This booklet consists primarily of book summaries about research projects sponsored by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) that have been recently completed. The summaries are arranged by research programs and include 15 reports about food systems and society, 13 about political participation, 6 on refugees, and 2 on measuring and monitoring socio-economic development. An introduction is provided for each section that briefly describes the history and scope of the research project, and each summary contains the book's table of contents. Information is included about the history, development, and purposes of UNRISD, and appendices (annexes) provide names of UNRISD board members, institute staff, and consultants for 1988. (JHP)
Research Notes

A review of current studies at the Institute

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Geneva, 1988
Research Notes is issued from time to time as a means of reporting briefly to interested readers on the substance of research projects underway at the Institute. The past issues have been devoted primarily to description of research projects and the progress made in their implementation. This issue appears at a time when most of the major research projects undertaken over the past few years have been terminated and work is about to begin on a new research programme. It was, therefore, decided to devote this issue mainly to providing summaries of publications which have resulted from the work carried out over the past few years.

The last two years have been marked by a major effort to process research reports into publishable manuscripts. Many texts have also been translated into one or two languages in order to reach a wider international audience. Between January 1985 and July 1987, 33 books were published. These included 20 first editions and 13 translations of previous UNRISD publications. The Institute is currently finalizing the preparation of 11 first edition manuscripts for publication in 1988.

The summaries of the texts are ordered by research area and include 15 on Food Systems and Society, 13 on Participation, 6 on Refugees and 2 on Measurement and Monitoring of Socio-economic Development. An introduction is provided to each section outlining briefly the history and content of the research project. Each summary is accompanied by the table of contents of the book.

During 1988 UNRISD will launch a new research programme which represents a blend of continuity and innovation. Included in this programme is a set of interrelated project areas dealing with the political economy of adjustment processes in developing countries and the response of different social actors to situations of economic crisis. Specific attention is focused on the social and political impact of the crisis in large urban centres, as well as the impact of adjustment-related food policy prescriptions on food security. Another project draws on UNRISD's accumulated experience in the area of refugee studies in the Third World. A new phase of research will be launched in this
area looking into the impact of spontaneously settled refugees on the living conditions of host populations, and the social and economic situation of refugees who voluntarily have returned en masse to their home countries. The Institute will also continue its work on social development indicators, through the ongoing data bank and trend analysis project.

The present edition of Research Notes also contains an introductory note on UNRISD and annexes providing information on its Board, staff members and publications. A Discussion Paper series has been initiated to facilitate an early dissemination of research results and obtain comments from readers. It is also planned to bring out a report this year on the medium-term research programme of the Institute. It is hoped that the present edition of Research Notes will acquaint the readers with the organization and working of UNRISD and the content of the publications appearing in the past two years.

Dharam Ghai
Director

January 1988
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A NOTE ON UNRISD

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development is a small, autonomous organization within the United Nations family with headquarters in Geneva. Its original terms of reference specify that UNRISD should devote itself exclusively to research, specializing in "problems and policies of social development and relationships among various types of social development during different phases of economic growth". The policy and style of work of the Institute involve close collaboration with research institutions in developing countries and with United Nations organizations.

The work of the Institute is supervised by a Board which reviews and approves work programmes and budgets, and reports to the United Nations Commission for Social Development. The Chairman is appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General. The Board is composed of outstanding social scientists nominated by the Commission and confirmed by the Economic and Social Council, as well as representatives of various United Nations organizations, including the main specialized agencies, and the directors of regional development planning institutes.

The Director, an ex-officio member of the Board, is appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General in consultation with the Board. He prepares work programmes and budgets, authorizes and approves staff appointments and determines the Institute's internal organization and operations. The staff includes a variety of social science researchers, statisticians and supporting personnel. Consultants from research institutions and government agencies, as well as field associates, assist the Director and staff. Since 1987, the Institute has been associated with the programme "Strategies for the Future of Africa", co-sponsored by the United Nations University and the Third World Forum.

The Institute was established in 1963 with a grant from the Government of the Netherlands. From the start it has been supported by voluntary grants from Governments as well as financing for research projects through agreements with other United Nations organizations, specialized agencies and national and
international agencies. Since its inception contributions have been received from the following Governments: Australia, Austria, Canada, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. Regular support in recent years has come from Denmark, Finland, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. The Institute has also received financial support for specific projects from the United Nations and specialized agencies such as UNDP, UNEP, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNU and WHO as well as from other organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre and the Inter-American Foundation. The United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) provides premises for UNRISD as well as administrative and support services.

Among the first of many eminent economists and social scientists whose names have been associated with the Institute are Professor Jan Tinbergen, who served as Chairman from 1964 to 1975, and Professor Gunnar Myrdal, one of the first members of the Institute’s governing Board.

In its early years the Institute’s research focused on regional planning; social organizations, in particular co-operatives; the Green Revolution; the search for a unified approach to development analysis and planning; and improvement of social statistics and compilation of development indicators.

Later subjects for research included people’s perceptions of environmental programmes; institutions in social development; measurement of progress at the local level; food security; people’s participation in development; the role of women; and the social problems of refugees.

It is intended over the next two years to initiate research on the socio-economic and political impact of the global crisis on developing countries, especially in the urban areas; the political economy of reforms in pricing and marketing of food crops and the impact of refugees on the living standards of the host population and the integration of returning refugees in their own countries. It is also intended to continue work on analysis of social indicators in the process of growth.

The results of the Institute’s research are disseminated through national, regional and international seminars and workshops and through books published by the Institute as well as commercial publishers. A Discussion Paper series incorporating preliminary results of research underway has been initiated.
The Food Systems and Society programme has been one of the Institute's most important activities for more than seven years. The principal objectives of this research were (i) to try to explain why food security is lacking for large social groups and many countries; (ii) to suggest what might be done to improve food security for the considerable numbers who do not enjoy it; and (iii) to develop and test appropriate methodologies for analysing food security issues and to act as a catalyst in stimulating further research along these lines.

The decision to undertake this research arose out of UNRISD’s dissatisfaction with the over-generalized explanations (neo-Malthusian and other world systems approaches) of food security problems, on the one hand, and sectoral and unidisciplinary approaches, on the other. Analysis of the causes of and possible remedies for food security problems requires a comprehensive approach which takes fully into account the historical specificity of each country. The production, processing and distribution of food are elements of the food system but by no means the only ones. Class structures, production relations, economic structures, political systems, the natural environment, the terms of insertion in the world economy and many other factors have to be taken into account.

Employing the general methodological approach of structural systems analysis, research was carried out at global, national, subnational and local levels. In this way, it was possible to examine the interactions, in relation to food security, among socio-economic and natural systems and subsystems at different levels and through time. At national levels, the case studies attempted to identify national food systems, within broader development strategies or “modells”, and their principal interrelationships with the rest of the world. Subnationaly they attempted to identify the principal socio-economic processes such as the expansion of commercial crops and agro-industries, migration, urbanization, petroleum and mining expansion and the like that were most affecting food security of major population groups in important regions of the country. Locally, the researchers studied changes in food production, marketing and
consumption, living levels and nutrition associated with these processes, and the mechanisms producing these changes among typical groups of food consuming and producing units.

The original project was expanded in 1982 with support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through an UNRISD subcontract with the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) for joint research on food systems and policies. During the course of the project, financial support was also received from the Governments of the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the United Nations University (UNU), the Ford Foundation and several other national and international institutions.

In March 1986, this phase of the Food Systems and Society research project was formally concluded with the submission of a technical (overview) report to the UNDP. Research continued, however, in the three West African countries during 1986, with a grant from the Italian Government. Throughout both 1986 and 1987 a concerted effort was made to process research reports into manuscripts accessible to a wider audience.
Un análisis preliminar del sistema alimentario en Nicaragua
Une analyse préliminaire du système alimentaire du Nicaragua

• Author: Solon Barraclough
• Prologue by Peter Marchetti
• Published in Spanish and French, 1985 and 1986 respectively

These Spanish and French translations of the original (1983) English edition include a substantive prologue presenting some of the major new findings of food systems research carried out since 1982 by the Centre for Research and Studies of the Agrarian Reform (CIERA). Particular attention is focused on the important role in the national food system of the small and medium-size commercial farmer and the agro-export sector. The highly urbanized character of the food system is also emphasized. The prologue refers to the principal tensions affecting food systems development in recent years, notably the impact of war, and briefly considers future development prospects.

The main text summarizes earlier research undertaken by CIERA. It traces the expansion of major agro-exports (coffee, cotton, cattle and sugar) and their role in shaping the country's socio-economic and political life after the second World War. In consequence, one sees how the country's economic and social structures evolved and what roles were played by different social groups and classes. One can also better understand how social contradictions arose and intensified, leading to the 1979 revolution. Some preliminary hypotheses emerge about the Nicaraguan food system during the Somoza period and its interactions with other social systems, internationally, nationally and locally.

In mid-1979, the political-military system built up during the Somoza period collapsed. This collapse followed a prolonged crisis and was precipitated by a widespread popular uprising. As a result, there was not only a change in political personalities and power but a disintegration of many traditional socio-economic relationships. Victory by the Sandinista forces implied a radical reordering of Nicaraguan society in general and of the national food system in particular.

Chapter I of the book deals with the evolution of Nicaraguan society with emphasis on the food system before the revolution. An analysis of the crisis leading to the revolution and collapse of the Somoza Government is briefly presented in Chapter II. The Sandinista Government's food-related policies and some of the problems accompanying them are treated in Chapter III. In Chapter IV, an attempt is made to describe and analyse the present Government's strategy in relation with food security during the transition to a different social system in which the people share and participate much more fully in development than
in the past. Finally, there is a brief discussion of the food system that is emerging. CIERA’s ongoing research programme on food security is summarized in the appendix.

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"Systèmes Alimentaires et Société": un défi conceptuel et méthodologique

- Author: Rolando Garcia
- Published in French, 1985

This is a French translation of an original 1984 English text, "Food Systems and Society": A Conceptual and Methodological Challenge, in which the author demonstrates the usefulness of structural systems analysis for undertaking research on food systems development and the problems of food security.

The book begins by considering the inadequacy of conventional approaches and explanations of food insecurity and then proposes a number of guidelines which might enable researchers to arrive at an integral view of the structure of food systems. Two types of methodology are identified which correspond to different phases of the research process. The first
serves as the basis for the design of the research and the gathering of empirical information; the second enables the researcher to arrive at an explanation of the phenomena observed in terms of an integrative conceptual framework.

The methodology proposed is based on the assumption that the structural problems affecting food security and food systems development are the result of complex interactions among natural (soil, climate, hydrology), agro-productive and socio-economic sub-systems. A food system can be considered only as a sub-set of the total set of societal relations. Consequently, the research must consider not only structures and relations internal to the food system but also other sub-sets of relations with which these must interact. The latter constitute what the author calls the “boundary” or limiting conditions of the system.

While the structure of the system is studied at a given moment in time, it is necessary to consider the evolution over time of the relations which define the structure of the system; that is, they must be considered in historical perspective. Of particular importance is the analysis of transition from one structure to another and the identification of external and internal factors which bring about transition.

Having explained the conceptual bases of the methodology, the author considers its application to the study of the Mexican food system. Here he focuses on the need to employ different levels of analysis, each of which sheds light on individual aspects within a complex whole and provides specific elements for studying the overall structure of the food system. The integration of the various levels will make possible a global diagnosis that identifies the deep-rooted structural causes which determine the characteristics of the system and its evolution.

Specific studies in representative regions or areas, identifying certain characteristic phenomena and typical situations, having to do with ecology, production, land tenure, labour, nutrition, migrations, or other processes evolving over time constitute a first level of analysis. “Meta-processes” such as industrialization or the emergence of certain “poles” of development in turn lie behind or give rise to those phenomena and constitute a second level of analysis. A description of these meta-processes, within a specific interpretative framework, will explain what has happened and is happening in selected regions and areas. However, such meta-processes do not arise or develop at random, but are the result of both national and international socio-economic and political mechanisms. The mechanisms are studied at a third level of analysis. Precise descriptions at this level will indicate patterns that explain what is occurring at the second level.

The final chapter of the book demonstrates the applicability of this methodology in a specific regional case study of El Bajío in Mexico.
"FOOD SYSTEMS AND SOCIETY": A CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

PREFACE

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DIAGRAMS

Food Supply in China and the Nutritional Status of Children

- Author: Elisabeth Croll
- Published jointly with UNICEF in English, 1986

During the 1970s, the national food system of China attracted a great deal of attention from analysts of food systems, hunger and poverty because of certain characteristics it had in common with other developing countries, the radical steps its Government had already taken to curtail competition for and manipulation of food as a commodity, and its evident success in reducing chronic malnutrition and serious hunger among most of its population.

An earlier study by the same author, The Family Rice Bowl: Food and the Domestic Economy in China 1/, evaluated national food strategy up to the 1970s. In this first document, Croll concluded that, as a result of major policy initiatives through which the state controlled important components of the food system, each Chinese household had access to a more or less stable and adequate diet, consisting mainly of rice and other grains, supplemented by small amounts of non-staple foods. The study argued that although some inter-

1/ Published by Zed Press, London, 1983.
regional differentials in access to foodstuffs had survived and been confirmed by post-revolutionary policies. Traditional differentials deriving from unequal material and labour resources of individual households within a region had been significantly reduced during the first 25 years of communist rule. Moreover, after 1949, the contents of the family food bowl in China, with the major exception of the 1959-61 famine, had not been subject to the same dramatic fluctuations as in the past.

Now, in this book, co-published with UNICEF, the author analyses two major new sets of policies which have been introduced in China during the past decade and which will affect both the food supply and the nutritional status of children in that country. The first set of policies is concerned with rural economic reforms and agricultural modernization, and the second with family planning and family size.

During the 1980s there have been a number of reforms in the rural economy designed to alter inter-sectoral relations in favour of agriculture, increase and diversify rural production, improve the management of the rural economy, and furnish incentives to raise productivity and to increase peasant income. The author examines the radical restructuring of the nation's food supply system which has resulted from these new policies: the peasant household has replaced the collective as the chief unit of production; price and market mechanisms have gained importance in relation to direct regulation and centrally planned production; and specialization and commodity production have been emphasized over subsistence and self-sufficiency of the household, the collective and the nation. One of the aims of these major reforms has been to increase the quantities and varieties of foodstuffs available to China's families.

Another very important set of policies analysed by Elisabeth Croll relates to the single-child family programme. Initially, under this programme, the State demanded that only in exceptional circumstances should families have more than one child, or at the most, two. Although much of the world's attention has been focused on China's urgent and radical measures to limit births, an equally important component of the single-child family programme has been the introduction of new and wide-ranging policies to improve the quality of children's lives, especially their physical welfare and well-being. To this end a number of new measures and programmes have been specifically designed to raise the nutritional status of young children.

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During the 1970s it was increasingly recognized that development programmes and projects had traditionally bypassed women. As the international community became more conscious of the need to reduce the inequalities between men and women, and of the importance of women not only in the reproduction of the household but also in agricultural production, so the concept of the "integration of women in development" gained currency.

This book reports on a study which analysed the impact on women of development processes in the three West African countries of Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. Research in each country focused on a specific process of socio-economic change, namely migration in Burkina Faso, the growth of export-oriented plantation agriculture in Côte d'Ivoire, and expansion of modern commercial agriculture in Senegal.

The report illustrates the way in which these processes have affected the role of women in agricultural and non-agricultural production, the terms of their access to the product of labour, and their status in the household and the community. It was found that while women as a whole tend to remain in inferior positions, dictated by subordination under the patriarchal system, the precise impact of change on the economic situation of each woman is mainly determined by the economic status of the husband, from which she can derive certain benefits. Thus, although not many women profit from the modernization process, there are some who do. Women from poorer households, however, have experienced a reduction in their incomes and an increase in their workload.

The study concludes that the modernization of agriculture has often transformed production structures to the detriment of women. In general the development process has not reduced inequalities between men and women. The workload of women is often greater, they remain burdened with numerous children and continue to be illiterate or poorly educated and highly dependent upon their husbands.

The report contains various policy recommendations. In the West African context, the possibility for women to have access to a cash crop from which they can obtain income is crucial for improving their status. Similarly, it is of paramount importance for women of poorer households to be presented with opportunities for finding income-generating activities in processing or marketing of food products, or other non-agricultural employment. In addition, a policy of fostering appropriate technologies can help to lighten the burden of arduous and time-consuming domestic tasks, and thus can have a positive effect on women's health. Strategies should be developed which raise the educational level of women, and every effort should be made to promote laws and provisions concerning the family code, as well as women's rights to paid employment, family planning and other health services.
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A basic hypothesis of the food systems research supported by UNRISD related the most serious problems of food insecurity to structural changes of a socio-economic character. An evaluation of these structural changes and the detection of their implications cannot be based on mere description of the socio-economic conditions arising subsequent to the changes occurring in the productive system. It is necessary to study the process of change itself and to be able to "observe" its evolution from a state which existed prior to the period of change to that which succeeded it as a consequence of the process in question.

In the field of nutrition and health it is important to find a way to study retrospectively, with a methodological approach that can be validated, the evolution of certain nutritional aspects of the populations surveyed.

In this book, Guy Duval provides a solution to this problem by devising a new way of studying the impact of changing nutritional levels on study populations. The methodology, put into practice in a number of regional case studies which formed part of the Mexican food systems research programme, is described in Chapter I. The application of the methodology is described in Chapter II. This is followed by a short chapter which summarizes the main conclusions.
The four papers which make up this book were selected by Boudhayan Chattopadhyay and Pierre Spitz from a large body of literature produced as part of UNRISD's project on Food Systems and Society in Eastern India. The Bengal Famine of 1943 is first taken as a point of departure for highlighting critical problems in the food system of Eastern India before Independence from Britain, as well as for suggesting elements of continuity and change in the post-Independence period. The roots of the Bengal Famine are traced to the British fiscal system which created a group of largely absentee landlords uninterested in production or technological progress. Boudhayan Chattopadhyay describes the economic forces at work in the 1920s and 1930s and the political nature of the 1943 famine. The author points out that although the agricultural sector was in a state of secular stagnation, there was no overall shortage of food. Food was even exported from Bengal at the time.

In the second paper, patterns of transport development and management of hydraulic resources in the colonial period are analysed by Arabinda Biswas. The author analyses changes in water management practices against the framework of colonial policies which provided no incentives for landlords to fulfil their obligations to maintain water management systems. In certain areas such as northern Bengal, the development of plantation estates led to large-scale deforestation, affecting land along the river banks. This increased erosion and caused rivers to change course. The water systems were also disrupted by a general lack of drainage, particularly because of the techniques employed in railway construction. With the productive base of agriculture weakened, small changes in water availability triggered repeated famines. The author argues that in a region endowed with a powerful river system and abundant annual rainfall, the management of surface and ground water, if tuned carefully to agricultural practices, could substantially increase output on a long-term sustainable basis and reduce the impact of year-to-year fluctuations in rainfall.

As a basis for discussing food policies in India since Independence, two further contributions attempt to answer the following questions:

- How did output of major foodgrains change in the post-Independence period, by type of grain and for the sector as a whole?
- How have food and agricultural prices behaved in relation to industrial prices? What political and social arrangements facilitated the accumulation process and what were the consequences for various social groups?

The third paper presents evidence on overall growth rates in foodgrain pro-
duction to suggest that during the first two decades after Independence food-grain production began to keep significantly ahead of population growth although these trends were seemingly reversed by the 1970s. Further, it is argued that the Green Revolution does not seem to have made any significant difference in the rates of growth of either total foodgrain output or the production of most cereals other than wheat. At the same time, overall year-to-year fluctuations in the production of foodgrains seem to have been on the increase in the post-Green Revolution period.

The fourth paper supports the view that the terms of trade between agriculture and industry have tended to move in favour of agriculture over substantial periods in the three decades since Independence; but the authors argue that the inflationary process triggered by increases in food and agricultural prices during the post-Green Revolution period is unlikely to promote either productive capital formation or equity. Those who have had to buy even part of their food requirements on the market have ended to suffer a decline in real wages when the urban/rural terms of trade have moved significantly in favour of agriculture.
This book reports on a study carried out to examine the relation between various elements of livelihood, on the one hand, and the patterns of consumption of the most vulnerable groups within Bangladesh on the other. The study, based on a year-long survey of 178 families in six villages of contrasting geographical and socio-economic characteristics, focuses particularly on the impact of seasonal variations in employment, income and agricultural production on the availability of and access to food.

The survey was conducted during an extremely bad agricultural year, 1984/85, when generalized famine conditions might have developed had not massive importation of foodgrains been possible. Decisive national and international action alleviated the scarcity of grains and prevented undue speculation with prices. Nevertheless, the results of this research show that in the villages studied, 20 per cent of the rural poor were in fact starving while another 60 per cent were seriously under nourished. Grains were available locally, but most respondents could not earn a monetary income sufficient to purchase them in adequate quantity, nor did they have access to the land required for self-provisioning. Even substandard consumption needs were met only through constant recourse to borrowing, charity and relief.

Although the survey population lived in rural villages, the majority of the respondents drew little sustenance from the land. Less than a third had access to some cultivated area while only 9 per cent exceeded half an acre. The particular pattern of access to resources and utilization of labour time which brought various kinds of families through the year, and allowed some within poor neighbourhoods to obtain a minimally adequate diet, is discussed at length in the report. Different villages had markedly different structures of opportunity, depending not only on the nature of local resources and society but also on the nature and degree of interaction between each village and nearby urban settlements. Deprivations thus worsened at various times, and with a different rhythm, according to the position of each group of respondents within local and national society. Official relief programmes had some impact during a part of the year, but were largely inoperative over considerable periods of time. One can draw from such data the conclusion that reaching disparate "target" populations at the moment of their greatest need is an extremely complex affair. In the last analysis starvation and hunger must be attacked by removing the socio-economic obstacles which limit the ability of hungry families to ensure their own provisioning.

The report reveals, then, a picture of absolute poverty, which reflects in turn the social cost of a perverse form of modernization. In the context of the
ongoing debate concerning rural poverty and development strategies in Bangladesh, the broad conclusion is reached that the incidence of poverty is probably greater today than at any other time in the modern history of the country, despite the consistently large amounts of international assistance that have poured into Bangladesh since the mid-1970s when the World Bank launched its "assault on world poverty". The author maintains that an effective assault on rural poverty demands a sweeping "land to the tiller" redistribution programme, the rapid development of rural industry and a massive programme of investment in social services.

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Bolivia: La prioridad alimentaria

• Authors: Jorge Dandler and Jorge Muñoz
• Forthcoming publication in Spanish, 1988

This book on the food system of Bolivia presents the findings of three years of research by the staff of the Centro de Estudios sobre la Realidad Económica y Social (CERES) of La Paz.

Utilizing an integrated food systems approach, the authors place problems of food and agricultural production, marketing and consumption within a broader framework of economic
recession, resource depletion and poverty in Bolivia. They give particular attention to two subjects not usually covered adequately in the discussion of food insecurity in Bolivia: the rapidly growing role of the informal sector and the place of cocaine production and marketing within the survival strategies of local people.

They show how the development strategy of successive governments has given priority to large agricultural and agro-industrial producers and to urban sectors, consistently discriminating against peasant farmers. Peasants, however, make up over half the total population and produce three fourths of the country’s domestically grown foodstuffs. Over one fourth of total food consumption is now imported. About half of this is in the form of food aid which increases the disincentives for domestic food production.

The book contains a thoughtful discussion of the principal elements of food policy in present-day Bolivia and considers the implications of stabilization and structural adjustment policies for food security. It concludes with suggestions for an alternative food strategy to that currently being pursued.

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In recent decades Mexican society has undergone major transformations which have radically altered cropping patterns, production systems, marketing structures and consumption habits, as well as the environment and employment and living conditions of the mass of the population. This book, published jointly by UNRISD and IFIAS analyses the nature of these changes and their impact on the Mexican food system. It reports on one of a series of studies undertaken by researchers from the Autonomous Metropolitan University (Xochimilco) and the Centre for Research and Advanced Studies of the National Polytechnic Institute (CINVESTAV) in Mexico.

The underlying hypothesis which guided the research was that the food crisis both in Mexico and in other Third World countries stems not so much from limited supplies of food or rapid population growth, but from structural changes of a social, economic and political nature. The latter are the result of complex interactions among the agro-productive, socio-economic and natural or physical sub-systems which make up the food system. The study analyses the changes occurring within each of these three sub-systems, in the way they interact and in relations between the food system and other areas of the national and international economy.

The contribution of this book lies not only in its refutation of traditional explanations of food insecurity, but also in its clear application of a complex methodological approach known as structural systems analysis to the study of the food problem. By focusing on one particular region of Mexico - El Bajio - the research analyses how major changes in cropping patterns, brought about when farmers rapidly expanded the production of sorghum for animal feed at the expense of maize and beans for human consumption, had a major impact on the natural environment and on socio-economic conditions. The process of environmental deterioration accelerated as salinization and vertisolization increased. At the same time structural changes of a socio-economic nature were found to have very different consequences for the various groups in society. In general, agricultural enterprises and a new agrarian middle class consolidated their economic and political power. Only a small group of peasant producers who switched to sorghum production found their living levels improved. Most traditional farmers did not benefit from the production changes taking place in the region and continued to live in marginal conditions. As a consequence of crop substitution, the demand for labour fell drastically, the process of land concentration accelerated, and migration from the land in search of employment increased.
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Modernization, the Environment and Food Security in Mexico: The Case of Tabasco
(provisional title)

- Author: Rolando García et al.
- Forthcoming publication
  in English, published
  jointly with IFIAS*, 1988

This book reports on the findings of a research project, undertaken in Mexico, which looked at the social and environmental impact of changes in production in the southern Gulf state of Tabasco. Part I analyses in considerable depth the changes which have occurred in the local economy, the environment and the food system throughout history. It identifies the principal periods of both structural stability and transformation, tracing the process of change from pre-Hispanic times through the colonial era, before dealing with successive stages during the post-Independence and Second World War periods.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the southern region of Mexico remained on the margin of the more dynamic development processes operating in the centre and north of the Republic. In the mid-1930s, however, the region experienced rapid growth in the production of bananas destined for US markets. The study analyses how a combination of physico-environmental disturbances and economic crises destroyed the prospects for continuous development which had been generated by the banana boom.

After the Second World War, Mexico entered a period of unprecedented industrialization, urban growth and agricultural development. With this modernization cycle the economic and
territorial integration of the country proceeded apace. The study documents the increasing intervention of the State in the local economy during the 1950s, particularly in the area of infrastructural development. With road and rail networks in place, new commercial relations developed between the southern region and the rest of Mexico. The increasing demand for meat in the country’s major cities induced a period of rapid expansion of cattle production during the 1960s. This was followed by the petroleum boom of the 1970s.

Both the expansion of cattle production and the growth of the oil industry provoked major environmental and socio-economic changes. An analysis of these changes is presented in part II of the book. The type of infrastructural development which occurred and the rapid conversion of tropical forest to pasture land, brought about a veritable ecological crisis. When the expansion of pasture land came up against its natural limits with the exhaustion of virgin lands on the agrarian frontier, unequal competition for the use of the soil developed between the small-landholding sector and ranchers, to the detriment of the former.

The study analyses in considerable detail the social and environmental impacts of the latest modernization process - the oil boom, which involved a marked social and economic reordering. This brought about major transformations in the food system: the process of urbanization accelerated, the countryside declined in economic importance, both urban and rural social structures were radically transformed, inflation increased, and peasant producers were increasingly obliged to sell their labour, rent out their lands and migrate to the city.

By the early 1980s, the environmental deterioration of the previous three decades began seriously to affect the productive potential of the primary sector as well as the quality of life of the mass of the population. The study ends with an assessment of how the living conditions of different peasant and working-class groups, as well as of rural women, have been affected by the crisis.

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CHAPTER III
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CHAPTER V
New directions: the utopia of an agricultural emporium
El hambre en Chile: Un estudio de la seguridad alimentaria

- Authors: Grupo de Investigaciones Agrarias
- Being considered for publication

During the past decade, hunger has become a fairly generalized phenomenon among low-income groups in Chile. This book assesses the dimension of the Chilean food problem, analyses its causes and proposes a number of guidelines for an alternative food strategy.

The study reported on here, carried out by the Grupo de Investigaciones Agrarias (GIA), attempted to go beyond the conventional approach used in the analysis of food security problems which has tended to focus on the factors underlying short-term instability in demand and supply of food products. Here the research also emphasizes structural variables which determine levels of access to food, associated for example with income distribution and forms of insertion in the world economy.

The study analyses food security trends in Chile since 1973. The military government which came to power in that year imposed a growth plan,
based on a rigid interpretation of neo-liberal economic theories, which was to have significant consequences for public policy and an important direct impact on food security.

The evaluation of the state of food security in Chile was based on a series of criteria developed by UNRISD and ECLAC associated with levels and degrees of sufficiency, autonomy/self-determination, reliability, long-term sustainability, and equity of the national food system. On the basis of these indicators it was found that food security had worsened: per capita calorie intake declined between 1969-71 and 1979-81; the number of households with insufficient income to acquire food in the quantity and quality required for an adequate diet increased from 47 per cent to 61 per cent between 1969 and 1984; and the process of ecological deterioration accelerated. Wheat imports increased from 27 per cent to 65 per cent of total supply between 1967-1970 and 1982-83, although they subsequently declined sharply when the government abandoned its neo-liberal pricing policy and introduced support prices for wheat producers.

The book analyses these developments in three main chapters. The first deals with the question of unequal access to food, the propagation of hunger-related illnesses, and the nutritional policies applied by the Government. The second chapter analyses the agrarian policy introduced since 1974 and its impact on food production, marketing and processing activities, as well as on agrarian and agro-industrial structures. Chapter III analyses the extent and implications of increased dependency on food imports. A concluding chapter identifies a series of objectives and elements that should be taken into account when formulating an alternative food strategy which would guarantee the access of all sectors of the population to adequate levels of food consumption.

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CAPÍTULO IV
Terminar con el hambre: elementos de una política de seguridad agroalimentaria

BIBLIOGRAFÍA
UNRISD intends to publish texts on food systems development and food security issues in the three West African countries of Côte d’Ivoire, Senegal and Burkina Faso.

These countries were selected for study in order to show that the phenomenon of progressive dislocation in food systems could appear in highly contrasting ecological and socio-economic situations. Undoubtedly, this process, which results in food deficits and malnutrition, gives more cause for concern in the two Sahelian countries. It is no less important, for other reasons, however, in a country such as Côte d’Ivoire enjoying relatively favourable agro-ecological conditions.

Research carried out by national researchers 1/ studied the food situation in both urban and rural settings. In the urban areas of Abidjan, Dakar and Ouagadougou the research examined the way in which each country’s capital cities are provisioned, how the urban food system functions and what are the consequences of these processes for the food and nutritional situation of urban populations.

In selected rural areas, the research looked at the problems concerning agricultural production and food consumption, and the relations between production and income. Field work was undertaken in two very different types of areas which characterize much of rural society in West Africa: those where cultivation for export predominates and those which, for a long time, have been subject to emigration.

The research highlights the varying impact which modernization processes may have, depending on how they interact with local socio-economic structures. The ways in which commercial crops are introduced and the nature of the traditional social structures in the areas where they are produced, influence the impact they have on the food system.

With the expansion of cash crops, growing monetarization, increased population and recurrent droughts, traditional food systems in Senegal and especially in Burkina Faso have become extremely vulnerable. If the harvest should fail for any reason, there are generally insufficient food and livestock reserves locally for survival, nor is there enough cash income to purchase food from outside to make

1/ Research was carried out in Côte d’Ivoire by researchers from the Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (Cires) under the direction of T. Eponou; in Senegal by M.A. Savané, O.K. N. Ly and M-H.I. Niane; and in Burkina Faso by T. Thiombiano, L. Kouliadiat and C. Some from the Centre d’Etudes, de Documentation, de Recherches Economique et Sociale (CEDRES).
up the shortfall. In such situations, only out-migration or emergency food relief can avert famine. Moreover, lack of roads and transport facilities in many areas can make relief extremely difficult.

In some areas the expansion of peanut and cotton production has increased social stratification and led to the abandonment of certain collective cultivation relationships, but it has apparently not resulted in the large-scale expulsion of the peasantry from their lands given the assimilation of cash crop production into traditional communal tenure systems. The introduction of cotton in some localities appears to have had clearly beneficial impacts on cereal production and incomes of peasants who received credit, inputs and technical assistance for cotton.

This situation contrasts sharply with the highly negative consequences for local peasantry following the construction of a sugar mill and putting some 10,000 hectares of good land into cane production in Comôé, Burkina Faso. The lands nearby where many of the families were resettled were of inferior quality, water became extremely scarce as most was used by the sugar enterprise, and increased employment opportunities were limited. In short, food insecurity for the local population increased dramatically.

Through original survey work, the studies document the response of peasant producers to crisis situations. In the Sahel region, drought and the effects of the economic crisis have induced many peasants to search for new sources of monetary income. This sometimes implies out-migration of important groups from traditional communities, diminishing their food production. Others have substituted cash crops for self-provisioning or sought alternative sources of income from handicraft production and petty commerce. Many peasants have abandoned traditional foods for cheaper imported ones. Large numbers have lost access to the land, abandoned farming and become landless labourers in their search for cash incomes. Many who remain in the areas of emigration have come to rely increasingly on cash remittances. These peasant strategies have not been what African planners had expected in many cases, and they have undermined official food strategies based on fallacious assumptions of how the peasants would react.

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**Problems of Food Security in the Modern World**
(provisional title)

- Author: Solon Barrackcugh

In this overview volume of the Food Systems and Society Programme, the author summarizes and contrasts the findings of researchers associated with UNRISD in ten Third World countries: the West African countries of Burkina Faso, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire; India, China and Bangladesh in Asia; and Bolivia, Chile, Nicaragua and Mexico in Latin America.
It makes an original contribution to the vast body of literature on issues of food security by going beyond the partial focus of many studies which look at one or a combination of activities or “links” in the food chain and by attempting to analyse these as part of broader, more complex social and economic systems which determine access to food of different social groups. This systems approach also permits a clearer understanding of the relationship between the socio-economic system and the natural environment.

The findings of the research are analysed in terms of eight sets of issues. First is the extent and nature of food security problems. The report assesses the food security situation in each country against five normative criteria associated with levels of sufficiency, reliability, autonomy and self-determination, long-term sustainability and equity of national food systems. Second, the report undertakes a review of conventional explanations for widespread persistent hunger and famine. It finds most to be partial, simplistic or tautological. Third, the study looks at issues related to the influence of world markets, foreign trade, and international finance and politics on food systems development in individual countries.

The fourth set of issues considers, in historical perspective, the fundamental determinants of peoples’ access to food, embedded in economic, social and political structures and institutions. This permits an identification of relevant social groups and the relations among them in each country at both national and sub-national levels. As the research shows, this step is crucial for understanding how food systems operate and how they might be modified to improve food security.

The impacts of modernization processes on food security in different socio-economic structures constitute the fifth set of issues. The report looks at the implications of cash crop and agro-export crop expansion, industrial growth (particularly of extractive industries), urbanization and the emergence of new marketing systems for agricultural producers and consumers. It is argued that while there is often a close association between food security problems and processes such as these, the latter should not be seen in themselves as the causes of hunger and malnutrition. The overall pattern of socio-economic interaction within any given society, and in relation to a specific international context, must be taken into account.

The sixth focus of the research is on social and political mobilization and the way in which it can enable disadvantaged classes and groups to attain greater control over resources and incomes. The seventh set of issues relates to public policies and how they affect food security. Governments are seen not as agents which attempt to maximize some abstract “national welfare” function but as entities that respond to interests of different support groups. Given the nature of these interests, government policies are found to be frequently more a part of food security problems than their solution.

The eighth and final set of issues has to do with improving food security. The research highlights numerous policy issues which technically could be resolved in one way or another by governments within the constraints imposed by their support groups. The report also identifies, however, a series of policy dilemmas associated with levels of participation of the poor and powerless, the forms of property and scale of production units to be supported, the terms of insertion in the world system and protection of the environment, all of which offer the State far more awkward and unattractive alternatives.
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Policy issues and dilemmas
In 1979 UNRISD initiated a major research programme on people's participation in development. The decision to begin work in this area resulted from a critical review and assessment of past and present development strategies and of the findings of previous research undertaken at UNRISD on the Green Revolution and on co-operatives in developing countries.

The aim of the programme was to study systematically a selected number of participatory organizations and social movements as well as situations where people's participation was being promoted, institutionalized or obstructed, in order to reach a clearer operational understanding of the factors responsible for the success or failure of such experiences. Beyond this goal of bringing more clarity to the issue of people's participation, the programme aimed, more ambitiously, to promote and support efforts to increase the participation of the poor.

The definition of participation adopted by the Institute's project was "the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control".

The original research approach applied in the project envisaged field research in four settings associated with peasants and rural workers, ethnically-based movements, urban marginal populations and industrial workers, all relating to the excluded, but offering distinct conditions and options for participation. The studies were carried out at four levels: participation as biography, as a participatory movement or organization, as development projects and as national policy. Also the research approach assumed that participation should be studied in societies with different cultural backgrounds, ecological settings and types of régime, and at different stages of development.

Field research and related activities were carried out between 1980 and 1983 in a number of Latin American and Asian countries, including Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, China, India and Thailand. The concentration on work principally in Latin America and to a lesser degree in Asia was mainly due to the availability of external project funds for these regions.
The programme was financed with UNRISD funds, a generous grant from the Inter-American Foundation for some of the studies in Latin America and a grant from the Norwegian Government for the case study in Thailand. Two complementary projects involving an evaluation of the role of women in various participatory and social movements and an evaluation of the programme’s experience with participatory and action research were initiated in 1984 in most of the above countries.

At the global level a general debate on the Theory and Practice of Participation had been initiated in 1979 with the first conceptual programme document. The debate was carried on throughout the programme, fed by preliminary findings from the field, and later supplemented by three major global subdebates on "Urgency and Democracy", "Participation: A View from Above" and "Clientelism, Patronage and Popular Participation". This debate was expressed through a regular publication - Dialogue about Participation/Diálogo sobre la Participación.

Since 1981, 12 volumes based on the field research have been published or are presently in print. Most of these have also been translated into English or Spanish. It is expected that another 3 volumes will be published. These publications bring to a formal conclusion the Participation Programme. It is intended, however, that research on participation become an integral component of other research areas.
Chile has a predominantly urban society and a long experience of militant trade union organization. Trade unions have been accustomed to intervene in national policy formulation and legislation with some effectiveness. The electoral victory of the "Popular Unity" coalition in 1970 opened the way to more varied participation, including worker management of industries and farms, and seemed to make a "transition to socialism" an immediate possibility. The violent seizure of power by a military regime in 1973, however, suddenly reversed the material and political gains achieved by workers during previous decades.

This book assesses the tactics adopted by unions and the alternatives open to them under an authoritarian regime and within the rules of the game prescribed by the Pinochet Government. The foreword by Alain Touraine analyses the General character of the military régime’s policy towards the unionized working class and discusses how the latter has responded to this policy.

The main text focuses on union activities and more specifically on collective bargaining practices during a period when the régime sought to redefine relations with the unions. In 1978, after some vacillations of government policy and a limited revival of union activities, the Government promulgated the Labour Plan that restored rights to internal union elections, collective bargaining and strikes. It imposed conditions, however, which ensured that unions would remain fragmented, be barred from contact with other political forces, and be able to represent their members only through bargaining with individual employers over wages.

Up to 1981 these new rules of the game functioned within a context of economic growth and government self-confidence. From 1981 to the present, however, several economic crises have supervened. The book shows that recent events have left the unions even less able than before to conduct effective collective bargaining or to influence the Government on their members’ behalf. At the same time, however, new developments have opened up possibilities lacking since 1973 for mass mobilization and preparation for major political and economic changes. Despite a highly adverse economic and political climate, the unions...
have become somewhat more active following the introduction of the Labour Plan. Moreover the Pinochet régime has been unable to establish a large pro-government union confederation.

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Estado y ejidos en México: El caso del crédito rural en La Laguna
State and Peasantry in Mexico: A Case Study of Rural Credit in La Laguna

- Author: Fernando Rello
- Prologue by Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara
- Published in Spanish (1986) and in English (1987)

This book summarizes some of the principal mechanisms of economic and political control which have increasingly limited the ability of most rural people in Mexico to participate responsibly in shaping their own destiny. The author is concerned with that part of the farming population settled in ejidos, or land reform communities granted title by the State in the course
of an official programme of land distribution begun in 1915 and not yet formally concluded. A substantive introduction, by Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, places the development of the *ejido* sector in a historical context and identifies some of the broader issues of political economy that explain the marginalization of this sector of the population and the nature of its relations with the State. She also reviews the literature on peasant mobilization written before 1970, when coverage in the book begins.

The particular value of this study lies in the detailed exploration of the ways in which the operation of the Mexican public credit agency for agriculture - the *Banco Rural* - has perpetuated peasant dependency on the State and its institutions, despite the fact that the bank was originally created to support the autonomous development of the peasantry. The report thus raises issues concerning the extent to which peasant dependency might result as much from credit and marketing mechanisms as from lack of ownership over the land. Thus, in the Mexican case, even though the peasants formally own the land, the public credit institution can dictate what they must produce and what inputs to use, without the peasants themselves having participation in or control over those decisions.

The region studied, La Laguna, is of special interest as it was the scene of a successful and internationally publicized effort at collective *ejido* agriculture in the late 1930s, which was later stifled by changes in government policy.

The author begins his consideration of the relationship between the peasantry and the State in contemporary Mexican society by considering how peasant organizations have been caught up in the dynamics of a complex political process characterized by its personalistic nature, its tendency to authoritarianism and the systematic undermining of civic participation not mediated through official channels. The first chapter is concerned primarily with the parameters of peasant mobilization from the 1970s onward.

In Chapters II, III, IV and V, a thoughtful analysis of official bank operations in La Laguna serves to illustrate the nature of the principal mechanisms utilized to subject the process of production in the *ejido* sector to the authority of the public bureaucracy. The author places great emphasis upon the fact that, in the last analysis, assuring economic and political control over *ejidatarios* in La Laguna has constituted a far more compelling goal of public policy than providing the basis for a sound economic programme.

The book ends by proposing an "alternative project" by organized peasants with which to confront continued manipulation at the hands of the state bank.
“Oprimidos pero no vencidos”: Luchas del campesinado aymara y qhechwa de Bolivia, 1900-1980
“Oppressed but not Defeated”: Peasant Struggles among the Aymara and Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980

• Author: Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui
• Prologue by Luis H. Antezana J.
• Published in Spanish (1986) and in English (1987)

This book analyses the struggles of the Bolivian Qhechwa- and Aymara-speaking peasants from 1900 to 1980. It makes an important contribution to the debate surrounding the relations between peasant mobilization and ethnic identity. In Andean countries where ethnically or linguistically distinct groups of pre-Columbian origin are majorities, particularly within the rural population, the issue of ethnicity is especially important and complex, for it interacts with questions of class differentiation, national identification and affirmation of the rights of citizens.

This study attributes the different trajectories of the movements of the
Qhechwa-speaking peasants of the Cochabamba area and the Aymara-speaking peasants of the La Paz area in part to the "short historical memory" of the former and the "long historical memory" of the latter. That is, the former think back mainly to the 1952 revolution and the gains made through union organization and agrarian reform, and thus are more prepared to participate simply as rural producers in alliances with national political forces, as well as in bargaining with the State. The latter, in contrast, are more resentful of forms of ethnically-based discrimination and paternalism that re-emerged following the 1952 revolution, when an effort was made to replace "Indian" by "peasant" identity as a means to national integration. This resentment stimulates and is stimulated by the "long historical memory" of oppression by the Spanish-speaking minority and uprisings against this oppression since the 18th century.

The book criticizes the "elitist" reluctance of political movements on the left in Bolivia to recognize the legitimacy of cultural diversity, involving demands for real equality, and suggests another kind of "long historical memory" influencing these elites: a subconscious fear of being overwhelmed by the "Indians". The study also distinguishes different trends within the Aymara "Katarista" movements, in which the rural majority seems disposed to integrate ethnic and peasant self-identification as part of their political strategy, while a mainly urban minority, more directly affected by discrimination, is more inclined to cultural separatism and identification with militant Indian movements outside Bolivia.
The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association, 1967-1981
La cuestión agraria y el movimiento campesino en Colombia: Luchas de la Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC), 1967-1981

• Author: Léon Zamosc
• Foreword by Teodor Shanin
• Published by Cambridge University Press in English (1986); jointly with Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP) in Spanish (1987)

This study analyses the rise and fall of the Colombian peasant movement during the 1970s, focusing particularly on the actions of the National Peasant Association Users (ANUC) in the struggle for land. ANUC is the only organization in the history of social movements and agrarian conflicts in Colombia which has been able, at least during part of its existence, to articulate
autonomously the demands of the peasants on a national scale. Land invasions during 1971, organized under the direction of ANUC, played a crucial role in the radicalization of the peasant movement and gave many peasants new access to productive resources.

The book looks at three central problems: agrarian contradictions providing the framework for peasant mobilization, changing relationships between the peasant movement and the State, and the politics and ideology of peasant challenge. The author identifies various phases in the evolution of the peasant movement, including the organization of ANUC as part of a project of reformist alliance, the radicalization of the movement when it developed an autonomous position, and the final conservative reaction of conciliation and submission to a state policy of counterreform and repression that destroyed the legal framework of land redistribution and split the peasant movement. The struggle for land came to an end by 1978, leaving the Colombian peasant movement in crisis and signalling the disappearance of peasant agitation.

This cycle of events is explained in part by the evolution of state policy which after turning sharply from reform to counterreform, stabilized around a neo-liberal orientation involving partial concessions by the Government to some peasant sectors. Such shifts were congruent with realignments taking place within the dominant classes and reflected changes in the relative importance of the agrarian sector in the national economy. Nonetheless, the author stresses that it would be a mistake to consider ANUC's evolution as a mere epiphenomenon of the policies of the dominant classes and the State. Although reformism provided opportunities for peasant organization and legitimated peasant demands, the upsurge of the movement was rooted in underlying agrarian contradictions.

In Chapter 1, the historical evolution of the agrarian question in Colombia is traced in order to explore the nature of agrarian contradictions after the period known as the Violencia. Chapter 2 examines the political prospects for the emergence of a peasant movement in the 1960s, considering the immediate precedents of the struggle for land and inquiring into the motives that eventually led to the creation of ANUC. Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of land invasions during 1971, considering the role played by direct action in the radicalization of ANUC. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 follow the subsequent evolution of the struggle for land, taking into account the effects of repression and other changing elements of state policy and paying special attention to the leftist politicization of the peasantry. Chapters 7 and 8 deal with consequences of broader socio-economic changes in areas of greatest agrarian conflict, studying the attempts made by ANUC to develop new forms of agitation both among agricultural labourers and in the peasant settlements that emerged after land invasions. Chapter 9 examines factors leading to the final crisis of peasant radicalism in the 1970s, considering the dimension of that crisis and observing its final outcome at the beginning of the 1980s. Chapter 10 summarizes the main aspects of the study, advancing conclusions and suggesting questions for further research.

In the foreword, Teodor Shanin assesses the contribution of this text to the general body of literature on peasant movements.
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All chapters in this volume are concerned with a central problem: the impact which action by political parties, and ideological debate within and among parties has had on processes of popular participation involving the Bolivian peasantry. Action by parties is a factor in mobilization and can open up possibilities of participation to sectors previously excluded from political activity; but an excessive concern with ideology and the factional struggles which sometimes occur in parties committed to participation can put obstacles in the way of attempts to extend and deepen popular participation.

The studies also reveal the complex nature of interactions between peasant organizations and the State. Of particular interest is whether the State is open to or promotes popular participation, represses the latter or relies on mechanisms of control and cooptation. This subject is particularly relevant in the case of Bolivia where, on the one hand, a social and political revolution with a strong participatory component has taken place and where the State has, for brief but crucial historical moments, assumed a position in defence of popular and national interests; but where, on the other hand, a good deal of recent history has been dominated by anti-participatory political régimes. Peasant unions in Bolivia have adjusted their tactics to the general political context. This volume contains rich descriptions of various historical situations and offers an up-to-date perspective on the re-emergence, transformation and revitalization of the peasant movement after many long years of dissolution and isolation from the workers' movement.

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of the book is the way in which various authors analyse the relationship between peasant mobilization and ethnic identity. In the Andean countries, where the rural population is on the whole made up of ethnically and linguistically distinct groups, looking at how these groups assert their ethnic identities is not only crucial but also highly complex given the close links between ethnicity and other issues such as class differences, national identities and the assertion of citizenship rights.

Simón Pachano's and Orlando Plaza's contributions at the end of the book help to place the various studies in this volume within a wider context of peasant movements and popular participation in the Andean region.

In addition, Marshall Wolfe's Post Scriptum shows how stages in the development of peasant movements are related to political events in Bolivia and how specific situations discussed in the various chapters are related to more general political processes.
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This is a study of changing relations between the State, the agrarian bourgeoisie and the peasantry in Mexico during the 1960s and 1970s, focusing particularly on a period of acute agrarian crisis and conflict during the mid-1970s. The prologue by Rodolfo Stavenhagen sets these events in a national and historical setting, outlining the increasing polarisation of Mexican agriculture, the failure of the agrarian reform to resolve the economic and social problems of the peasantry, and the concentration of resources in the hands of large-scale capitalist producers and transnational agribusiness corporations actively supported by the State.

It was during the mid 1970s that a rift emerged in what had, for almost three decades, been a solid alliance between the agrarian bourgeoisie and the State. The author analyses changing conditions and events throughout the 1960s that led to this new situation, in particular the growing strength of the peasant movement at a national level, the crisis of Mexican agriculture and the more overtly peasant-oriented policies and discourse of the Government.

A vivid picture is provided of the organizational strategies of different sectors of the new agrarian bourgeoisie in the States of Sonora and Sinaloa and in the El Bajío region. In order to defend their interests, a stronger alliance was forged with other sectors of the national bourgeoisie, and a specific group of producers increased their pressure on the State by creating a new independent organization to represent their interests. The State responded by considerably restricting its reformist programme and in the process undermined the basis of peasant support.

In a wider sense the findings offer an interesting insight into important aspects of the functioning of the Mexican political system, and bring forth the great complexity of social and political forces in rural Mexico.
Women in Popular Movements: India and Thailand during the Decade of Women

This book outlines the development of the women’s movement in India and Thailand, with particular reference to events of the past decade. The author shows that while there has been a history of women’s organization and movements, the post-1975 movements have emerged as a new force. This is explained in part by the influence of women’s liberation in the West but primarily should be seen as a development emerging from the
growing participation of women in these societies since the late 1960s. Such a trend has involved women from diverse social groups. While women's organizations have tended to be dominated by urban intellectual women, the author argues that some of the most radical and important issues taken up have been brought forward at the initiative of poor women.

The comparison of the women's movements in India and Thailand is of particular interest given the contrasting socio-political environments of these two countries. India is an established parliamentary democracy, but continues to have a highly polarized social structure, while Thailand is characterized by an authoritarian regime, yet possesses a relatively equalitarian village-kinship system at the local level. In spite of considerable differences in their social formations, there are a number of parallels in the development of the women's movement in both countries.

The opening of the United Nations' Decade of Women was preceded by a kind of "participation explosion" in both countries, culminating in the imposition of a state of emergency by Indira Gandhi in 1975 and a military coup in Thailand the following year. This in turn fomented new forms of opposition and protest by women and a much stronger affiliation on their part with traditional left-wing parties.

At the turn of the decade (1979/80), there was a resurgence of activity among grass-roots socio-political organizations, operating, however, in an increasingly hostile macro-environment. The author concludes that while the Decade of Women witnessed the emergence of a variety of new participatory forms, it has ended with the increasing marginalization of women, as States move toward more anti-participatory structures.

The prologue by Maxine Molyneux assesses the contribution of this text to the literature on social movements which has tended to neglect the role of women.

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The Politics and Ideology of the Colombian Peasant Movement: The Case of ANUC (National Association of Peasant Smallholders)
Pública e ideología en el movimiento campesino colombiano: El caso de la ANUC (Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos)

• Author: Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui
• Prologue by Daniel Pécaut
• Post-script by Ernesto Parra Escobar
• Published jointly with the Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP) in English (1987) and in Spanish (1987)

This study, based on research carried out by the Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, traces the history of the National Association of Peasant Smallholders (ANUC) from the perspective of its organization and its ideology. The author gives a clear outline of the evolution of this peasant organization, the growth of which was as swift as it was chaotic.

ANUC was both a trade union organization and a social movement. As the organization evolved, it was able, with varying degrees of success, to formulate, systematize and promote the demands and grievances of the peasant movement, in a relationship that had its share of conflicts and rifts. The movement’s regional and social diversity, the breadth of the demands it made on State and society, and its relations with other sectors, formed a complex framework of possibilities and limits. In turn, in the course of a process marked by considerable tension and conflict, plans were hatched within the trade union organization to convert ANUC into a political instrument to project the full potential of the peasant movement, transforming spontaneous protest into an organized attempt to change society.

In the prologue, Daniel Pécaut refers to the history of peasant mobilization in Colombia, highlights some of the main conclusions to be drawn from the study and reflects on more recent developments regarding social and revolutionary movements.

Part I of the book is an attempt to comprehend the origins and characteristics of the structure of power in Colombia. It constitutes a necessary backdrop for an investigation into the political fortunes of ANUC. The political stance adopted by the peasant movement, the range of viable alternatives open to it, and the fate of its aspirations and of its demands on society, were intimately connected with the remarkable efficiency of the Colombian political system in reproducing itself and the combination of mechanisms of mediation and social control used by the State, involving patronage, co-option and open repression.

The first chapter provides an account of the main political changes from the 1930s up to the establishment
of the National Front in 1958. The second contains an analysis of the most salient features of the political structure of the two-party agreement, taking as a frame of reference the 16 years of its duration but examining equally the continuity with which the same system of domination has been maintained until the present time. The third chapter analyses the reformist era of 1966-1970 and its limitations.

Part II goes on to describe three distinct phases in ANUC’s evolution, taking into account the organization’s dual character. By studying the vicissitudes within the trade union and its clashes with the State and the ruling classes, an attempt is also made to outline the main features of the political debate that it generated, and the projects for social change formulated within the peasant movement. Emphasis is placed on ANUC as an organization although reference is constantly made to the dialectical relationship between the organization and the social movement it nurtured. The study also brings out the subjective component of political activity, drawing on statements from peasants.

The post-script written by the Colombian economist Ernesto Parra Escobar complements Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s analysis by studying the degree of grass-roots participation in the various phases of ANUC’s history and linking this to the initial success and eventual failure of the organization.

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This study of popular participation in Thailand brings out the opportunities and the formidable difficulties of organization and participation by the rural poor in a polarized society under authoritarian rule. In a country with little history of social movements and popular participation, a widespread national movement of poor farmers arose during a brief "democratic" interlude in the mid-1970s. The subsequent return to military rule repressed the peasant movement but the objective reasons that had led to an increased striving for popular participation remained. Even at official governmental and international levels the need for increased popular participation was recognized, and a large number of "participation" projects emerged. Some were initiated "from above" by governmental and international bodies or were supported by local non-governmental agencies. Others involved more autonomous initiatives of organizations representing small farmers and rural workers. This book studies the accomplishments and difficulties of several of these organizations and projects.

The merits of the research lie in the fresh and compelling inside view it gives of peasants' problems seen through their own eyes. As the action research focused on a period when the Government encouraged new forms of democratic expression, the study captures the wide variation of strategies adopted by different peasant groups. The myth of peasant apathy is dispelled by the realization that "passivity" is in fact an active deliberate response to a situation in which peasants lack control over resources and regulatory institutions. This insider account of how peasants follow openings and closings, advance and withdraw in the face of fluctuating local or state power adds greatly to the understanding of peasant perspectives and actions.

Chapter 1 outlines the aims and scope of the research, the methodology used and the varying ways in which the concept of popular participation is used in Thailand.

Chapter 2 sets the stage for understanding the emergence and
ultimate defeat of large-scale mobilization of the rural poor by analysing agrarian trends and policies and rural power structures.

Chapter 3 analyses in detail the successes and failures of the most prominent form of popular organization in the country - the Peasants' Federation of Thailand, established in 1974.

Chapter 4 looks at some of the major problems of livelihood of the poor farmers, the local effects of national and supra-national structures and policies, and various collective economic responses.

Chapter 5 considers the local social, cultural, administrative and political contexts in which these responses are made and focuses on both the opportunities and obstacles encountered in the process of overcoming problems of livelihood.

The final chapter focuses on the achievements and potentialities of popular participation.
This book looks at the increasing presence of social movements in Peru from the late 1960s onwards and attempts to evaluate their political impact at the national level. The development of a broad popular movement is the most visible sign of current and future changes in Peruvian society. Few societies in Latin America have accumulated greater potential for transformation than Peru.

The social reforms of the Velasco Government between 1968 and 1975 and the powerful impact of the economic crisis between 1975 and 1985 created the conditions for the development of a process of organized and articulated mobilization of Peru’s population in almost all geographical, social and political arenas. During this period millions of peasants, shanty-town dwellers, manual workers, employees, professionals and intellectuals found the necessary space and incentives to organize and act in defence of their interests and objectives.

The authors advance the hypothesis that the mobilizations and movements in Peru must be seen as a series of irregular but persistent localized struggles with limited immediate aims which gradually converge in a wider “popular movement” at the national level. This “popular movement” is without formal organization but it expresses a degree of continuity, common interests and a capacity to generate demands and tactics that challenge the dominant national economic and political order.

In the Prologue, Carlos Franco presents an overview of the evolution of the studies undertaken in Peru on popular movements. He analyses the conditions which made possible both the emergence of the popular movement and the research devoted to its study. He also discusses the conceptual approaches used by Peruvian intellectuals in their analysis of such movements.

The first chapter briefly presents some of the categories and theoretical tools used throughout the analysis. The aim is to discuss in abstract the relation between social movements and social classes, attempting to define what is understood by the term popular movement.

The second chapter presents a periodization which, starting from the structure and action of the State and its policies, attempts to provide a context for the process of popular participation and the activities of the different social movements analysed.

The third chapter, covering the period 1968-1982, explains the process of organization of the popular movement. It highlights the experiences of both the trade unions and regional movements, as well as those involving the shanty-town dwellers. It also analyses the occasions when these converged and expressed themselves in overt forms of social conflict in Peru.
Chapter IV offers some conclusions concerning popular participation and attempts to analyse this concrete historical process using the theoretical approach set out in Chapter I.

Finally, and as a post-script, an attempt is made to provide an interpretation of the political process through which Peru has been living more recently.

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This book deals with the increasingly prominent role assumed by women in social movements and collective actions in Latin America. Six studies by different authors address the question of why and in what way women are transcending the private world of the home and assuming a more active role in the public domain.

The prologue by Lourdes Arizpe argues that, historically, demands associated with the private sphere have been largely excluded from political discourse. As such what is new and revolutionary about women's participation is that it brings personal issues into the sphere of politics. This is a response to a situation in which both repressive regimes and the market create increasingly intolerable conditions in the private sphere, as when, for example, sons and daughters are tortured or husbands become unemployed.

The collection of essays brings out the diversity of women's demands and forms of expression in collective actions and social movements in a variety of urban and rural settings in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Bolivia. Several case studies focus on women's participation at the level of the urban neighbourhood or barrio. The organization and defence of living conditions at the neighbourhood level constitute one of the most prominent areas of collective action on the part of women, involving both self-help efforts and demands for state action to improve public services.

Other case studies focus on movements which have gone far beyond the limits of the neighbourhood or community. Such is the case of the movement of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo which centred on demands associated with human rights and democracy in Argentina. This movement, initiated by a group of middle class women, grew rapidly to incorporate women from diverse social backgrounds. Two other chapters deal with the participation of women in workers' and peasant movements in Chile and Bolivia respectively, while another looks at the participation and collective actions of Aymara and Quechua women from indigenous communities in Bolivia.

The material and analysis contained in the book provide an important contribution to the theory and conceptualization of social movements and the role of women in processes of social change. In the concluding chapter, Elizabeth Jelin argues that the diverse forms of participation studied have a dual character. On the one hand, they form part of the historical struggle of subordinated groups demanding social recognition, citizens' rights and access to the instruments of political power. They are also, however, simultaneously struggles for cultural identity whereby women attempt to create conditions conducive to the free expression of an identity associated with gender, ethnicity and class.
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Sindicatos bajo regímenes militares en Argentina, Brasil y Chile

* Editors: Manuel Barrera and Gonzalo Falabella
* Prologue by Alan Angell
* Epilogue by Gonzalo Falabella
* Forthcoming publication in Spanish, 1988

This volume presents the findings of a series of studies which analysed the possibilities for participation of the working class during periods of authoritarian rule.

The collection of six essays by Latin American social scientists provides valuable information and insights concerning the way in which trade unions evolved during periods of military rule in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Most of the studies were written at that time and do not analyse the situation of trade unions during more recent
periods of democratization. In order to understand the contemporary situation, however, it is necessary to comprehend what happened to trade union movements during the previous period.

The studies reveal how participation is possible even under highly adverse conditions of repression and how the ground for more active participation during subsequent periods of democratization can be prepared during periods of authoritarian rule.

The prologue by Alan Angell draws out, in comparative perspective, the main differences and similarities of the Argentine, Brazilian and Chilean experiences, and reflects on some of the major conclusions that can be drawn from the studies.

The introduction by Manuel Barrera and the epilogue by Gonzalo Falabella analyse the impact of economic policies of the military régimes on the workers' movements and the way in which the working class responded to attempts to weaken trade unions. They also consider the implications of increased autonomy of the working class which arose when traditional ties between unions and political parties were weakened.

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This volume contains a collection of studies on living conditions and social movements of marginal groups in one of the world's largest cities - São Paulo, Brazil. The studies were coordinated by Lúcio Kowarick, a Brazilian sociologist from the Centro de Estudos de Cultura Contemporanea (CEDEC).

Following the foreword and introduction by Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso and Lúcio Kowarick respectively, the volume begins with a historical analysis of the growth of industry in São Paulo, the concomitant spread of the city and the increasing demand for housing and shelter by an ever larger industrial work force. It then focuses on both the struggles of workers in the major industries to achieve autonomous union organization and the efforts of the urban masses to improve their access to shelter and services and protect themselves against continual rises in the cost of living. The study provides valuable insights into the complex relationships between struggle and demands at the level of both the community and the workplace, struggles that at times appear fragmentary and isolated and at other times merge in a broad popular movement.

The research demonstrates the precariousness of gains obtained after intense efforts and participatory struggles. These can easily be wiped out by economic crisis or a change in régime. At a time when urban metropolitan areas are growing at a very high rate throughout the Third World, leading to increasing social problems and conflict, the present volume offers a valuable insight into the dynamics of social and economic change in one of the largest industrial metropoli of Latin America and indicates the potentialities and limits of organized participatory action by the urban poor in attempting to find solutions to some of the most pressing problems they face.
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This area of studies started in 1979, initially as a series of field evaluations of refugee settlement conditions in Africa which were subsequently extended to Asia. It was carried out in close collaboration with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The project has dealt particularly with problems of refugee integration or reintegration, but has also focused on social conditions generally, where these are associated with various interrelated processes: (i) short-term integration into camp life; (ii) long-term integration into the recipient country’s society outside the camp, or (iii) further relocation, including return to the country of origin with consequent reintegration processes.

A small number of countries were selected in which studies would be carried out on refugees of varied nationalities and socio-cultural backgrounds living in various conditions of destitution and need, as well as the diverse ways in which national and international agencies have dealt with the challenge of accommodating the refugee influx.

Beginning with studies on Ethiopian refugees in Somalia, and Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the project was later extended to Tanzania and Mexico. When the project’s terms of reference were expanded in 1984 to cover not only refugees but also returnees, research was subsequently carried out on the social conditions of returnees to Argentina and Uruguay.

Research on the social situation of refugees will continue to be an important area of study throughout 1988.
Refugies afghans au Pakistan: d'une situation d'urgence à l'autosuffisance

- Author: Hanne Christensen
- Published in French, 1985

This is a French translation of the English version Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: From Emergency Towards Self-reliance, published in 1984.

In 1982 UNRISD initiated a survey programme on food relief, focused particularly on socio-economic conditions of refugees and possibilities of self-reliant processes of refugee integration, as well as the reintegration of returnees in developing countries. A first evaluation was undertaken in Pakistan in Baluchistan Province. A second survey followed in 1983 in the North West Frontier Province. This report deals with the second evaluation phase.

The Government of Pakistan has granted refugee status to massive numbers of refugees from Afghanistan, driven out of their homeland by political conflict and warfare from 1978 onward. Internationally financed relief programmes for Afghan refugees have operated since April 1979, as an emergency measure requested by the Pakistan authorities. As the officially registered refugee population grew rapidly, so too did the scale of the relief programme. Between January 1980 and July 1983, the number of aid recipients increased from about 400,000 to 2.8 million people, the vast majority of whom are located in the North West Frontier Province. From mid-1983 onward, the Government and the international community adopted a new approach, de-emphasizing emergency aid and stressing the need for promoting self-reliance.

This report examines the socio-economic conditions of the Afghan refugee communities as well as those of neighbouring host localities and shows how refugee groups differ in their capacity to achieve self-reliance. The research further discusses how refugees and local people interact in social and economic terms, and how the former participate in the development process of Pakistan.

The ultimate objective of the survey was to provide information on the food needs of refugees which could serve as a basis for elaborating guidelines to be applied to further assistance programmes. In addition, the study makes a number of concrete programme-oriented recommendations to spur the ongoing promotion of self-reliance.
Refugees and Pioneers: History and Field Study of a Burundian Settlement in Tanzania

Réfugiés et pionniers : installation de réfugiés burundais en Tanzanie

• Author: Hanne Christensen
• Published in English, 1986
• Published in French by L'Harmattan, Paris, 1988

This study was initiated in order to draw attention to the plight of refugees in Africa by evaluating the settlement process of the Burundian refugees, one of the largest African refugee populations of the past decade. The report follows the progress of one particular rural settlement for Burundian refugees in Tanzania from the first surveying of once uninhabited lands to the final delivery to the Tanzanian Government of a settlement with eleven villages, built and fully equipped with societal infrastructure by the international community.

When refugees from Burundi poured into Rwanda, Zaire and Tanzania in 1972, they stayed initially in areas adjacent to the home country. Some settled on their own among local people, others were accommodated in reception centres. Later on, organized settlements for part of the refugee population were developed elsewhere in vacant areas of the host countries in order to reduce pressure on the border districts and to end violence. For some of the refugees the transfer involved pioneer work in untamed jungle. The settlers were given plots of land on which to earn a living, and villages with modern medical and educational facilities were established. Secure village life slowly took shape as a result of the combined efforts of the national governments, the international community, and the refugees themselves.

The findings indicate that, at the time when outside aid is withdrawn, the settlement population can be highly stratified in terms of levels of
living and also feel differential commitment to the receiving society. Nevertheless it is also clear that a refugee population, once marked by fear and deep anxiety, can be transformed into a community of peacefully settled villagers, safely, but somewhat inconveniently, installed in the wilderness.
It is impossible to understand the development of modern Argentina without taking special account of migratory flows. Immigration began on a massive scale during the last third of the nineteenth century and completely transformed Argentine population dynamics. After 1930, when the total population had reached about 12 million, there was a sudden fall in immigration and the growth rate of the population was reduced likewise. In more recent decades, immigration has continued on a much smaller scale while emigration has increased, largely as a result of restrictions on political participation and repression by military dictatorships, as well as of frustrated expectations of economic and social development.

This book focuses on the emigration phenomenon and the latest phase of the unfolding migratory process - the return of expatriate Argentines to their home country in the wake of the re-establishment of democratic government. With Argentina's return to democracy in 1983, the subject of the homecoming of emigrants became a live issue. As large numbers of returnees began to arrive, the problem of reintegration assumed a new dimension. Questions such as how many Argentines had emigrated, how many were returning, and so on, became major areas of concern. The disparate estimates issuing from various sources created such confusion, however, that figures for the number of Argentine emigrants ranged between 300,000 and 3,000,000. It was in this context that the decision to undertake the research was made.

The prologue by Jorge Graciarena discusses some of the relevant socio-political aspects of the migratory process in Argentina and draws attention to the multidirectionality of migratory flows, thereby countering the traditional image of Argentina as a country characterized by large immigrant flows. The phenomena are then described: its size, its evolution over time, its distribution among different countries, as well as the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the migrants. The study also attempts to impose some order on the different notions used in connection with migration, and which are usually the subject of confusion. Part I ends with an overview and a concise summary of the main studies of migration, including
both descriptive studies and those concerned with its causes and consequences.

The authors of the first two studies in part II - themselves emigrants from the Southern Cone - analyse not the emigration but the immigration of Argentines in two host countries in the region. As well as supplying the necessary information concerning the size and composition of the communities in question, these studies bring to the book a whole a different contextual perspective which opens the way for in-depth case studies of Argentine emigration, the assimilation of Argentine immigrants, and so on. The third study of part II attempts, through a systematic reading of the Argentine press between 1958 and 1985, to provide a picture of what could be considered to be public opinion on the subject of emigration.

In a concluding chapter, Lattes quantifies the total stock of expatriates which, he suggests, numbered to approximately 547,000 persons in 1984. This is a sizeable figure, particularly if the average educational level of these migrants and the significant proportion of professional and technical people, are borne in mind. It is argued that a contingent of half a million persons, which includes former exiles and refugees as well as those who have emigrated for economic reasons, is clearly more than sufficient to justify the formulation of a concrete government policy to facilitate repatriation and reintegration.

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PART TWO: THE EMIGRATION OF ARGENTINES: AS SEEN IN THE HOST COUNTRIES AND PERCEPTION THROUGH THE ARGENTINE PRESS

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Many refugee situations have occurred in Latin America in the past decade. International attention has generally focused on the root causes of the refugee problem while the conditions of the refugees have remained relatively obscure. The study reported on in this book attempts to contribute towards filling this gap in the literature by focusing on the situation of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico.

These refugees, who were generally inhabitants of rural areas caught up in a violent internal war, began crossing the border into Mexico in 1981. By 1984 there were some 43,000 of them in improvised settlements within the Mexican State of Chiapas. The Mexican Government responded to the challenge of providing for their physical safety and sustenance by moving them from the border area towards the eastern frontier States of Campeche and Quintana Roo, in a series of stages initiated in August 1984.

The book reports on research carried out in 1985 and 1986 by UNRISD and El Colegio de México in four resettlement schemes in order to document the resettlement experiment and to evaluate the impact of the programme on refugees. The study was undertaken with the specific intention of providing information on how self-reliance of refugees evolves in official assistance schemes.

Among the issues examined were: the background of the refugees in terms of training, skills, previous occupation, and the types of production structures the refugees were
formerly part of; the socio-economic relationships existing between individuals, households or groups within the refugee population itself, and the socio-economic relationships between the refugees and the surrounding host population; the sources from which the refugees obtain their food and income; and the identification of particularly vulnerable refugee groups. The study also assessed assistance programmes and considered what long-term solutions might exist that would facilitate integration into the receiving society and that would, at the same time, pay proper attention to the cultural characteristics of the refugee population.

An understanding of the cultural elements of the process proved to be particularly important given the common Mayan heritage of many refugees and local inhabitants. The impressive cultural resilience and resourcefulness of the refugees is repeatedly highlighted as is the remarkable degree of tolerance with which the refugees were received by Mexican villagers.

After considering the way in which the resettled population set out to re-establish a means of livelihood, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of national and international programmes designed to aid that process, the study makes a number of concrete suggestions for encouraging self-reliance and strengthening the activities already initiated by the refugees.
Survey of the Social and Economic Conditions of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

• Authors: Hanne Christensen and Wolf Scott
• Published in English, 1988

This book presents the findings of a study carried out in 1986 to determine the extent to which Afghan refugees residing in refugee villages were skill-endowed and self-sufficient in the sense of having sufficient income to support themselves.

The Afghan refugees in Pakistan are now numbered in millions. Viable means of livelihood have not been found for them and they are still sustained by a large-scale relief operation. As in most countries, finding employment has been the refugees' own affair.

The study was based on a survey of approximately 2,300 families in 58 villages. It was found that, apart from skills in agriculture, one in four of adult males claimed to have a skill. In the case of women, some two-thirds of adult females were skill-endowed. Many adults, however, had jobs requiring no skill, or no jobs at all.

By and large, possession of a skill or education did not help in finding employment. A large proportion of the male refugees seeking jobs succeeded in finding them, but the majority obtained only lowly, intermittent and often poorly paid employment. Most women were self-employed in the home, engaged in tailoring or handicraft activities which contributed a small income to the household budget.

With a median monthly income of about $22 per household, approximately 70 per cent of the households had insufficient income to cover minimum needs. The study found that one of the most vulnerable groups comprised newly arrived refugees. It took on average about two years for the refugees to "settle down" in terms of employment and income. In general, it was found that two or more income earners were needed per household to ensure that minimum needs were met.

Under these conditions, aid in the form of food and kerosene rations, as well as cash, played an important role. However, the aid distribution system resulted in relatively large numbers of households most in need getting no or insufficient wheat, while many relatively well-off families received rations.

The study also looked at social and cultural relations between the refugees and the surrounding local population. The majority of the refugees spoke the same language, Pashto, as the local people. Relationships between the two populations varied, however, from area to area. Positive relationships were found to be most frequent in urban concentrations with a long historical tradition of interaction between the two populations.
Emigración de uruguayos, colonias en el exterior y perspectivas de retorno

- Authors: Juan Carlos Fortuna, Nelly Niedworok and Adela Pellegrino
- Being considered for publication

Since the beginning of the last century immigration has played a crucial role in the development process in Uruguay. In the last 25 years, emigration has also become an important phenomenon. Between 1964 and 1981 an estimated 400,000 people, or 14 percent of the total population, left the country. By the mid-1970s, however, significant numbers were returning to Uruguay and by 1981 the number of people leaving the country was more or less equivalent to those returning.

The research reported on in this book, carried out by the Centro de Información y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU) analyses the scale, characteristics and impact of both the emigration and returnee phenomena. The study begins by locating these con-
temporary migration flows in a historical context. It then analyses the socio-demographic characteristics of those who emigrated and addresses the question of why they emigrated.

Turning to the returnee phenomenon, the study assesses the capacity of Uruguayan society to absorb returnees. It is argued that return flows could have a potentially positive effect on the society and economy, through the reunification of families and the influx of relatively qualified persons. Whether or not this potential is realized, however, is another matter, for the returnees must reintegrate into a society experiencing an acute economic crisis with open unemployment having reached 15 per cent. In short, the economy is not in a position to absorb large numbers of returnees. In these conditions, it is argued, government assistance to returnees should not just facilitate their physical return but also their reintegration in the society and economy.

On the basis of different scenarios of the scale and structure of return flows, the study analyses the impact of returnees on employment as well as on health and education services. The report also analyses the characteristics of certain Uruguayan migrant colonies abroad, focusing particularly on one such colony in Venezuela.

By dealing comprehensively with the issues and characteristics associated with return flows, the question of how returnees reintegrate into their society, and how public policies affect repatriation and reintegration, the study makes a contribution to the largely unchartered area of study on return migration.

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UNRISD, by its terms of reference, is intended to conduct research on the "relationships between various types of social development and economic development during different phases of economic growth". The improvement of socio-economic development statistics and of methods of analysing such statistics and monitoring actual progress has been an important component of the Institute's research. Work in this area has consisted of the following projects.

Measurement and Analysis of Socio-economic Development

This project has attempted to improve the quality of development indicators and the flow of data which are required in virtually every aspect of development work: analysis, prediction, modelling, monitoring and evaluation. Unfortunately, there continues to be a dearth of meaningful statistics particularly on the social side, and with respect to marginal groups. The Institute itself does not collect statistical data, except in relation to specific projects, but attempts to assist national and international agencies in three respects: (a) by critical reviews of existing data, concepts, indicators and uses made of quantitative data, (b) by creation of new concepts in studying the relationships between economic and social development, and (c) by developing innovative methods for use both in collection and analysis of quantitative socio-economic development data.

Development Monitoring Service at the Local Level

The objective of this project, which was terminated in 1986, was to set up and test a methodology and instruments for monitoring change in socio-economic conditions and for examining
the interrelationships of various factors in the development process at the local level as a guide to planning and policy-making. The local area rather than large aggregates such as a region or the country as a whole, may prove to be a more suitable unit for examining the impacts of development processes and for assessing whether people, particularly the poorest, are faring better or worse as regards nutrition, health, education, housing, safe drinking water, fuel, electricity, transport, employment and income, as well as how different groups and subgroups are affected and what are the factors responsible.

Research on local level monitoring was carried out principally in India, Indonesia and the Sudan.
Here the authors report on attempts to introduce a new, cost-effective method to complement development data from more conventional sources with better information about local level socio-economic changes in Kerala, India. They indicate some of the possibilities and problems encountered over five years of continuous monitoring of changes in socio-economic conditions and, in general, suggest that local level monitoring is both feasible and useful.

The local level, as opposed to larger aggregates such as the region or the nation, was found to constitute a more appropriate unit for examining the interrelationships of various factors in the development process. Analysis of global economic and social trends is clearly important, but the study shows that it would be well to verify implications for policy in the light of findings at the sub-national level of the kind presented here. While the five-year period during which change was observed in South India coincided with the deterioration of international conditions for developing countries, few signs of the crisis could be detected in Kerala. India as a whole was probably less affected than many other countries, perhaps as a result of the relative smallness of the foreign sector in its economy. Furthermore, whatever impacts the recession may have had within the country were strongly modified by a variety of local factors.

The book reports on two types of results: on substantive changes over the five years, and on methodological conclusions. The methodological conclusions are especially important, given the possibilities of employing this type of monitoring system in other countries. The study shows how local level monitoring can contribute better and more timely information on changing living conditions, as well as highlighting interrelationships that may explain why desired and planned changes do or do not take place and thus improving the effectiveness of planning in the future. The intended “users” are the planners and decision makers responsible for enhanced living conditions. In the context of Kerala, these would normally be found at the level
of the state government, although elsewhere they might be within provincial or national governments.

The components of levels of living studied are income, health, food and nutrition, education, transportation, housing (including household facilities and possessions) and "culture", which here includes entertainment. Considerable work was devoted to the selection of key indicators at household and community levels.

Particular attention was paid to changing conditions of the very poor. The development monitoring service seems to fill a gap in the information structure currently at the disposition of planners.

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Measurement and Analysis of Socio-economic Development

Authors: Donald McGranahan, Edmido Pizarro, Claude Richard
Published in English, 1986

This study is concerned with international measurement of socio-economic development and with methods of analysis of the relevant data.

The use of development indicators for socio-economic analysis has traditionally been affected by two major problems. First, many of the cross-national data that are being used in measurement are incomplete in coverage, lacking in comparability and reliability, or are a product of estimation or guess-work. As such, their usage tends to cast as much shadow as light upon the results of investigations. Second, the methods of analysis employed are not really suitable for the integrated analysis of cross-national social and economic develop-
The authors identify a number of specific development indicators that are widely used but do not measure what they are supposed to measure, or lack cross-national comparability or an adequate data base.

While, in the present state of the art, quantitative description and analysis of socio-economic development can all too easily be manipulated or can unwittingly prove misleading, nevertheless a serious and balanced approach to quantification is still the best hope for getting answers to many important questions about development. The present study addresses the question of what can and cannot be learnt from available cross-national quantitative data covering both social and economic conditions. It focuses on the need for careful selection of indicators and careful screening of available quantitative data; as well as the need for new methods of analysis appropriate to the study of socio-economic development through international (cross-national) data, taking account of the availability and quality of data and of the possibilities and limitations of analysis. Its interest lies particularly in joint measurement of social development and economic development, providing a combined perspective, and in quantitative analysis of the inter relations of economic and social development, using cross-national data at a given point in time. In order to critically assess the validity of cross-national data it was necessary to select a given year for which data could be screened. When the project began, the appropriate year in question was 1970.

The study undertakes a critique of existing data usages and seeks ways to improve quantitative description and analysis. Indicators have been evaluated and selected by application of a defined set of criteria; data have been screened and adjusted where that has appeared desirable for the sake of comparability; and new analytical methods, sometimes differing radically from those commonly employed in statistical analysis, have been explored in the belief that they may well be more suitable to the nature of international development data than earlier ones have been.

The analytical approach taken by the authors emphasizes, in the first instance, the identification of how development tends to be ordered empirically in the world today. Country profiles or patterns of development are then established which show in what respects individual countries tend to be in or out of line with other countries in their development. The study attempts to improve understanding of what is actually happening before offering generalizations about why it is happening.

The development profile, based on up to 19 selected indicators, is proposed as yielding a picture of a country's overall social and economic development that is superior to any attempt at using a single indicator such as GDP per capita or a synthetic socio-economic index to cover overall development. The profile immediately shows the difference between a country's level of development on different indicators. At the same time, the amount of deviation of a particular indicator from a country's general level of development can also be measured.

Development profiles are provided in the book for 77 countries, which include all countries in the world with a population exceeding one million people for which data on at least 12 of the 19 selected indicators were available.
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The Director of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, Santiago,
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1/ Joint project UNRISD-UNU-TWF.
2/ Ms. Christensen is on loan to UNRISD from UNICEF.