latin American Center for Social Science Research, which was the counterpart organization to CIDA for carrying out the project.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estastica, Serviço de Recenseamento, aided in supplying special census tabulations for the yet unpublished 1960 census of agriculture.

The following organizations furnished information, gave advice and helped in other ways:

Fundação Getulio Vargas
Banco do Nordeste
ABCAR, including regional agencies
Museo Goeldi
Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Ciências Sociais
Serviço Social Rural
CEPLAC

About 20 persons, mostly students, helped for a short period of time with the interviewing in the various case study areas.

Contacts with personnel of USAID were not extensive, however, there were some with persons interested in the same problems. The help which USAID gave to the project was primarily exchange of ideas with certain AID technicians about specific aspects of the project.

I gave them a short report in conjunction with discussions about settlement programs with information about the magnitudes of the tenure problems in the Northeast and about spontaneous migration of agricultural people. A final research report will be available soon.

C. Data Available

A sizeable amount of land tenure information and agricultural production information taken directly from census questionnaires of the 1960 Brazilian agricultural census is on IBM cards. There are six cards for approximately 4,000 agricultural establishments. These cards, plus the listing sheets for them, are located in the Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais in Rio de Janeiro. These would, no doubt, be available for use in Rio de Janeiro. Available here are the listing sheets for about 900 of these farms. In addition, available at the Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais are copies of about 200 questionnaires of farm producers and workers taken in conjunction with the case studies of the CIDA project.

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications.

BRAZIL - NORTHEAST

Juan Díaz-Bordenave

Head; Communications Research
Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences
San José, Costa Rica

LTC assistance enabled me to carry out a three-part project in the Brazilian Northeast between January and November 1963. My living expenses were paid by the Rockefeller Foundation for one year. The projects were:

1. A study of the sociological and pshychological factors related to search for instrumental information among the farmers.

2. A comparative study of the leaders of two rural communities, one of which was isolated and backward and the other progressive and well communicated.

3. A study of the communication output of a number of official institutions supposedly engaged in educating the people.

A. Personnel

All three projects were performed with the help of paid interviewers, students of Economics, Social Sciences, and Social Service at the different Recife universities, properly trained with the collaboration of Dr. Heraldo Souto Maior, Sociologist of the Serviço Social Rural, Pernambuco branch.

B. Cooperating Agencies

I was kindly given an office and secretarial help by the Pernambuco branch of the Serviço Social Rural, which has now become a part of SUPRA (Superintendencia da Politica Agraria), the federal organism in charge of the Brazilian agrarian reform program. Also, I had the valuable help of the Movimento de Educaçao de Base (MEB) which runs a system of radio schools throughout the Northeast, under the sponsorship of the National Catholic Bishops Council. I owe a debt of appreciation to the authorities of CODEPE (Comissao de Desenvolvimento de Pernambuco) who provided me with the list of landowners I used for my study of information seeking. I had the help of the Instituto Brazileiro de Estatistica (IBGE) for the descriptive data about the area in which the research was to take place. All the contacts were facilitated by the most valuable cooperation of Dr. Heraldo Souto Maior (M.S. Michigan State University, 1961) sociologist of SUPRA.

C. Search for Instrumental Information

With the help of 18 interviewers, 221 farmers randomly selected were interviewed in the municipio of Timbauba, two hours from Recife, state of Pernambuco. Of these, 106 were landowners, 8 managers, 42 renters or sharecroppers and 65 hired workers. The average interviewing time was 1 hour 56 minutes. Two Volkswagen microbuses were used full-time for transportation. The following main dimensions were measured in the study:

The intensity of search for instrumental information (economic, political, technical, agrarian and general news). Frequency of use and type of information obtained through 26 impersonal and personal channels of information available in the rural Northeast were ascertained.

The relative credibility of those information channels was also assessed.

The preferred sources of information for 20 matters of rural interest (economic, political, legal, technical, class relations) such as land sales and rent, product prices, new legislation, electoral matters, etc.

The level of knowledge on 24 selected items in the fields of economics, politics, agrarian relations and technical agriculture.

The range of possible decision-making of the individual, as indicated by:

a. Amount of land owned, rented or worked.

b. Income.

c. Number of workers supervised.

d. Occupation besides agriculture.

e. Literacy.

f. Schooling.

The degree of dissatisfaction with his present situation.

The individual's self-perception.

The individual's perception of possibilities for improving his situation.

The individual's activity pattern for improving his situation.

Miscellaneous information on the individual's geographical mobility and urban experience, perception of local problems and their solution, professional aspirations, type of agrarian structure preferred, outlook on man-nature relation, time orientation, etc. This information was, in general, broken down by tenure groups: landowners, managers, renters, hired workers.

Analysis of the data

The responses were codified and punched on IBM cards in Recife. During the summer of 1964 the data were recoded at the University of Wisconsin, in order to use them in the University's CDC 1604 computer, which did not accept the Recife cards. Under the guidance of Professor A. O. Haller, the following analytical procedures were applied to the data, at the University's Computing Center:

a. Factor analysis of the dependent variable and the five independent variables.

b. Validation of the dependent variable against two other independent measures of instrumental information seeking.

c. Primitive scores were corrected on the basis of the factor-loadings and normalized.

d. First order correlation was performed for all variables.

e. Correlation-regression analysis was applied to the variables and a multiple correlation coefficient was obtained.

f. Scatterplot analysis was performed to ascertain the existence of curvilinear relationships among the variables.

2. Summary of results

Positive significant correlations were found between the intensity of search for instrumental information and the following variables:

a. Range of possible decision-making ($r = .54$).

b. Desire to increase land productivity and level of knowledge ($r = .24$).

c. Self-perception ($r = .21$).

d. Activity for improvement of situation ($r = .24$).

The reception of instrumental information is to a high degree explained by the position of the individual in the social structure and to a minimum extent by his psychological characteristics. (It must be remembered that the research was carried out in an area in which the large property prevails.) Thus, there are consistent differences in the way landowners, managers, renters and hired workers receive and use information that could help them improve their situation.

Radio is the most penetrating impersonal information channel in the rural Northeast, followed by newspapers and then magazines. TV has very low use. The most frequently used personal channels for instrumental information are the merchants, the weekly fair and other farmers and friends.

Media vary in their contribution to the diffusion of specific types of information. Economic reasons are the major obstacle for more intense use of radio and TV. For newspapers and magazines illiteracy accounts considerably for the low use.

The media used for news reception are not the same as the media used to receive technical information. While mass media are important for news diffusion, their role in the diffusion of technological information is almost insignificant. The primary group members are important in both cases.

The patrao (owner of large property) is shown to have a great importance in the flow of information in rural Northeast, second only to friends, relatives, neighbors, co-workers and other farmers. (Although very recently established the rural syndicates are beginning to show an important role as an information channel.)

Channels vary in credibility. As reported by the 221 subjects in this study, the ranking is as follows:

a.	Priest	64.66%
b.	Government services	56.32%
c.	Books	50.00%
d.	Bulletins	50.00%
e.	Teacher	50.57%
f.	Meetings	48.88%
g.	Class leaders	48.89%

3. Folhetos

(Cheap leaflets containing phantasy stories written in verse) and violeiros (wandering troubadours) are very popular in the Northeast, but their role in communication is mainly consumatory, not instrumental.

4. General conclusion

The rural population of the Northeast can be said to live quite outside the national "communication circle," being its contact with

ideas to a great extent determined by their being landowners, , renters or hired workers, in decreasing order. An applica- be that in order to reach these people one has either to find circumvent the socio-structural obstacles or to find a way the social structure.

loratory Study of the Leaders of Two Towns

ly consisted in the comparison--through interviewing with l questionnaires--of matched samples of 33 leaders of two Pernambuco: Bonito an isolated, nonindustrialized site of pio (5,000 people) and Timbauba a larger (20,000 people) nunicated, quite industrialized site of another municipio. ns were in the same ecological setting and at similar s from Recife, the capital of the state.

owing general dimensions were used for comparison:

a. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

b. Definitions of the present situation.

c. Self-attitudes and perceptions.

d. Satisfaction-dissatisfaction with present life cumstances.

e. Communication behavior.

f. Attitudes and activity regarding economic development.

Analysis of the data

s were codified in Recife and punched on IBM cards in San José, ca. Analysis was done with a counter-sorter at the offices rograma Interamericano de Información Popular, San José, ca, with the collaboration of Dr. Frederick Waisanen, Director rch. Simple Chi-square tests were applied to the compared frequencies.

Results

tanding observation was the extraordinary degree of similarity esponse patterns of both groups of leaders. Apparently, despite that the choice of Bonito and Timbauba as two towns at very t levels of development was validated by the leaders themselves, a high degree of homogeneity in the outlook of both groups of One explanation may be that the samples compared consisted f formal leaders (government officials) and this made for less ces between the leaders than there may exist between people of

their respective communities. Probability sampling of the populations of both towns may have yielded a less homogeneous pattern of responses.

3. General conclusion

Social and personal characteristics of the leaders may be expected to differ in communities at different stages of development. However, for these differences to be more noticeable the respective communities should be far apart along the development scale, especially if formal leaders are compared. The formal leadership of the communities possess certain homogeneity of traits regardless of differences in the degree of development of the communities. Comparative studies such as the present one should be based on communities taken out of a universe of backward and advanced communities by random procedures. It may also be more fruitful to compare natural or informal leaders of the communities, rather than formal leaders to avoid the homogeneity apparently produced by their belonging to the government bureaucracy.

E. Study of Official Institutions With Popular Education Objectives

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the amount of educational output produced by institutions in Pernambuco which were supposed to communicate ideas, orientations and directives to the rural population in the fields of agriculture, health and education. The study was triggered by a question that presented itself in the investigation of farmers' information-seeking. Inasmuch as in the latter research a relatively low level of instrumental knowledge was observed in the farmers, the question presented was whether the farmers were just not receptive to available information or whether there was little information available to start with. The latter alternative implied a study of the sources of information. The sources were assumed to be the official institutions devoted--at least in theory--to supplying information to the people.

With the help of questionnaires, administered by six interviewers, more than 30 institutions were studied. Some of the institutions were branches, for the state of Pernambuco or for the whole Northeastern regions, of federal organizations. Others were state institutions and a few were municipal, serving only the capital district (Recife and surroundings). A number of mass communication institutions was also studied, such as radio and TV broadcastings and newspapers.

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications.

BRAZIL - NORTHEAST

Belden Paulson

Assistant Professor, Political Science, UW-M.

This was a team research trip to Northeast Brazil, June 18 to September 1, 1963. Coding of questionnaires, evaluation and writing took place between September 1963 and May 1964.

Team members included: Marta Arango, community development expert from Colombia; Louise Berman, Assistant Professor, UW-M School of Education; Willard Downing, Professor, UW-M School of Social Work; Thomas Gause, communications counsellor in Chicago with Thomas Gause & Associates; Belden Paulson, Assistant Professor, UW-M Department of Political Science and Extension Division; and Diana DuMoulin, research assistant, Land Tenure Center.

Research was carried out in close cooperation with the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Ceara in Fortaleza, Brazil and the University of Paraiba in Joao Pessoa, Brazil.

In Northeast Brazil the Institute of Anthropology provided five interviewers for a period of approximately three weeks and the University of Paraiba provided four interviewers. Each university also made available a senior counterpart researcher. In Ceara a full-time person was also provided by the State Ministry of Education and by ANCAR, each person for roughly two weeks. In addition, numerous persons offered facilities, counsel and other assistances.

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications resulting from this study. A number of seminars, newspaper articles, Peace Corps training sessions and talks were also based on this material.

BRAZIL - RIO GRANDE DO SUL

Kenneth T. Cann

Instructor, Agricultural Economics

This report covers the period from September 1, 1963 to December 31, 1964. Major Land Tenure Center activities during this period were:

1. Assembly of an extensive Latin American tax bibliography for the use of the staff and fellows of the Land Tenure Center.

2. Research in the United States and Brazil in the areas of local government and property tax administration in Southern Brazil.

A. Agency and Group Contacts

Contacts 2 through 20 resulted either from personal interviews or efforts to collect data.

1. Instituto de Estudos e Pesquisas Econômicas, Faculdade de Economia, Universidade de Rio Grande do Sul. Office space, use of library and equipment, and informal discussions and exchanges of ideas with the Brazilian staff and students.

2. Public Finance Division, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

3. CIDA, Washington, D. C.

4. Faculdade de Economic, Universidade de São Paulo.

5. Instituto de Pesquisas Educacionais, Universidade de São Paulo.

6. Sociedade Brasileira de Serviços Técnicos e Econômicos, Ltd., Rio de Janeiro.

7. Secretaria de Agricultura, Estado de São Paulo.

8. Secretaria da Fazenda, Estado de São Paulo.

9. Associação Rural, São Paulo.

10. Instituto de Pesquisas Sociais, São Paulo.

11. Superintendência de Política Agrária (SUPRA), São Paulo.

12. Associação dos Municípios, São Paulo.

13. The American Chamber of Commerce, São Paulo.

14. Associação Industrial, São Paulo.

15. Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal, Rio de Janeiro.

16. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Pôrto Alegre.

17. Federação das Associações Rurais, São Paulo.

18. Getúlio Vargas Foundation, São Paulo.

19. Sociadade Rural Brasileira, São Paulo.

20. A number of municipal mayors and tax administrators in the states of São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul.

I have had several contacts with the local USAID agricultural advisor (in Pôrto Alegre) for Southern Brazil.

I have furnished the USAID-ARD staff in Rio de Janeiro with three written documents:

1. A copy of a research paper entitled "The Structure of Local Government Finance and the Prospects for Community Development in Brazil."

2. Comments on a report written by Carl Shoup entitled "The Tax System of Brazil."

3. A report on my activities in Brazil.

I participated in the University Contractor's and Agricultural Contractor's meetings held in Rio de Janeiro by USAID between September 27 and October 3, 1964.

In addition, I had several conversations with Albert Pollard's staff in USAID-ARD in Rio de Janeiro in April 1964 with respect to frontier development and the tax problems that frontier communities might face.

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications.

BRAZIL - RIO GRANDE DO SUL

Norman Rask

Assistant Professor, Agricultural Economics

Even though I am not with the Land Tenure Center now, much of the work I am doing results from interests developed during the time I was on the Land Tenure Center staff, and from a continuation of the work of my thesis. For instance, I have a student working on minimum size of farm for land reform programs. He will be working closely with the local agrarian institute. He will apply the things we learned from my study and with the Santa Rosa study done last year by IEPE, attempt to do some of the analysis that was not possible with the Santa Cruza data. I am planning a productivity study in the livestock regions of Rio Grande do Sul which, when compared to the other studies, should give us a good indication of the economic results that flow from a wide range of farm sizes under differing conditions.

The status of the publications is as follows: Part one of the thesis has been translated and reviewed by the local people. It is now being given a final check for correct Portuguese and is being mimeographed. Part two is also translated and is undergoing the first review by the local people. It should be ready in about two months. The over-all publication should go to the printer early in 1965; however, I have no way of estimating the time required to complete the printing.

When the publications are ready, we will return to the development committee of the município of Santa Cruz and hold a series of meetings based on the results of the research. Later on the thesis will be published as a unit as one of the publications of the Instituto de Estudos e Pesquisas Econômicas.

BOLIVIA

Dwight B. Heath

Associate Professor, Anthropology, Brown University

A. Description of Project

This was a study of man-land relations in various regions of Bolivia, during June-September 1963. Methods were anthropological, and the purpose was to gain an understanding of the variety of systems of land tenure and use in selected areas of that Andean country, which have distinctive ecological, historical and cultural patterns.

One area studied was the northern altiplano, where the formerly predominant large haciendas were divided among peasants during the past decade under a sweeping agrarian reform law. These peasants are Aymara Indians, many of whom regularly travel considerable distances to do seasonal wage-work in the sub-tropical yungas region, markedly different ecologically, but related historically and culturally. These two regions were studied by a Bolivian who had previously worked with the Aymara and was familiar with the areas.

The second region was the Cochabamba Valley, an area of Quechua Indian culture, in a temperate ecological setting. Here too, the old pattern of large haciendas has been replaced by small peasant holdings as a result of the agrarian reform.

A third region, the Departments of Chuquisaca and Tarija, was selected to represent an extension of Quechua culture and of the temperate ecological zone, but with a distinctive history in terms of land tenure. Unlike the peasants of Cochabamba, those of this region have entered little into the political and economic life of the nation and many large haciendas remain intact. A North American anthropologist with research experience throughout much of Latin America worked there.

The fourth area comprises the enormous sparsely populated lowland plain which sprawls east of the Andes. Although it is entirely tropical, it includes significant regional ecological variation (jungle and prairie), as well as cultural and historical variation (relating to the varying predominance of agriculture, herding, or collecting of jungle products). On the basis of my long-term previous experience in the agricultural region, I was able to study changes in land tenure and land use there, and also to get initial data from other regions.

Substantial detailed reports have been prepared and are ready for publication, on each region except the second. See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for publications. The manuscript for a book is ready from this research.

Research workers on the project participated in a number of Land Tenure Center Seminars. During August 1963, the study was documented through five motion picture films produced by Fritz Albert.

B. Major Personnel

1. Dwight B. Heath, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Brown University.

2. Charles J. Erasmus, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.

3. Hans C. Buechler, Research Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

4. Jorge Dandler-Hanhart, Research Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin.

5. Fritz Albert, Association Professor, Department of Agricultural Journalism, University of Wisconsin.

C. Affiliation With Local Agencies

The project involved no close or sustained collaboration or affiliation with local agencies or groups. It was gratifying, however, to find that the staff of the Bolivian Agrarian Reform Service were extremely helpful, whenever requested, in providing information and access to relevant documentary material, both in the central headquarters in La Paz and in regional offices throughout the country.

USAID/Bolivia helped the project in renting a carry-all (with driver), for most of the period of research in region 3. The Director of Servicio Agricola Interamericano (at that time still affiliated with AID) was kind enough to lend a jeep (with driver), for a period of filming in region 4.

BOLIVIA

Ronald J. Clark

ssistant Professor, Agricultural Economics

Richard Patch, Visiting Professor, Anthropology and American Universities Field Staff, is a collaborator with this part of the program

Approximately eight weeks were spent in Bolivia during the summer of 1964:

1. To organize the summer's work which involved two students - one from Bolivia (Jorge Dandler) and the other from Ecuador (Carlos Camacho) and two Bolivians.

2. To contact and talk with various government officials about the possibility of a future Land Tenure Center research program in Bolivia. This latter was in response to requests from the Ministries of Planning and Economy to the Land Tenure Center to help Bolivia begin a research program to work with Bolivia's newly created Department of Land Tenure Studies.

Working with Dandler and Camacho in the field took up most of my time.

A. The Research

Some time was spent familiarizing ourselves with the Upper and Lower Valleys of Cochabamba. After this, and determining that the worst areas of minifundio were around Cliza and Ucureña, it was decided that the study would take place in this area. This area also coincides with the location of the first sindicato formed in 1937, as well as the area where the campesinos carried out their own agrarian reform in 1952-53.

Essentially six studies will be available as a result of the summer's work in Bolivia.

1. Economic study of minifundio: In general, the campesinos of this area have less than one hectare of land, and the usual size is one-third or two-thirds of a hectare. Some of these minifundio sized plots were in existence before the agrarian reform, but others have been created since the reform. This study is being carried out by Carlos Camacho and will focus on the economic organization of these small holdings, the types of economic adjustments individuals, families and the communities have had to make to a small land base, and the productivity of this size of holding. Also, comparative information will be available on both private property owners before the reform (piqueros) and those who received land with the reform (ex-pegujaleros).

2. Minifundio, agrarian reform and social change: Jorge Dandler, a Land Tenure Center research assistant in anthropology, has integrated questions into the questionnaire which will show whether or not the campesinos affected by the agrarian reform have changed their material level of living, whether or not they are organized differently now than before the reform, and in what ways the campesino sindicatos are or are not coterminous with community organization, and what ambitions the heads of families have for their children, etc. We are also trying to get information on changes in levels of consumption and health. These specific questions asked of a whole community will be backstopped by detailed studies of five families in the community, along the same lines.

3. Economic study of piquería: This study will be just like number one, but will incorporate only piqueros in the sample. Additional types of information will be gathered also, e.g., how did piqueros obtain their ownership rights to land? What is the incidence and type of other economic activities engaged in by families of this piquero community? What does the study of piquería show about gradual changes which were already under way in the agricultural system of this part of Bolivia even before the agrarian reform?

4. Legal study of minifundio: We were fortunate in being able to hire a former agrarian judge to assist with this study. As a result of his past work, we have a picture of the size and distribution of land holdings before the agrarian reform, immediately after and at present. Customs in the area, the agrarian reform law itself and the prevailing inheritance law, have all worked together to gradually diminish the average size of farm holdings. The ex-agrarian judge will show this as well as write up a paper on the organization and production on the original property before the reform, which will also be useful in studies one and two.

5. Study of the organizational structure of sindicatos in the Upper Valley: This study will focus upon the general structure of sindicatos in the community, in the region of the Upper Valley and how regional representatives function within the national organization. This study will only be begun, in hopes that it may lead to further studies of this type. The importance of this project in relation to all the above projects as background material is obvious.

6. Analysis of the change, or lack of, in relations between various ethnic communities and social groups in Bolivia: This study is supported by non-LTC funds, but will contribute to the above studies under way. This work is being done by Mary Wilkie, under the guidance of Manuel Diegues and Rodolfo Stavenhagen in the Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciéncias Sociais in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

B. Contacts

The following are the names of groups in Bolivia who have worked with the Land Tenure Center:

1. Ministry of Economy, La Paz, Bolivia.

2. Ministry of Planning, La Paz, Bolivia.

3. Ministry of Mines, La Paz, Bolivia.

The Ministries of Economy and Mines have been able to furnish a vehicle to the research group without which it would have been impossible to carry out the project;

4. US/AID Mission to Bolivia.

5. University of San Simon, Cochabamba, Bolivia

See PROGRESS REPORT PART I for a list of publications

VENEZUELA

John D. Powell

Research Assistant, Department of Political Science

A. Study of Federación Campesina

From September 1963 through May 1964, documentary research was done on political history of the land reform issue in Venezuela under the direction of Charles W. Anderson of the Political Science Department.

During the summer of 1964, field research was conducted in Venezuela concerning the Federación Campesina de Venezuela: its origins, organization, leadership and role in the agrarian reform program.

From September 1964 to date, documentary research and data processing has continued in preparation for a return to field work in Venezuela in June 1965.

Federación Campesina de Venezuela provided office space and equipment throughout the summer of 1964. The Ministry of Agriculture provided a Volkswagen for field trips through the summer of 1964.

CENDES, The Economic and Social Development Research Center of the Universidad Central de Venezuela provided access to some of their interview data on national leadership, gathered during the MIT-Ford Foundation-CENDES project.

AID/Caracas provided occasional office-service support and transportation, plus much beneficial information, documents and advice. Dr. Richard Schaedel provided an introduction to the President of the FCV at the beginning of the work there.

A research monograph, "The Politics of Agrarian Reform in Venezuela," is in preparation and should be completed by May 1966.

A staff briefing was given to AID personnel in July 1964, at the invitation of the Mission Director, on the findings of the research to that date. A preliminary publication is available.

B. Agricultural Data Study

In December 1963, Mauricio Báez, Director of the Division of Economics and Statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture in Venezuela, made a request through the Land Tenure Center to arrange for an examination of the statistical work of the Ministry. The object of the study was to suggest directions which further growth in this work might take.

The work at the Ministry of Agriculture in Caracas, Venezuela, was done by Walter H. Ebling, Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics, Emeritus, between April 16 and June 13, 1964. It consisted of reviewing the agricultural data in the publications of the Ministry of Agriculture and in becoming acquainted with the organization of the Statistical Division, its methods and its directing personnel. Cooperation was obtained from various persons but especially from Mr. Mario A. Duin, the head of the Statistical Section, and Sergio J. Acosta who heads the work of special statistics under Mr. Duin. Various other persons were helpful in the central office and in the only zone office visited (Zone 1 at Maracaibo), Joseph J. Raffensperger was available to explain the field work in the present 11 zonal offices.

Mauricio Báez, who for about five years was director of the Division of Economics and Statistics and has now been promoted to the position of adviser to the Minister, gave generously of his time in discussing and viewing the agricultural situation in the country. Results of the study are available.

C. Survey of Farm Settlements

During the last part of 1964, Jorge F. Schuster, associated with the Ministry of Agriculture in Venezuela and working with CENDES, developed a questionnaire and survey for the Land Tenure Center.

Data were collected in settlements in the Yaracuy states. In addition, several case studies are being conducted of settlements which have not received any assistance or investment through the Agrarian Institute. Data analyses on this study are not yet completed.