

CHANGING PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN
A RURAL PROBLEM AREA OF URUGUAY

by

Charles H. Proctor

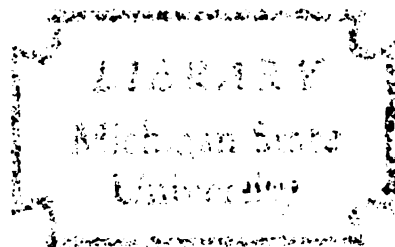
A THESIS

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1956



The site of the study is a small town, population 900, and the surrounding country with its 841 family farms, located about fifty miles north of Montevideo, Uruguay. Information was collected through the "participant-observer" and questionnaire techniques on the patterns of social interaction accompanying economic exchange, political and associational activities. Additional information on the society was presented in order to better understand the setting within which social change is taking place.

The research objective was the discovery and explanation of some of the more commonly occurring ways in which the social organizations of economic exchange, politics and associations were changing. The changes in independent variables relevant to changes in the structure of economic exchange relationships were found to be: favorable prices for farm produce, increase in the number of truckers, increase in information on market conditions and "new ideas" stating: "farm less, but do it better," along with an increase in the man-land ratio. Changes in the structure of economic exchange relationships were: a shift from a "star" contact-no-contact structure (a single middleman constitutes the only outlet for produce of a large number of farmers) with a one-way leadership pattern (middleman dominates the farmer) to a decentralized contact-no-contact structure (many lesser middlemen specialized in the marketing of certain types of farm produce) with a two-way leadership pattern.

This shift takes place largely in two ways: (1) as a result of a relative prosperity farmers have asserted their independence

CHARLES PROCTOR

by breaking with the larger middlemen and (2) as a result of the "new ideas" farmers have tended to concentrate on garden crops, rather than field crops, which are marketed almost directly by the farmer himself.

The changes in independent variables relevant to changes in the structure of political organizations were found to be: (1) continuation of a socialistic-type legislation which allows considerable benefits to be distributed by the government while placing responsibility for the administration of these benefits in the hands of lesser and local government officials and (2) the increasing use of a "pragmatic" ethic in politician-constituent relationships replacing the sentimental-patriotic ethic. Under these conditions a larger number of persons specialized in law or business find themselves able to gain patronage for others and thus to become, themselves, politically influential. On the local level political "clubs" are organized less around a single leader and more around a "team," and a strong tendency to smaller factions is evident. Leadership still is in the hands of the political bosses.

Current changes in the social organization of associations are less responsive to external forces and depend more upon conditions within the town and rural area. The associations, political organizations, and economic structures are closely related. Many of the same people occupy prominent positions in all three. A pattern of "sponsorship" of promising leaders by already prominent men was found whereby a political boss may aid a younger man to start his

$\mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}) = \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_1 \oplus \mathcal{H}_2) = \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_1) \oplus \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_2)$ and $\mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_1 \oplus \mathcal{H}_2) = \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_1) \oplus \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{H}_2)$.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

[illegible]

100

Journal of Interpersonal Violence 26(10)

$$= \frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} \int_0^{\infty} \exp(-t^2) dt = \frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} \left(\frac{\sqrt{\pi}}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{2}$$

Figure 10. The effect of the initial concentration of the monomer on the polymerization of α -methylstyrene initiated by $\text{C}_6\text{H}_5\text{MgBr}$ in THF at -78°C for 24 h. The concentration of the initiator was 0.01 mol l^{-1} .

— 201 —

1. *Prüfung* 2. *Prüfung* 3. *Prüfung* 4. *Prüfung* 5. *Prüfung* 6. *Prüfung* 7. *Prüfung* 8. *Prüfung* 9. *Prüfung* 10. *Prüfung*

1. *What is the effect of the following on the demand for a good?*

and the following conditions are satisfied:

For the purpose of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. 1990-1991: 1st year of the 1990s

the day I took to sea. I did not go to the beach, and

[illegible]

• The value of α (0.001 to 0.1) is obtained from the "alpha" column.

...and the other two are the same as the first two.

2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 26

[illegible]

10. The following table shows the number of people who have been convicted of a crime in the United States since 1970, by race and sex.

[illegible]

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Lichtenthal and Whistler (1973).

CHARLES PROCTOR

business or become a leader in an association. The existing pattern of oscillation of the elite fits with this pattern of sponsorship and also with the pattern of conflicting factions or subgroups.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences in its administration of the Southern Zone, Project 39 of the Program of Technical Cooperation under the support of the Organization of American States placed the investigator in the field where he was employed as rural sociologist for two years. Time and a minimum of interference were positive contributions of this agency. More than this, staff members such as Dr. Harry C. Ramsower and Dr. José Marull, as well as the zone director Ing. Manuel Elgueta made substantive additions to the content of the thesis as the investigator tried out his interpretations of events against their knowledge of the study area.

The greatest debt of all is owed the countless Uruguayan professionals, administrators and, of course, the people in the study area. Ings. Federico Rolfo and Alfredo Weiss, both of the Ministerio de Ganadería y Agricultura and of the Facultad de Agronomía were especially helpful in communicating to the investigator the results of their experiences and interpretations of agrarian policy. A great share of the data collection in the study area was carried out by the fellowship students, Gorky Villalba and Roberto Motta. In spite of cold and rainy weather, competition for jeeps, a loosely defined task, and a bothersome North American sociólogo these two accomplished over two hundred interviews in farm houses.

To the people of the study area, both in the towns of San Ba utista and Castellanos and in the open country, we extend

muchas gracias. References to particular individuals are largely avoided in the presentation of the data, but no special attempt to preserve anonymity was made. It is sincerely hoped that this will offend no one. Recognizing the spirit of unselfish helpfulness which don Miguel Villalba and don Pedro Maravotto of San Bautista tended the study, I am sure they will forgive their rather prominent appearance in the following pages.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
Development of the Problem	1
Theory	4
Hypotheses of the Theoretical Schema	4
General Principles of Explanations	4
Explanations of Paths	6
Position of the Theoretical Schema of this Study	
in Current Developments of the Field	7
Position of the Study in Applied Social Science . .	10
Methods	11
Fieldwork in the Town	11
Fieldwork in the Country	16
Sampling Reliability of Results	17
Interviews with Middlemen	18
Scope of the Data Collected	20
Outline of Subsequent Chapters	21
II. BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA . .	23
Introduction	23
San Bautista	24
Spatial Location of the People Studied	24
The Land of San Bautista Section	26
Origin of the Population	30
The Rural Population	32
The Town Population	33

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CHAPTER	PAGE
Rural Settlement Pattern	37
Recurrent Movement of the Rural Population	37
Trade and Service Area	39
Rural Neighborhoods	42
Visiting	45
Farming and Family Life: Physical Setting	47
Farming and Family Life: Levels of Living	52
Farm Family Daily Cycles of Activity	54
Farm Family Seasonal Round of Activities	56
Farm Family Life History	56
Town and Country Differences in Viewpoints	57
The World Outside San Bautista	61
Basic Cultural Patterns	61
Economics	63
Politics	67
Contacts Between San Bautista and the	
World Outside	71
Changing Economic Conditions	71
Changing Political Conditions	72
Changing Cultural Conditions	76
Overview of the Study Area	79
III. PARTICIPANTS AND PAIR-RELATIONSHIPS IN	
ECONOMIC STRUCTURES	85
Scope and Program of the Chapter	85
Characterization of Farm-Family Units	87
Orientation to "Low-Pressure" Enjoyments	87

CHAPTER	PAGE
Bluffing	90
Honesty versus Dishonesty	91
Evaluation of Personal Traits	94
Standards of Living	97
Specific Farming Standards of Farm-Family Units . .	103
Introduction to the List of Input-Output	
Relationships	106
Input-Output Relationships	107
Summary and Further Comments on the Farm-	
Family Units	113
Characterization of the Tradesman as a Unit	118
Methodological Note	119
Sketches of Middlemen--the "Strong" Type	120
How They Became <u>Acopiadores</u> ?	124
Characteristics of the Middleman Unit	125
Growth and Decline of Middlemen	129
Input-Output Relationships of Strong Middlemen . .	130
Sketches of Lesser Middlemen or Specialists	131
How They Became Lesser Middlemen or Specialists . .	132
Style of Actions of Lesser Middlemen	133
Summary and Further Comments on the	
Middlemen and Specialists	134
Pair Relationships of Economic Exchange Between	
Farm Family and Middleman	136
Introduction	136

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CHAPTER	PAGE
Unlimited versus Limited Content of the Relationship	137
Fixed Client versus Transitory Client	137
Farmers-Montevideo Markets and Farmer-Trucker . . .	143
Other Pair Relationships	146
IV. AREA-WIDE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND CHANGE	149
Introduction	149
Present Structure of Exchange Relationships	150
Change in the Structure	152
Explanation of Path I	156
Conclusions to the Analysis of Path I and the Use of the Concept, Adaptiveness	165
Explanation of Path II	167
Summary	177
V. POLITICAL AND ASSOCIATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	180
Introduction	180
Political Activities	181
Description of a Typical Local Political Organization or Faction	184
Other Local Political Factions	191
Outline of a Farm Family's Decision as to which Faction to Support	193
Importance of the <u>Caudillo's</u> Personal Qualities . .	195
Importance of Traditional and Patriotic Sentiments	196
Importance of the <u>Caudillo's</u> Political Influence .	198

CHAPTER	PAGE
Change in the Social Organization of Political Activities	201
Associational Structures	210
Description of Some Associational Activities	210
Social Structure in Associational Activities	218
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	226
Overview of the Thesis	226
Summary of Chapter III, Participants and Pair- Relationships in Economic Structures, and Chapter IV, Area-wide Economic Structures and Structural Change	228
Summary of Chapter V, Political and Associational Organizations	233
Contributions to Substantive Sociology	238
Implications of the Study for Applied Social Science: The Case of the Institute's Program	243
Future Trends	252
BIBLIOGRAPHY	255
List of Numbered References	255
General References	259
APPENDICES	261
Appendix A: Tabulations from the 1951 Uruguayan Agricultural Census	262
Appendix B: Typology of Farm-Family Unit's Ways of Reacting to New Technological Knowledge	270

CHAPTER

PAGE

Appendix C: Discussion of Probability Models

Suggested for Use in the Representation of

Structural Changes 278

GLOSSARY 283

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I. Place of Parent's Residence Relative to Present Residence of Farm Family	31
II. Forty-two Farm Families Classified by Length of Residence on the Present Holding	32
III. Forty-one Farm Families Classified by Number of Persons Living on the Farm	33
IV. Forty-one Farm Families Classified by Time of Trip to San Bautista From Farm and by Mode of Transport	38
V. Amount of Church Attendance Among Farm Family Sample	41
VI. Frequency of Visits to Boliches Among Forty- one Male Farm Family Heads	43
VII. Number of Farm Families Reporting Various Numbers of Visits During the Fast Week with Friends and Relatives	46
VIII. Average Age at Marriage for the Years 1950- 1953, San Bautista Section (Both Town and Country)	56
IX. Number of Baptisms for Selected Years 1920- 1954, San Bautista Section (Both Town and Country)	56

TABLE	PAGE
X. Responses of Forty-one Farmers Telling How They Would Spend 500 Pesos and 5,000 Pesos .	99
XI. Type of Person to Whom the Forty-one Farmers Sold Their Wheat, Corn and Garden Crops . .	151
XII. Classification of Farms by Presence or Absence of Wheat and of Saleable Quantities of Garden Produce	163
XIII. Further Breakdown of Table XII by Labor Supply and Size of Holding	170
XIV. Farm Families Classified by Age of Head of Family and Size of Farm	171
XV. Further Description of Cases Tabulated in Table XIV	172
XVI. Reproduction of Table XV With Only the Normal Family Units Being Classified	173
XVII. Number of Farmers Utilizing Various Market Outlets for Their Garden-Type Produce . . .	176
XVIII. Breakdown by Political Faction of the 2,833 Votes Cast in the Uruguayan National Elections in the Section of San Bautista, November 28, 1954	183
XXIX. Participation in Selected Activities by Some Member of the Farm-Family Units in the Forty- one Farm Sample	219

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TABLE	PAGE
XX. Participation Role of Some Member of the Farm Family in the Associational Activities, Forty-one Farm Sample	219
XXI. Size of Farm Holding in the Section of San Bautista and the Department of Canelones, 1951	262
XXII. Tenure Status of Farms of the Section of San Bautista and the Department of Canelones, 1951	263
XXIII. Utilization of the Land in the Section of San Bautista and in the Department of Canelones (Including the Section of San Bautista), 1951	264
XXIV. Land in Garden Crops and Field Crops Depart- ment of Canelones, 1951	265
XXV. Land in Field Crops: San Bautista Section, 1951	266
XXVI. Enumeration of Selected Items on Farms in the Section of San Bautista and the Department of Canelones, 1951)	267
XXVII. Size of Farm Holding Operated, 41-Farm Sample, San Bautista District, 1954	268
XXVIII. Tenure Status of Farm Operators, 41-Farm Sample, San Bautista District, 1954 and 1955	269
XXIX. Tenure Status by Size of Farm for the 41-Farm Sample of the Section of San Bautista, 1953	269



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.....

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LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Chart of 98 Percent Confidence Intervals for Forty-one Farm Sample Proportions	19
2. Location of the Study Area	27
3. Landmarks in the Section of San Bautista, Uruguay . .	28
4. Age-Sex Pyramid for the Rural Population of the Section of San Bautista, 1954	34
5. Age-Sex Pyramid for the Town of San Bautista, 1953 . .	35

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Development of the Problem. The present study attempts an exploration of changing patterns of economic, political, and associational structures in a rural area of Uruguay. Uruguay, one of the smaller Latin American republics, is located between Argentina to the west and Brazil to the north, while fronting on the Rio de la Plata to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. The study area is about fifty miles north of the Uruguayan capitol, Montevideo, in a region of small, mixed-crop farms.¹ The study area is bounded by the political limits of the San Bautista Section.² There are some 4,500 persons distributed over approximately 77 square miles. About three-fourths of the people reside in the open country.

In September of 1953, the investigator arrived in Uruguay to work for two years as rural sociologist with the Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences.³ His primary task was to collect basic information on the social patterns among the rural population, which information was to be employed in the operation of an agricultural extension program. This agricultural and rural homemaking extension

¹Figures 2 and 3 provide maps by which to locate the area.

²See Figure 3.

³In Chapter VI under the subheading "Implications of the Study for Applied Social Science: The Case of the Institute's program," is found a description of this organization.

[illegible]

Throughout the early stages of data collection, the informant's ill health was a potential hindrance to the research. However, his participation in similar studies in the past, and a little was learned about many aspects of the film culture. Only after the influence of a number of medical factors was the decision made to concentrate on a subject such as the problem of exploitation in cinema, political, social and institutional structures.

Three interviews with the staff of the research project and 1 science are intervention into the background of this decision. "The 1960s and 1970s socialists have been transferred of new, the 1980s, scepticism on the part of many members of the scientific staff, as well as on the part of laymen connected to the project, either as co-participants or as change "the 1980s." This scepticism stems from a general necessity that is often found in the research community to be "neutral" in order to avoid the criticism of "partisanship" or "perspective" in the field. However, the influence of children upon parents' orientation in the 1980s is evident in interviews with the staff, this appeared in the

the need. And when the existing stereotypes of the grasping hand
in ineffectual action were voiced by the stentors, the conviction
to explore the network of social interaction involving these
difficulties started to solidify. In a sense these stereotypes consti-
tuted the first null hypotheses.

Once the empirical existence of the problem was recognized,
it was then verified that the problem was, in fact, one relevant to
the development of sociological theory. Certainly there existed a
large number of hypotheses explaining aspects of such social struc-
tures and it would be of value to assess the validity and limitations
of such hypotheses by means of the data on a little-studied society.
In addition, certain more general aspects of theory construction
could be exposed to testing.

Can social structures be studied through the identification and
examination of certain sub-processes or rates, as they will be called?
Is it possible to assess the relative "importance" of certain sub-
processes? Is it possible to assess the relative importance of
certain factors in the explanation of sub-processes or rates? The
first question can probably be answered affirmatively on the basis
of previous studies. The notion that a social structure at any point
in time represents a momentary equilibrium resulting from a past period
of incessant change reappears in any theoretical study. The second
question asks one to count the relative frequency of rates. This can,
theoretically, be done if the rates can be identified and operationally
defined. Finally, the third question asks about the relative
alternative roles of explanation relative to social structures. The

appear to be open, is, at least, not to exhibit, but certain
ones have been explained in one or more, while others are to be
explained in the other. The following study, then, is an
attempt to provide the beginnings of answers to these questions
in the case of the economic, political, and associational structures
in San Francisco.

2. PLAN

Hypotheses of the Theoretical Scheme. One of the hypotheses
is that changes in social structures are random or "unexplainable."
This is the null hypothesis. The alternative hypotheses are
scattered throughout the study and they state that some changes in
social structures are explainable and patterned changes. The general
principles by which the explanations are constructed can be made ex-
plicit. However, the specific content of the explanations is much
more elusive.

General principles of interactions. The changes to be investi-
gated are changes in the form of certain types of social interaction.⁶
but not all social interaction is under study. Specifically, the
focus is upon (the form of social interaction present in) economic
exchange activities and in political and associational activities.
Although there are forms of social interaction characteristic of
friendships and families, these particular forms will not be analyzed.

It is assumed that the form of social interaction is separable



specification of the social structure. The specification of the
structure of the social structure is: (1) the social structure is a
structure and (2) the social structure is a structure, i.e.,
i.e., the social structure is a structure, i.e., the social structure is a structure.

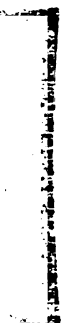
Given social structure is defined as specifying the social structure
which there exists a social relationship and by which the social structure is defined
pattern of leadership relationships and there is a social
relationship.

Characteristics of social structure involving all of the
for - units and social units, i.e., military, political
borders, organizational specialists, etc., in the structure of the
of a polar type of. The social pattern of the social structure
structure is defined as a very low unit in a social structure
others and the others (the "operational" units) are in contact with
only a single one of the "operational" units. The relative relative
Pattern is typified by an increased number of control units and the
operational units having a high level of control units and control
units. The operational pattern of leadership is defined as the control
of the control units over a wide range of the social structure, i.e.,
operational units, while the operational leadership pattern is defined as the
control of the operational units over a wide range of the social structure.

Given social structure is defined as specifying the social structure
and the structure of the social structure is defined as the social structure
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Given social structure is defined as specifying the social structure
and the structure of the social structure.

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Here representative of the theoretical approach of the author to the nature of the unit, is that of game theory (1), with its emphasis on the central role of large rationality in the discovery and use of utility functions (2, 3). In this connection, as well as several studies in the social psychology indicated that such notions need in the present state of the sciences to be re-evaluated (4).

A series of books with generalizing conceptual focuses in economics, politics, culture, institutional structures and general management. (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13).

[illegible]

1. The first term is $\frac{1}{2} \int_{\mathbb{R}^d} |\nabla u|^2 dx$, the kinetic energy.



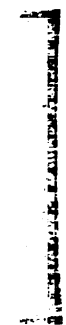
John L. Lowell (11), Thomas J. Harris (12), Marvin L. Miller (13), Samuel Alers-Montalvo (14), and Thomas Blair (15). Each of these studies, like the present one, has its specific interest focus. Lowell attacked the family and friendship structures through sociometric techniques; Harris looked at the more internal motivations behind the formalities of status and power on an island; Miller was primarily concerned with ecological differentiations; Alers-Montalvo worked on the problem of the spread of new techniques through the prestige and family/friendship structures; while Blair concentrated upon networks and the selective passage of communications into a community.

Differences among the currently employed theoretical schemes were considered to be differences in degree of emphasis upon one or the other modes of explanation. Given the fact that these modes were not seen to be mutually contradictory, the study does not attempt to prove or to disprove them. The problem is rather: what should be given salience in a particular context? Given the nature of the society of San Juaniste, which mode of explanation has the greater explanatory power? The answer here is uncomplicated. Insofar as the interaction to be explained is primarily organized around culturally defined tasks, then the social anthropological type of explanation has greatest power. Insofar as the interaction is organized around the differential payoffs to participants, here the other mode of explanation is appropriate.

It would be a fairer estimate to say that the
total of the above is \$110.00. There is no
not officially known of the above information.
Institute work, particularly in the
cost in the above is \$110.00.

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.



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All members?

Confidential Source. On March 1, 1964, the informant advised that he had been contacted by a person who identified himself as "John Doe". The informant stated that "John Doe" had been contacted by a person who identified himself as "John Doe". The informant stated that "John Doe" had been contacted by a person who identified himself as "John Doe".

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It was possible to become a participant in the society of these
houses. And as time went on, the investigator became more and more a

center of the village of ... is also true.¹² This latter identification was especially evident on trips to the surrounding countryside where were frequent. A less time was available to maintain social contacts with the wider levels of families in the town. The restaurant became the arena of the majority of his contacts with the people.

Under these conditions the events observed by the investigator were "selected" and so were the second-hand reports. He was identified to a great extent as a tourist and was expected to behave as a tourist. The more "favorable" aspects of life were shown to him and reports of pleasurable occasions were selected for his hearing. And as it was seen that his job had certain unpleasant features, as he began to be accepted as a participating member of the community, and as he already knew most of the commonplace customs, conversations increasingly extracted were "private" topics.

As he was unavoidably, that is physically, present on many occasions when delicate topics had to be discussed, more of the undercurrents of life became apparent. The restaurant was a regular stopping place for salesmen passing through the rural zone, and many conversations there dealt with commodities of the people of the Paulista with those from other parts of Brazil. The few people with whom he was more closely tied represented a variety of social positions. In the course of these close associations, he was introduced to a large

12. In many other ways field techniques were similar to those reported by William F. Davis, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) pp. 137-38.

sure of the town social structure. A questioning attitude led these persons to attempt to justify their own actions and to explain the actions of others. But more than once, overly direct questions led to tense silences.

As an initial project the patterns of "getting a living" were investigated. This was a topic discussed primarily with the businessmen of the town and revolved around the buying habits of their clients. Country people were compared to town people on this basis. Then later the question of the businessman's social contacts with his customers and with his employees was introduced. Finally the problems of politics and associations were discussed. In these last areas the informants became much more reluctant to divulge their actions and beliefs. They would talk about the affairs of the social club or of the school among themselves, but not, in general, with the investigator. The exceptions to this were the few persons with whom the investigator had closest ties.

Usually the investigator carried a clip board, but as a rule did not take extensive notes during conversations. It was hoped that creating in people the expectation of note-taking would make it easier for the investigator later on to write in their presence. At the reverse happened. At the beginning of fieldwork his note-taking was more extensive than later. This was a result of the more "private" nature of later conversations. The writer became more comfortable in taking notes as he was more accepted as a community member.

During siesta time, after lunch, the notes were organized and

transcribed.¹¹ This was done frequently in the company of Terry Villalba, who was then questioned about details, e.g., of the language. Interpretations were formulated along with data collection and were many times checked against information held by Terry and other information in the notes.

As far as could be determined, negative reactions of the people against the writer were minimal. One of the major problems of role definition was produced by the writer's tendency to concentrate on gaining the confidence of certain informants at a stage in the field work when their cooperation was especially necessary. Then later this close tie would not be maintained. A certain number of invitations to intimate social gatherings, private dinners and outings, were refused with consequent embarrassment to both parties. Refusing to enter a more intimate relationship was probably overall beneficial to the quality and especially the quantity and variety of information gathered, but did result in loss of the "depth" type of information.

Fieldwork in the Country. Unlike interviewing in the town, most contacts with farm families were mediated by an interviewing schedule. As in the town, initial contacts with farm people were made by way of the "cross-roads" small stores and bars, the boliches. One of the major purposes of conversations in these stores was the compilation of a list of farm homes from which list a random sample was drawn. A schedule for the head of the farm family was constructed, pretested, revised, and finally administered to 42 farm families in the section.

¹¹ The notes were recorded on loose pages in chronological order. Unfortunately no indexing techniques were employed and a faulty memory of the sequence of topics has resulted in extended searches for certain data.

Corly Villalba and another fellowship student, Roberto Lette, were responsible for a major share of the interviewing. The writer participated in the pre-tests and helped to standardize and polish interviewing style, but was present at very few of the final interviews. The entry of an American was found to be a disturbing element. Even later when his presence was common knowledge and he did considerable interviewing with another schedule, many farm people were more than commonly uncomfortable talking with an American.

Despite efforts to attain a standardized interview situation, each interview presented its own peculiar nature. The informants could be classified into talkative, perhaps the majority, or taciturn. And when they were men of few words, they were tacit with a vengeance. There were perhaps ten interviews conducted with informants who made only one-word responses. On the other hand, many interviews saw the "recorder"¹² always falling far behind the flow of words.

Both questions of a "factual" nature (demographic, on-the-farm enterprises, social participation, work history, etc.) and those of a subjective nature (attitudes//toward technological changes, toward schooling, etc.) were asked. The opinion questions were a patent failure, and it is not known to what extent the blame should be placed on the method or on the theory. Both were in some measure at fault. the purpose of the opinion-type questions was not understood, but neither were the questions.

¹²Both Corly and Roberto were present at each interview. One was assigned (at random) the task of conversing, while the other recorded the responses. Informants frequently made joking comments about the recorder and especially if they could not read, took great interest in his note taking.

[illegible]

That is what I've learned consistently: His attempt to explain the economic reality of the Negro to a "white" interviewer, the center, variety in interviewing situations. When the interview was accepted by the Farm Family, he was wholly accepted, and in order when such favorable conditions occurred two or three hours when the to visit the fields, to eat, and to sleep, to drink, to smoke, to go to the store for a ride in the jeep. But if the Family was reluctant, the interview would close within a half hour, usually, the end for uncomfortable silences.¹⁴

¹³ See, however, the discussion of "In Pils" in Chapter 14.

11 This experience was largely responsible for the writer's statement about the relative lack of utilization of earlier patterns (Chapter II). Some soldiers could make only either the role identification of "acquaintance" or of "stranger" to the interviewer. Examples of the interviewer as well as the soldier for the term "stranger" and "old" patterns. It is difficult to find a middle ground for the stranger.

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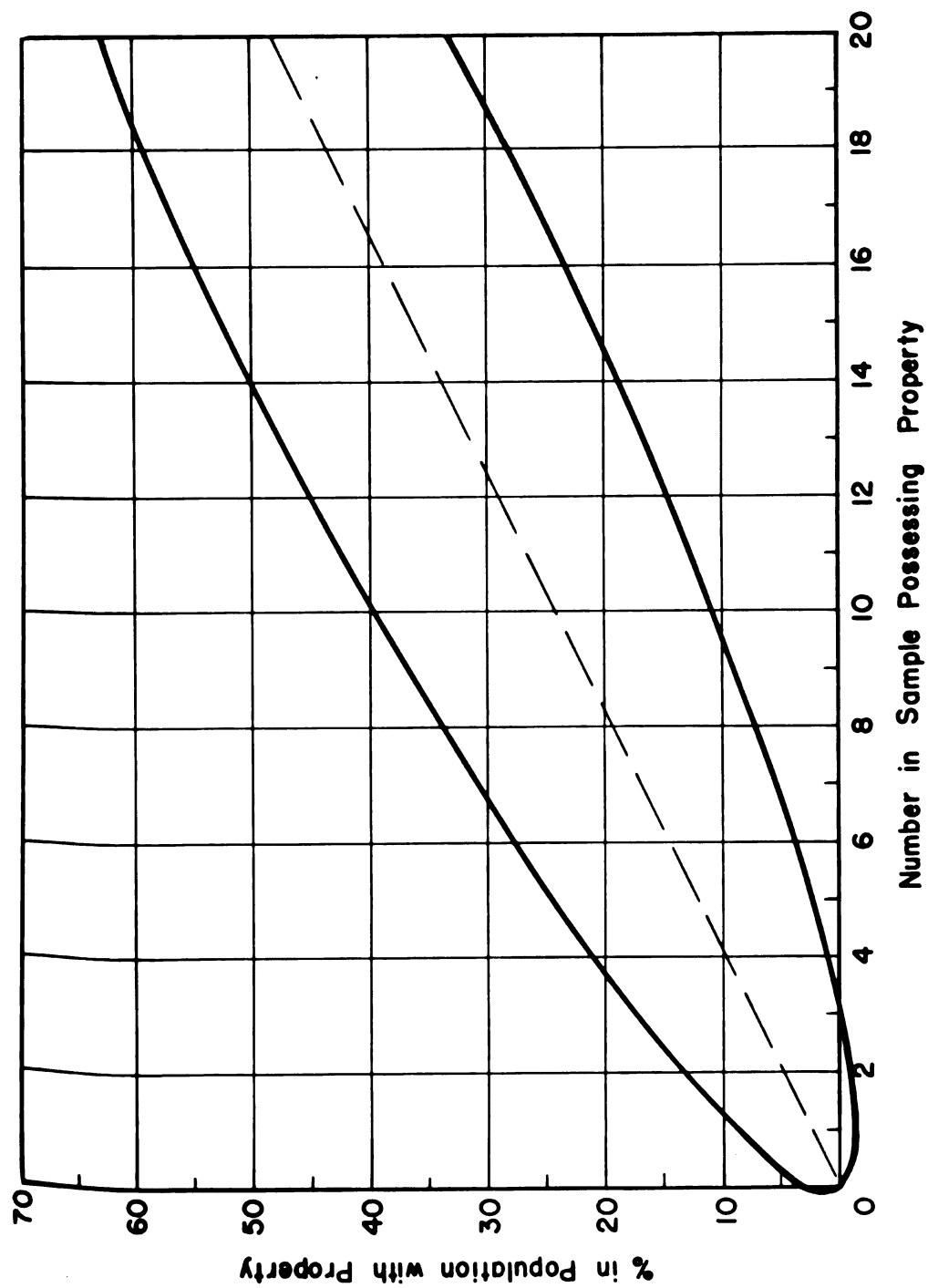
On this occasion, the estimation of confidence intervals
estimated can be done with a fair degree of justification. The
certainty interval can be estimated. The confidence interval is
The sample selected was a partial resident of the area, this portion
then half of the time is acceptable. For this reason, most of the
were done on only the 41 associated interviewers, and the sample
sample is the 14 is even which confidence intervals were estimated.
In selecting the ten territories to be interviewed, stratification of
rural and suburban was employed with probably some increase in
efficiency of the estimates.

Confidence intervals with a coefficient of confidence of 98 percent
are provided in Figure 1. The findings, it was found that **five**
of the 41 had never heard of the Institute's agricultural extension
program. From Figure 2 it is seen that the survey cut across the
vertical line above 5 at about 3 percent and 25 percent; this can
state that the true percent of the population which does not know of
the program is between **3 percent** and **25 percent**. Such statements are
true 98 percent of the time.

Interviews with Residents. The above research activities took
place between January and August of 1954. In April the investigator
resided¹⁵ in San Bartista and adopted a pattern of regular
visits to the Section. Work on other phases of the "applied soci-
ology" problem took him to other places within the Demonstration
Area. A series of 25 unstructured interviews with farmers in the

¹⁵ "Residence" were exclusively four days in and two days out
of San Bartista, followed again by four days in San Bartista and
two days in Monterillo. The investigator's wife and children were
visit to the town but did not live there.

FIGURE 1. CHART OF 98 PERCENT CONFIDENCE INTERVALS
FOR FORTY-ONE FARM SAMPLE



the 1920s and 1930s when the rural sector of Costa Rica was generally poor and practices were helpful in adjusting the pattern of production to the land.¹⁰ Some of structured interviews with farmers in the rural neighborhoods of Costa Rica and Costa del Tal in the section of San José in the area of the "barrios" enter into the Survey's collection, but were not especially relevant to the present study.

Of special interest to this study were a series of unstructured interviews with rural middlemen. This was in a sense an "after thought" attempt to explore some hypotheses, many of which are included in this study, about the role of these middlemen. The subjects of these interviews are listed in Chapter II, Part II. The announced purpose of the writer's visit was to talk over the distribution of hybrid corn seed. This was of business interest to the middlemen and allowed the investigator to ask for details of the middleman's operation. The interviews were almost invariably a pleasurable experience for the writer as well as the middleman.

There was no attempt to randomly select middlemen to be interviewed. Middlemen operating outside of and on the fringes of the Demonstration Area were contacted, and without doubt as many were missed as were interviewed.

Scope of Data Collected. Although most of the data utilized in the study were produced by field work within the section of San José, certain portions of the data were collected in other parts of the larger Demonstration Area. The data on economic exchange

...which is the official boundary of the official district. The regulation which is to be the basis of the district is that. There are four other districts of the official, the official district is the official district, but the official district is only a small portion of a rather large district of the official district, therefore, is not of great significance for the present purposes. The official district is the larger of the two and its boundaries are those official in this district.¹

In addition to the political and administrative boundaries, there are the more informally defined boundaries of the local and of the rural neighborhoods (barrios). The boundaries of towns in Uruguay are generally also political or local boundaries. But even with the official map (showing property boundaries) in front of us and in the presence of the secretary of the Junta local (town council), it was discovered that the boundaries were not so officially, not exactly, specified. This fact remains is associated with the fact that the boundaries of the town are divided more by local local conclusions than by the same state transit. Some of the local problema, in its economic sense, can be specified to discover its common denotation. This usage definition of problema implies not is implied by the definition of problema (rural area). Area which is not

¹ The maps which were available were not sufficiently up-to-date as to rural roads to allow these boundaries to be fixed exactly. The local officials concerned with such boundaries, the police chief and the judge of the district, were generally able to locate the boundaries when in their immediate vicinity but were local it was necessary to work them on the map. The available maps showed a certain amount of error.



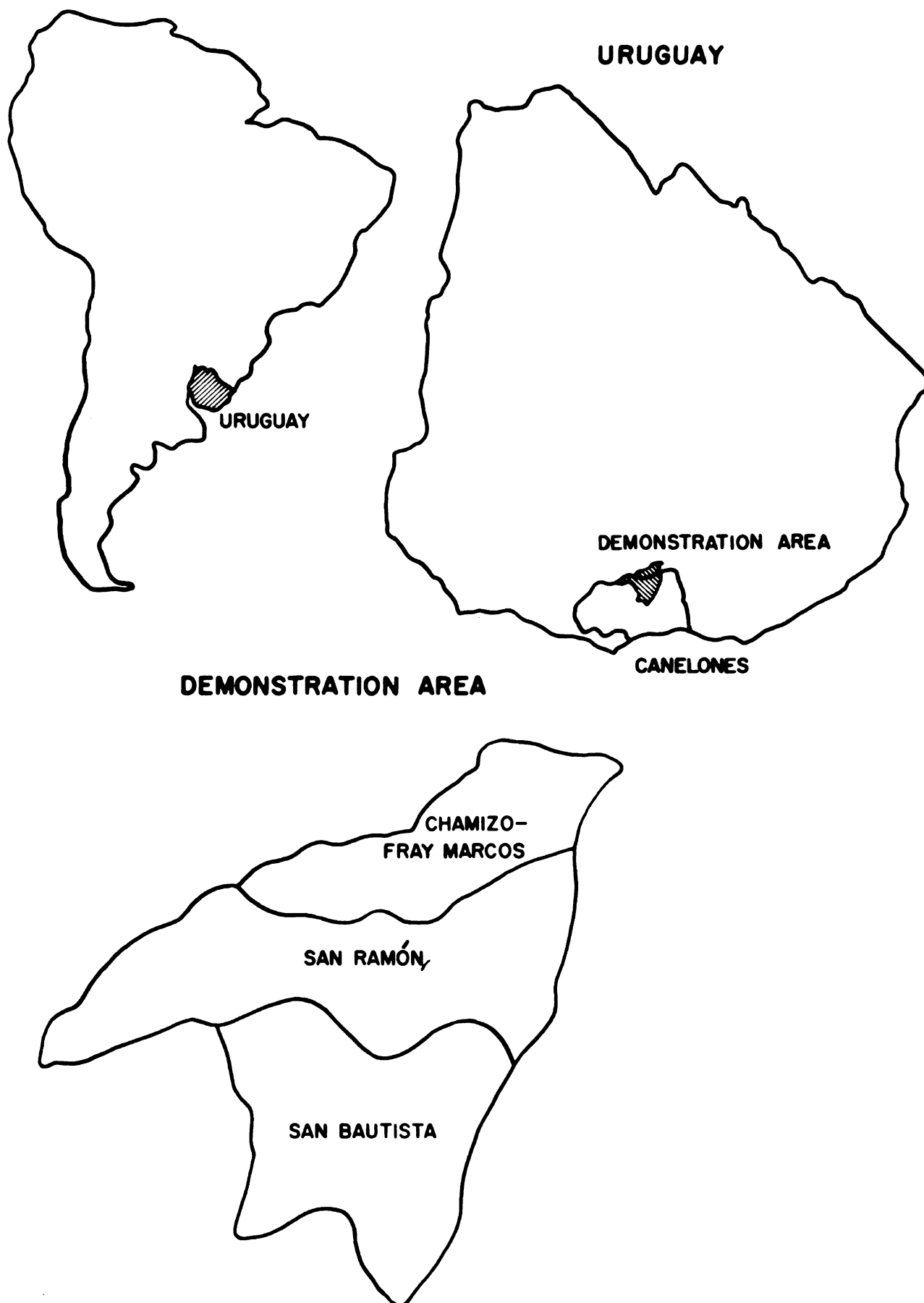


FIGURE 2. LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA

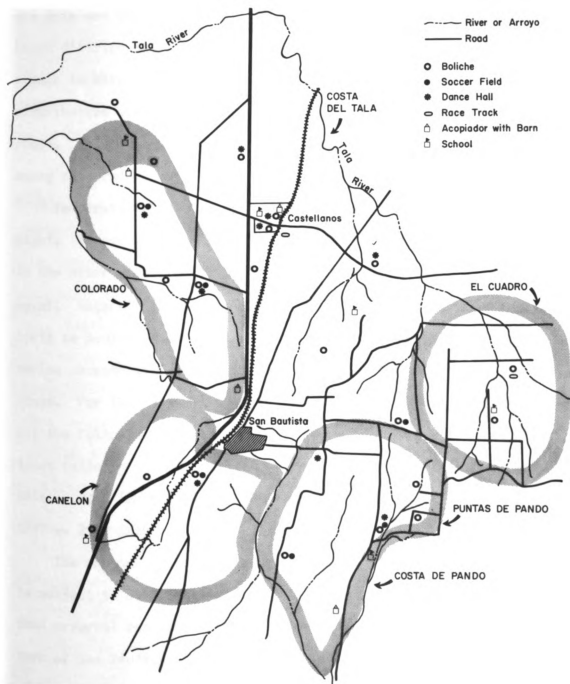


FIGURE 3. LANDMARKS IN THE SECTION OF SAN BAUTISTA, URUGUAY

In general, however, the farm families appear to be located with a strong tenaciousness to their neighborhood. This can be inferred from the data of Table I. Here it is seen that even across generations there is residential stability of the population.

TABLE I.

PLACE OF PARENT'S RESIDENCE RELATIVE
TO PRESENT RESIDENCE OF FARM FAMILY

Place of Parent's Residence	Frequency
Within the same <u>paraje</u>	33
In a neighboring <u>paraje</u>	5
Farther away	3

Although all of the family heads of Table I are males, the residence pattern is not more patri-local than matri-local. There is a collusion--both the husband and the wife very frequently come from the same rural neighborhood.⁵

In order to provide further assurance of this stability of residence and to investigate it over the life history of the farm-family unit, Table II was constructed.

⁵When examining the recently recorded marriages in the office of the local judge of San Bautista a rough count showed that well over half of all marriages were between nearby families. This came as somewhat of a surprise to several informants who had noted the more "spectacular" cases of courtships which required the young man to set out by bus or on horseback to make his weekly visit on a Sunday afternoon.

TABLE II
FORTY-TWO FARM-FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY LENGTH OF
RESIDENCE ON THE PRESENT HOLDING

Years of Residence on the Same Farm	Frequency
0 - 4 years	5
5 - 9 years	4
10 - 14 years	5
15 - 29 years	14
30 - more	14

Thus although the present rural population of the Section is a relatively "recent" arrival it has become quite settled and appears, as shall be seen later, to be attached to localities. The origin of the town population appears to be similar; in fact the surrounding rural area probably constitutes the source of the town population, possibly a more important source than reproduction within the town itself.

The Rural Population. The forty-one farm-family sample⁶ is the basic group through whose characteristics it is proposed to view the entire farm population of the District. Living on the forty-one farms were found a total of 169 persons giving a persons-per-farm ratio of about 4.12. The distribution of number of persons per farm is given in Table III.

⁶Sampling procedures and errors were discussed in Part II of Chapter I.

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TABLE III
 FORTY-ONE FARM-FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF
 PERSONS LIVING ON THE FARM

Number of Persons Living on Farm	Frequency
1	2
2	5
3	6
4	14
5	5
6	6
7	2
8	1

Thus the four-person farm-family unit is "typical." In the great majority of cases the farm-family is the nuclear family. In only 6 cases relatives other than parents and children were living on the farm.

In the age-sex pyramid of Figure 4 the small size of the sample is responsible to some unknown extent for irregularities. One thing appears rather clear--this is not the shape of a pyramid which one might expect of a rural population in an "underdeveloped" country. The pyramid of Figure 4 has a small base. The ratio of children of less than five years to 1,000 women twenty to forty-four years of age was 333, while for the white rural population of the United States in 1950 this ratio was 701.

The Town Population. Turning now to the town population certain comparisons with the rural population are possible. Fortunately the Facultad de Arquitectura of the University of Montevideo had taken, in

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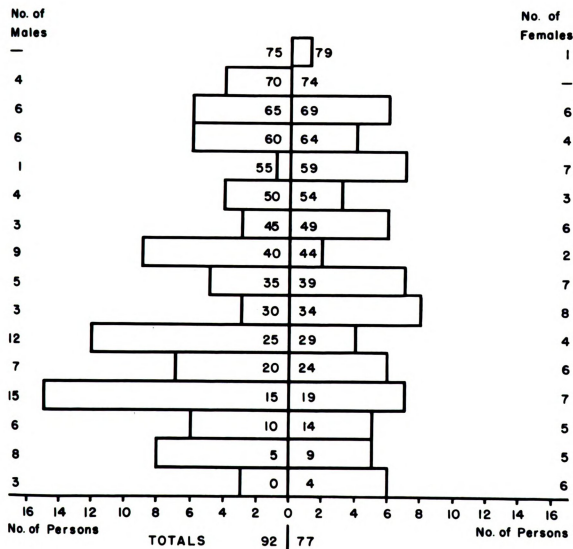
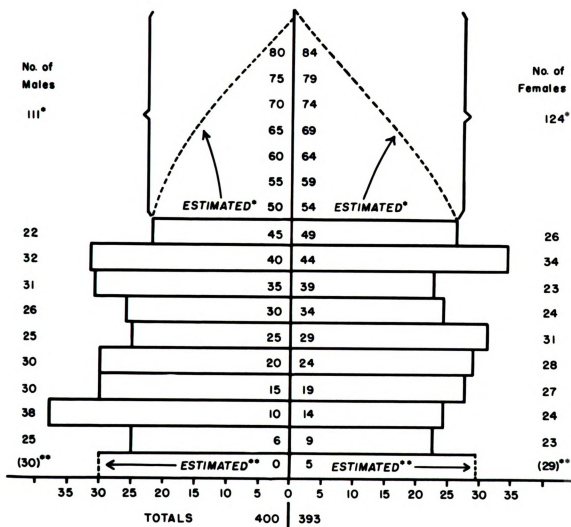


FIGURE 4. AGE-SEX PYRAMID FOR THE RURAL POPULATION
OF THE SECTION OF SAN BAUTISTA, 1954



* Although the total numbers of males and of females, ages 50 and more are known, the distribution by ages within this range is not known.

** The total number of children 0 - 5 years is known, but the sex division was estimated.

FIGURE 5. AGE-SEX PYRAMID FOR THE TOWN OF SAN BAUTISTA, 1953

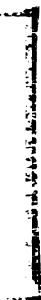
1951, the average birth rate was 41.5 per 1,000 live births⁸ compared with 40.1 in 1952. Hence, the 1951 birth rate was 1.5 percentage points higher than the 1952 rate, that is, then the rural ratio of 41.2).

Table III shows the rural (1951 and 1952) data for the number of live births per woman. The ratio of children per woman in these two years tends to fluctuate in a narrow band of 2.5, also similar to that in the rural population. A difference of only 1.5 percentage points is observed in the two years, but the form of variation is similar to that of the urban area. Of the 2.5 persons of children per woman in the rural area in 1951 and 1952, only 1.5 are all the children born only living in the rural area.

No comparable data on the composition of the household are available. The available size of household and distribution by the number of the children and "single" (i.e., sons and daughters) who have moved in from the country. No demographic data are available on the population cluster of 6 villages where some 500 people were counted in 1953. These were not included as part of the list of all farm families and thus constitute another limitation on data available to cover the whole Galicia. This may explain the difference

⁷At the present of writing there is not available a copy of the original report and a further copy of rules which have been prepared but do not include all of the relevant information. This will be covered shortly in Figure 5.

⁸In the course of an investigation of social statistics in 1955 an attempt was made to list, on cards, every child of 14 years in the town and only 249 were listed.



are 3.60 persons per house in Castellanos, this would add about 200 persons to the 793 of the town of San Bautista and to the estimated 3,470 in the rural area--giving an overall estimate of 4,463 persons within the boundaries of the Seccion Judicial de San Bautista.

Rural Settlement Pattern. In the open country portion of the Section farm houses are dispersed, even to the extent of placing the cluster of houses and outbuildings well within the holding. This arrangement may have its explanation in the ease with which the farmer can reach all of his fields, but it also reflects the lack of importance of roads. In fact, the usual modes of off-farm transport such as horseback and horse-drawn cart (charet) are largely independent of elaborate roads. In general, the farm houses are separated, one from another, by a walk of about 5 minutes.

In certain parajes (rural neighborhoods) farms are closer together, notably in Puntas de Pando, where the subdivision of parent's holdings among numerous sons and daughters has reduced the average farm size. In other parajes they are further apart. In certain cases one may find a cluster of five or six houses around a rural store which indicates usually that here there are part-time farmers who are occupied in some more specialized occupation (e.g., grain merchant, blacksmith, or machinery specialist).

Recurrent Movement of the Rural Population. Covering the countryside is a network of roads, constructed (i.e., packed down) mainly by the traffic they bear, with an occasional attempt to construct a drainage ditch alongside. It would seem that a theory of "least resistance to physical movement" could adequately explain this road system. There is considerable flexi-

bility of routes due to weather conditions. If rain has not been extensive one route (crossing small arroyos or cañadas) is preferred, while if it has been wet another is better. And if a bridge becomes dangerous it may be some time before another is built, so traffic must find another outlet. Shortcuts frequently follow routes within holdings, across "private" pastures and down "private" lanes.⁹

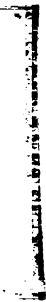
Associated with the "informality" of the road system are the modes of transport used by rural families. In Table IV the relative frequencies of motorized versus "blood traction" can be appreciated in conjunction with some data on time-distance from the farm to the town center.

TABLE IV
FORTY-ONE FARM-FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY TIME OF TRIP
TO SAN BAUTISTA FROM FARM AND BY
MODE OF TRANSPORT

Minutes from San Bautista	Most Common Mode of Transport		Totals
	Horseback, Horsecart, or on foot	Bus, Train, Car or Truck	
0-14	1	3	4
15-29	6	3	9
30-44	10	2	12
45-59	1	-	1
60-89	10	1	11
90-more	4	-	4

The Horsecart (charet) is the most common user of the rural

⁹When such a route was indicated to us, our guide invariably said that he didn't believe that the man whose land we were to cross would mind.



roads. This vehicle has a box on two large wooden wheels without top and is drawn by a single horse. The large high wheels span chuckholes and provide a triumphant, if jolting, ride. Families (entire), older men and women use the charet while men, if alone, ride horseback. If the farmhouse is along the main road (from Montevideo through the town of San Bautista), then the farm family frequently takes advantage of the busses which pass about each hour in either direction.

Three types of movement within the Section can be distinguished. Rural People go to San Bautista, the town trade-and-service-center. They go to sub-centers of the rural area where there may be a small store and bar, fútbol (Soccer) field, one-room school, etc. They also visit each other.

Trade and Service Area. Early in the fieldwork an attempt was made to delineate the trade-service area around San Bautista. Farmers who lived within a half-hour ride from San Bautista were asked about their trips into town and it was found that usually the entire family made the trip and that they went to the general stores of the town primarily for clothing and farm equipment. As families further away from the center were interviewed it appeared that the same type of trip was made, but less frequently, until finally families went more frequently to other trade and service centers.

Their judgements concerning frequency were never very precise. "It depends," they would say. Those further away were able to compare with other families closer to town and they themselves went very infrequently; but in no case was a pattern of constant time between trips found.

[illegible]

But for the most important principle concerning churches, namely the assertion of a moral "high ground" of the type found in a sermon. It lies in the belief that the church is the only place where a higher principle exists. They arrive at the point of the voice and children can visit the general stand and the church. While the church is the only business concern with an office of the Lord, present, their great demand, or a political base. All the way to the church the moral standard outside and inside (known as "possibility" about church membership).

The facilities within the south strip to San Bartista, however, were not fully developed or functional for the initial flights of the service. In 1971, the area, for the most part, for either arrivals, departures or other operations. Where these flights were made was within the north strip. It appears to have been used for the San Bartista truck terminal. The Center to extend its "East wing" at the expense of other such structures. "Flights are lower in the San Bartista stream," was a common remark. Although the plane persons near the periphery of the truck service area were mentioned. The lower portion of the area was easily visible at the southern end of the strip, at the eastern end of the

1

Section. Competition with the town of Santa Rosa (to the southwest) takes place along the main highway from Montevideo and is thus less influenced by natural barriers. To the north the people feel themselves part of two such trade-service areas because of the presence of the Castellanos population cluster in which there are also stores although considerably smaller ones.

These activities during the visit to the trade-service center of making purchases, leaving a watch to be repaired, or paying the taxes are widespread and "reglarized" to the extent that knowing a family's place of residence allows one to predict to which center it will go. But such activities alone would probably not provide a basis for feelings of belongingness to the San Bautista community. There are, in addition to the economic ties, additional ones which have their focus in the town of San Bautista and which provide occasions for the simultaneous participation of people from various parts of the Section. Church attendance, while sporadic, is all but universal as can be seen in Table V. The major holidays of the church are the occasion of a large influx of farm families which take

TABLE V
AMOUNT OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE
AMONG FARM-FAMILY SAMPLE

Amount of Attendance	Frequency
Do not attend	3
About once a week	4
Twice a month	5
Once a month	17
Less than once a month	12

part in processions. The social club (called Vida Nueva) of San Bautista draws perhaps two-thirds of its total membership (about 500 families) from the rural population of the Section. Members (i.e., families) attend the dances and other entertainment which are held during Carnaval (a week of street dances and entertainment early in March) and at three or four other times during the year. Although political activities are ecologically based more upon the local neighborhoods, every four years the national elections and campaigning are carried out on a Section-wide basis. These activities provide for little or no interaction among the participants beyond simultaneous attendance at rallies and voting. But they do permit farm people to see each other, to meet each other through common acquaintances and a sense of community belongingness does arise. Moving one's residence from one such trade-center over to another is probably more significant than just moving within the area.

Rural Neighborhoods. The terms, "sub-center" and "paraje" (rural neighborhood) can easily suggest a concreteness which would most certainly be "misplaced." Previously it was pointed out that the paraje boundaries are fluid and vague. Adjacent farmers may disagree on their affiliation to a paraje, and frequently a person will state that he lives between two parajes. It was hoped, at first, that a trade area associated with a single sub-center could be delineated and found to agree with the current definition of paraje. But sub-centers occur in a variety of forms.



The minimal but principle element of a sub-center is a combination small store and bar (boliche). Here the younger children are sent to purchase yerba (see footnote 5 of Chapter III), tobacco, fideos (macaroni), or the farmer goes for kerosene, insecticide, or a new pair of alpargatas (like tennis shoes). The boliche is the scene of a gathering of farmers on any afternoon after 6:00 P.M. and especially on Sundays. Attendance at the boliche by farmers (women go infrequently) is given in Table VI.

TABLE VI
FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO BOLICHES AMONG FORTY-ONE
MALE FARM-FAMILY HEADS

Frequency of Visits	Number of Cases
Do not go to <u>boliche</u>	7
About twice a week	5
About once a week	13
About twice a month	4
About once a month	11
No response	1

By means of Figure 3 it is possible to appreciate the way in which the rural neighborhood boundaries fail to correspond to the sphere of influence of the boliches. The distribution of the eighteen boliches of the campana¹⁰ is a sufficiently "even" one to be able to

¹⁰There are also two in Castellanos and seven in San Bautista but these others are supported largely by the respective town populations.

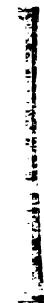
say that each probably draws on some fifty to one-hundred regular patrons, if it is recognized that many farmers frequent more than one boliche.

This agrees with the observation that there are usually about twenty patrons in smaller boliches and as many as sixty or eighty in the larger boliches on Sunday afternoons. The boliche-areas at times cut across and invariably subdivide the rural neighborhoods.

A possible rationale behind neighborhood boundaries would include: (1) common concern for the same set of roads (2) common concern for the same school and (3) common concern for the fútbol (soccer) team. In the three parajes where these concerns are expressed in joint activity (or in which joint activity creates the common concerns) such that the same collection of families within roughly the same area find themselves together for all three of these activities--here, the neighborhood boundaries are of some importance and identification with the neighborhood is "strong."

The most clearcut of these cases of identification is found in the neighborhood Puntas (and Costa) de Pundo (see Figure 3). El Cuadro and El Colorado (other parajes shown in Figure 3) also show considerable "unity." Canelón is, at present,¹¹ more amorphous (e.g., people report living in several different neighborhoods--Puntas de Canelón, Costa de Canelón, Costa de Canelón Grande), while "Costa del Tala" is an even more confused designation. In

¹¹ When interviewed in 1955 a storekeeper of this neighborhood had many ideas for the expansion of his services (to be included: a livestock market, a railroad stop and an enlargement in the dance floor) which may result in more common activities.



that of the lake, the general impression is the variety of the city
April 1. Centerville (April 1st night) is situated on the following
which appears, with its 500 workers, a small area around
Centerville. The only existing society, the Club Antiquary Club,
has been organized upon the same ground. This house, i.e., Centerville,
it appears upon a different collection of facilities. Toward the
entire west and north another rather well defined settlement,
Centerville, was discovered last, through an examination, the impression
are not determined on the map of the time. This group is located
and its only remains to a large extent around the corner and low of
around to the city roads.

[illegible]

Visiting. It was reported that, "these people visit, all as do
not." It is the water side to the river, there is visiting and visiting

between mother and married daughter is frequent when the two houses are within walking distance. In case of sickness or of death there is an influx of women from other families. The extent of visiting by a (usually younger) woman and her children to a neighbor's house for sociable reasons is quite common.

When asked, "Did you receive or make any visits during the past week?" the responses of the forty-one heads of household were distributed as in Table VII.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF FARM-FAMILIES REPORTING VARIOUS NUMBERS OF VISITS
DURING THE PAST WEEK WITH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

Visiting Pattern	Frequency
Neither received nor made visits	20
Named one relative	5
Named two relatives	5
Named one friend and one relative	2
Named one friend	4
Named two friends	5

The data of Table VII lead to some ambiguity. From the wording of the question it is impossible to discriminate between the following state of affairs: (a) every family makes one visit every two weeks and (b) one-half of the families visit at least once a week while the other half does not visit, or (c) some combination of these possibilities. From other interviews it seems more probable that the frequency of visiting varies from family to family, and that those who do visit, do so once a week or more often.



On weekends relatives whose houses are more widely separated visit each other, while weekday visiting is largely between families which are within walking distance--but even this distance may be two or three kilometers. Favored times of day appear to be the late afternoon (tardicito) or shortly before noon. At these times the families usually drink mate--a constant companion of the style of leisurely visiting adhered to in this and other areas of the country. The topics of conversation are "sociable" ones--the weather, health, and past events in the lives of the oldsters.

It is not known to what extent collections of families which visit one another but not outside their "circle" can be found. The family-friendship contact-no-contact structure for the Section would probably show more of a chain pattern rather than an "isolated circle" or clique pattern. Although sociometric questions (including visits as criterion) were asked, a 41-family sample is incapable of exhibiting whatever pattern may exist in a 841-family population.

Farming and Family Life: Physical Setting. On almost all farms, the "house" is in reality a set of two or three ranchos. The walls of the ranchos are constructed either of mud, mixed with straw, of about 10 inches thick and reinforced with posts (of wood or concrete) or, in some cases, topsoil is cut in blocks which are piled up to build the walls. Sometimes flattened gasoline drums are tied to the outside walls to inhibit rain and wind damage. The roof is thatch of a tough and tall reed (paja brava). Each building (ranchos) measures approximately 40 feet by 15 feet and may have two or three

rooms. The floor receives a portion of coarse sand mixed into the clay to prevent sticking when wet and is usually kept both clean and slightly damp. One rancho may be used for the kitchen and living room while others are used for sleeping. The "living room" rancho frequently has a porch along one side built by extending and supporting the roof on that side.

Furniture is factory-made and of wood; several long benches, a table and a few straight chairs are found in the living room. The stove in the kitchen burns wood or occasionally kerosene, and an outside "beehive" oven is used to bake bread. Sewing machines and radios are optional, but widespread equipment. The radio is powered by storage batteries charged by a wind generator. Whitewash covers the inside walls where hang family portraits and newspaper illustrations. Interiors are dark (windows are few and shaded) but cool in the summer and at least windproof in the winter.

Around and among most clusters of ranchos grow a profusion of trees--usually an ombú and fig trees are present along with the more "commercial" eucalyptus and poplar. The patio or the square area into which face the (usually three) ranchos is a garden. In many cases here too is the open well, constructed of a cylinder of bricks about 4 and 1/2 feet in diameter which is topped by a windlass and bucket. In addition to the ranchos are a (or several) galpón (barn) and a tool shed. These are frequently constructed of cane plastered over with mud. The tool shed may be open on as many as three sides. In size these "utility" buildings are slightly smaller than the ranchos.

1. The first step in the process of the
 2. 1991 was to identify the 1991
 3. of the 1991 and then to identify the 1991
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 10. of the 1991 and then to identify the 1991

[illegible][illegible]

onions, tomatoes, broomstraw or flax; and a pasture (about one hectare) and a woodlot (one hectare). As can be conjectured, farm management practices tend toward diversification on a small scale. To see what extent it is justifiable to talk of a "typical" farm the tables of Appendix A may be examined.

The following information comes from the 41-farm sample drawn from the rural population of farms in the Section of San Bautista.

Of the 41 Farms:

- (a) 5 had planted no corn in 1954, 26 planted some corn but sold less than half of that produced, while 10 sold more than half;
- (b) 20 had wheat (all wheat is sold), 21 did not;
- (c) 22 sold garden-type produce (tomatoes, onions, squash, garlic, etc.), 19 did not;
- (d) 20 had crops such as potatoes, flax, or broomstraw, 21 did not;
- (e) 1 had no cows, 11 had one cow, 11 had 2, 6 had 3, 4 had 4, 8 had more (5 sold some milk, the rest did not);
- (f) 22 sold no pigs (although only 4 did not have pigs), 17 sold lechones (suckling pigs) and 2 sold full-sized pigs;
- (g) only 1 had no chickens, 26 sold eggs to mercachifle (peddler) and 13 sold to stores (1 gave no response to this question).

Does the consideration of a "typical" farm destroy much of the variability found among the farms of the Section? Looking at the distribution of farm size in hectares of Table XXI of Appendix A

only a slight tendency.¹²

In visiting the farms themselves one notices differences in the external and internal appearance of houses, in the arrangement and assortment of tools, out-buildings, trees and flowers, etc. From these appearances one can construct¹³ an image of a "good farm and a "poor" farm. Tenure status may have an influence over the material sector of the style of life. This is supported by Roy A. Clifford's report (51)¹⁴ on data from the Second Urban Section of Florida (the Chamizo-Fray Marcos Section) where owners have more radios, more cars, and more trucks, tractors, and planters than the renters.

Farming and Family Life: Levels of Living. Unfortunately, data were not collected in questionnaire fashion on level of living items. It is suspected that considerable homogeneity would be evinced with respect to the house-type furnishings and garden surroundings as described above. Women's and children's clothing is quite standardized (this, however, may be a result of a foreign male's viewpoint). The men's clothing is more variable. A younger man or even an older one who may have some contact with live-stock wears bombachas (loose-tailored pants gathered at the waist and ankles) with a light-fitting jacket, long knife, and maybe a broad-

¹²Data from the Agricultural Census were also examined in the "hopes" of finding an association between tenure status and size of farm. None was found. These tabulations, done in Montevideo early during the field work, remained there and are not available at this writing.

¹³Aided by local informants.

¹⁴Numbers within brackets refer to references listed in the Bibliography.

brimmed hat. Such a man is said to "andar muy de gaúcho" ("act like a gaúcho"). The "pure" dirt farmer dresses in conventional (European) shirt and pants--much patched, but usually clean. A suitcoat is common apparel, a much worn one, even for work. A wide leather belt, out of which juts the facón (knife) is frequently superimposed on a broad, usually black, sash around the waist. A pañuelo (silk or cotton scarf) adds color to an otherwise brown, grey or black background of the clothing. Alpargatas (canvass-top shoes with soles of jute) are worn in the summer and leather ones in the winter. Going to town requires a suitcoat, leather shoes, pañuelo and a shave. Going to a dance brings out considerable refinement and care in dressing among the younger unmarried males.

With respect to diet, fewer data are available. However, there appears to be considerable homogeneity here. Puchero (a "catch-all" dish with a broth base to which pieces of vegetable and meat are added) pirón and/or polenta (a corn flour fried in oil with onion) are some of the dishes for the noon and main meal.

On Thursdays and Sundays, fideos (macaroni) is customary. For breakfast a large quantity of milk with coffee plus bread forms the basis. Sandwiches break the afternoon, and dinner seems to be somewhat optional, but is a relatively heavy meal if eaten. Late is taken first thing in the morning sometimes also before lunch and again in the late afternoon. The women prepare all of the food and the mates as well. Eating is a leisurely and ostensibly pleasurable activity--attested to by the high caloric intake, the evidences of husky physique, and the numerous complaints about the "liver."

Sanitary facilities are not elaborate. Bathing in the arroyos is common in the summer; trip showers are used; but probably the most common way of washing is with buckets of water. A small stand of caña (a non-sugar-yielding variety of sugar cane) is the usual provision for privacy during elimination. The insides of the ranchos are swept frequently. In most of the tool sheds one finds an accumulation of odds and ends but the grounds are comparatively well picked up. These practices are, however, quite variable.

Farm Family Daily Cycles of Activity. The diurnal round of activities on a summer's day starts at 5:00 A.M. or 5:30 with the feeding of the livestock (man's work) interspersed with drinking a few mates. By 6:30 or 7:00 the cows and pigs have been fed and the men are in the fields. At 8:00 or 8:30 it's time for breakfast. On a good day with a heavy work schedule the children will bring breakfast to the fields. At 11:30 the men come in to the ranchos, stake out the oxen, and drink mate. After lunch, they sleep an hour of siesta and at 2:00 P.M. are back in the fields. From here on the pattern seems to break down. Sometimes they cease work around 4:30 for a sandwich (bread and cheese, say) at other times they work until sunset; then back to the ranchos, take care of the animals then sit in the kitchen and converse over a few mates until dinner. They go to bed almost directly after dinner.

The women's housework is, as far as could be determined, much the same as in the farm regions of the United States. Women have the responsibility for the chickens, and if no younger (less than 15 years) children are in the house they tend the livestock while the men are in

the fields) and do some work in the garden. The younger sons run errands, tend the livestock, and play fútbol. Older sons (about eleven years) frequently work on other farms if the man-to-land ratio is sufficiently high on their own farm, likewise older daughters may find work sewing for local tailors or a neighbor.

Farm Family Seasonal Round of Activities. In the fall and winter a great deal of outside farm work is still possible. Ploughing is done in May, June, and July; in March and April the corn harvest and corn husking goes on. By August and September the fields are frequently too wet and the weather too drizzly and cold to allow very much activity. In these times the farm family rises later and retires earlier--does not take a siesta--and activities include any number of odd jobs: fencing, cornhusking, machinery repairs, building (construction and repairs), etc. Planting of wheat is done in July or August and of corn in October and November. In general, farming is a continuous operation made possible by the almost sub-tropical climate, but inhibited by the irregularly spaced rains.

Farm Family Life History. A courtship which ends in a marriage frequently consumes about three years. The couple are usually from within the same or neighboring parajes. The man visits the woman on Sundays and/or Thursdays. They attend dances, school benefits, fútbol games, etc. The average ages at marriage are shown in Table VII. It is apparent that marriage is postponed until a relatively advanced age. This is customary, and is probably supported by the fact that the man attempts to arrange to have his own farm and house before marriage.

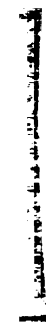


TABLE VIII

AVERAGE* AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR THE YEARS 1950-1953,
SAN BAPTISTA DISTRICT (BOTH TOWN AND COUNTRY)

Year	Number of Marriages	Average* Age at Marriage	
		Males	Females
1950	53	33.6	23.7
1951	52	31.1	25.4
1952	37	31.3	26.3
1953	43	29.2	23.2

*Due to the infrequent remarriages of widows and widowers, the arithmetic mean is an acceptable measure of central tendency.

Source: Records of the Judge, San Bautista.

Marriage is almost invariably followed by the birth of two to four children (data in Table III above on family size bear this out). Of the forty-one farm families in the sample, three were childless couples and one was a single male, all of the others had children. Births are controlled more now than formerly, although the use of contraceptives seems to be limited. The decrease in the number of births can be seen in Table IX.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF BAPTISMS FOR SELECTED YEARS
1920 to 1954 SAN BAPTISTA SECTION
(BOTH TOWN AND COUNTRY)

Year	Number of Baptisms
1920	170
1930	140
1940	91
1950	75
1951	67
1952	30
1953	67
1954	73

Source: Records of the Parish Priest,
San Bautista.

Establishment of a household and maintenance of younger children requires intensive production and restricted consumption during the first ten years of married life. After this period, upon the maturation of the sons, there appears a tendency to expand the farming enterprise.¹⁵ This is done by moving to a larger farm and/or renting more land. This pattern may be associated with the fact that the younger heads of household were less likely to be connected to the Institute's program of agricultural extension. Their activities appeared to be greatly restricted because they were producing on a limited size of farm for a rather heavy burden of needs.

Following this period of expansion there is a tendency to decrease or contract the farm enterprise. The pattern of socially enforced and sanctioned retirement operates rather strongly. When cultural values are taken up later, the emphasis upon leisure will be explored, but it can be noted here that this value (enjoyment of leisure time) operates strongly as the farmer ages and is reinforced by pressures upon the parent from the older sons. In many cases the older couple moves into a small house in town; in other cases they move into one of the ranchos while the son and his family occupy the other(s).

Town and Country Differences in Viewpoints. In his ranchito the farmer's outside world is the calle (literally "street") which

¹⁵The supporting data are here of a static type. It is known that families with parents in the forty's and older sons still on the farm work on larger extensions of land. The inference is that the change to a larger farm comes about as the sons mature.

passes his house. On the calle (which becomes a camino "road," as he steps on it he may go to "lo de Pérez" (Perez' place), a boliche say. And in the boliche he talks about the people of the town as outsiders. For the farmer in the campaña the pueblo is the "outside."

When asked in what ways is life in the town better than life in the country the responses of farmers were as follows:

"In no way"	12
"Comfort" in general	6
"You work less for better pay in the <u>pueblo</u> ."	3
"If you have a job you can make a better living."	9
Other	4
Don't know	2

When asked in what way is life in the rural area better than life in the town the results were:

"In no way"	3
"Eat well, abundance"	13
"Liberty, less compromising"	14
"Tranquility and sanity"	6
"More resources to work with"	5

1

The responses to the first question (town better than country) came with no little faltering, the informants were probably surprised at the question. But they seemed to be waiting for the next question (country over town). Usually more than one response was given (the first-mentioned was coded as a single response), and almost invariably the words tranquilidad ("tranquility") and libertad were voiced. Liberty and fewer compromisos (formal interpersonal obligations) are for the farmers key points of difference between country and town. To farmers, life in the country is "free" while life in the town is too regimented and social relations are too formal.

And then, "The people in the pueblo are inclined to think they're better." However, it's the people in the capitol city, Montevideo, who are more liable to be found (by farmers) guilty of the grosser forms of putting on airs. The people of the town do it with more subtlety. But they (of the town) do act domineering, ordering others (farmers) around, being dictatorial and "owners" of the town. These unfavorable characterizations are balanced, by the feeling that the people of the town are like (us) farmers in a lot of ways, they are more like farmers than are the people of Montevideo or even of San Ramon (a medium-sized city to the North).

To the people of the town the "campesino nuestro" (our countryman) is an individual, or at least a bewilderingly large number of types.¹⁶ The farmer has to be handled just right or he rebels; but he is not capricious, he can be understood. At times his behavior is childish at other times noble. In general he is twisted inward

¹⁶In the main the investigator's viewpoint is liable to be colored by the pueblo person's way of seeing the farmers, since his position was that of a person of the pueblo.

(retorcido) and must place his faith in others to guard his interest. There are progressive farmers who are almost part of the town, while there are, at the other end of the scale, "brutes" who live like animals. One has to be careful with whom he associates because of the increased possibility of misunderstandings in contacts across the status lines. These differences are somewhat associated with economic prosperity but relatively few economic characteristics are important in comparison to qualities of descent or good people.¹⁷

The greater part of the difference as conceived by the person of the town between rural and small town is that associated with difference in physical situation. Going into the country is, for the townsman, not recognized as going to a different cultural environment so much as going to a different physical environment. It is the farmer who is apparently more conscious of the difference in cultural environment. Going to the town implies that a farmer will act differently. When townsman and farmer interact (outside of the family-friendship context) the townsman usually exerts task leadership and it is his style of acting which establishes or cues the common

¹⁷In our field work we made an embarrassing miscalculation of this type. As mentioned above the investigator's role was that of a person of the town. Now certain farm families feel free to associate with people of the town while others, as a matter of course, do not. Determining this difference in viewpoint comes up from time to time in deciding where an interview with a farm family is to be held--in the living room or out in the yard. The decision between these locations depends on many considerations (the weather is important) and among them, the status of the farm-family--"upper" status families will insist on using the living room while "lower" status families will leave it optional. In one case we decided from the appearance of poverty of the house to interview in the yard--the chagrin of the people was eloquent testimonial to our error. This family was gente buena (good people), but had lost the husband-father and were just recuperating.

major influence on their behavior.

2. THE CULTURAL REGION

The definition of a cultural region is a subject of considerable importance, and the geographic, historical, and political context of the political organization (and political parties and governmental agencies) which operate at these levels. The region of San Bautista is part of a multi-ethnic and cultural region. Finally, the region of San Bautista is within a cultural area, the Rio Platense, which has its focus on the value system embraced by people within its sphere. When these elements of San Bautista's pedigree are placed together there results a pulling and pushing between centers of organization within San Bautista and those outside the region. Another brief view of the Uruguayan society as a whole will aid in understanding some of the influences to which San Bautista is subject. The topics will be taken up in the order: (1) life style or basic culture patterns, (2) economics, and (3) politics.

Basic Cultural Patterns. The culture of Uruguay¹² is part of

¹²Which is a portion of the area within the Rio Platense cultural region. Many cultural patterns appear to be common throughout the entire region. As to differences, in political organization is important, the gap between the Argentine and the Uruguayan situation is somewhat widening.

His writings on which the following generalizations are based are based on the fact that the Uruguayan was a scholar of working class background and that the Uruguayan was a scholar of working class background. The gap of contact is very largely filled with persons of the middle classes; but reports on life style of the lower and upper classes were secured from generally qualified informants.

crystallized nor a sanctified one. There are few codified proscriptions and fewer still prescriptions. The common portion of the culture is apparent in the consistency of historical and contemporary events, but this consistency is sometimes masked by the simplicity and limitations of the common culture. The area of a man's activities over which he considers himself, and is considered to be, solely responsible is a large one. He is defensive of his prerogatives, but also somewhat hesitant in their exploitation. His ultimate goals are less personal ones than family and friendship-relative ones. Quiet talk with close friends and family constitutes for him the epitome of value realization--the physical accompaniment of this situation, mate, is a forceful symbol.

To insure that these enjoyable situations materialize it is, however, necessary to earn money--which involves occupying a position of some power within a non-family and non-friendship social organization. This is a sacrifice. It is possible to approximate the individual's goals within such organizational situations by calling them personal or private. *// is money sourced from*

To fit with his ultimate goal, a stable, but modest, income is required. Income in excess would be well received but not in proportion to the cost involved in securing it. To sacrifice for a minimal income and for security in this income is justified, but to continue to sacrifice--this is not justified.

Although the goal of enjoyment with family and friends is high in the hierarchy of values, the familiar process of the transformation of means into ends takes place and economic means have become economic goals. Considerable behavior is explainable only if this is recog-

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1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 26

the dimension of $\mathfrak{g}$ is $2n+1$ and $\dim \mathfrak{h} = n$, for instance, the space

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highly plastic neuronal network. Rather the basis of memory is a relatively unstable integration of this internal oscillation

The authors are grateful to an anonymous referee for comments. *Received 12 June 2007*

The acts of violence involving individuals in a "hateful" state have not been limited to the Southern and foreign colonial rules, and therefore with respect to the colonial rule is the spread.

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thus its(industrial activity's)natural location is near the most adequate port facilities. In addition, government policies have also succeeded in skimming off an appreciable slice of the profits on livestock production (through the use of differential exchange rates), and this money has been used in part to build up a sizeable public administration with headquarters in the capitol city. Finally the tasks of distribution and above all of coordination of economic activities are carried out through a system of "free enterprise" which depends for its efficiency on the large numbers of independent entrepreneurs each working for his own benefit. The focal point of distribution activities continues to be Montevideo.

Part of the reasons for the effectiveness of a "free enterprise" mechanism of control lie in the cultural patterns described above.

And part of the reasons for the existence of large numbers of small businessmen lies there as well. It seems apparent that the distribution system and the service industries are major consumers of manpower. But insofar as increased efficiency requires increases in the scale of the business organizations increased efficiency will be strongly resisted. Concomitant with the cultural emphasis on individualistic goals in extra-family and friendship interactions goes a lack of loyalty to or lack of identification with the expansion of the impersonal economic organizations.

In typical cases the goals of subalterns in economic organizations consist in learning the business well enough and, above all, in establishing a sufficient number of the required contacts so as to be able (the subaltern) to set up his own business in competition with his employer. This is not to say that an employee will not exercise the

small membership. And thus pressure groups are limited in power by the small number of votes which they represent.

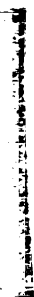
With respect to corn production there is a greater degree of flexibility in the demand. Whereas wheat is used almost exclusively for flour, whose demand is inelastic, corn if available in large quantities may be turned into other products (hogs, chicken feed, gofio (a toasted cereal), etc.,) or if in short supply all can be sold. The processing of corn is thus quite flexible and fluctuations in price are not considered to be of such drastic import.

Politics. But who is able to translate these considerations into governmental activity? The answer, even a partial one, to this question carries beyond the available data.²⁰ But on a very general level, in line with the above descriptions, some analysis can be attempted.

Active in the making of agrarian policy are, of course, the legislative and executive powers. Not much is known concerning the legislature in this respect. Every lawmaker has been elected as a member of a political party. Given that the man is a Blanco (White) he should support the more conservative and larger landholders, while given that he is Colorado (Red) he should favor the smaller farmer, the rural middle class. There are many subdivisions of each of these major parties and such subdivisions frequently follow regional and, thus, type-of-farming differences.

Each legislator is bombarded by various pressure groups from which he acknowledges support. Looking at the completed legislation

²⁰A source for interpretations of Uruguayan politics is (52) especially Chapters X, XI and XII.



satisfactory to all concerned. Having given way to demands from one sector, the administrator is more disposed to attempt an adjustment. The guiding criterion of his actions is the goal of providing all farmers with a minimal livelihood and in particular of preventing excessive profits to go to certain farmers as a result of capricious internal markets, and of preventing excessive misery to farmers hit by capricious weather conditions.²¹

It is true that policy is determined in coffee shops and through non-official contacts. Personalities play a large role. But it is equally true that the avenues of influence are so numerous that a man with a grievance will be granted a hearing somewhere. Because of the fact that the agrarian policy is being changed from a restrictive to a service policy and that now even small farmers are receiving attention, such grievances can be expected to increase.

The effects of a policy on levels of living and levels of production are crucial features to be debated.²² Also great attention is paid to the specification of details (in the wording of executive decrees, for example). This attention may represent the handiwork of inspired subordinates who frequently do such busy work. At any rate newly initiated programs are frequently hampered by overly specific and unworkable legislation. On the other hand considerable

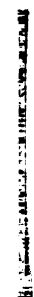
²¹These observations and interpretation require some qualification. They depend greatly upon the fact that the investigator was more closely associated with certain government administrators who were sympathetic to the Institute's program. This selective factor could account for a "biased" viewpoint.

²²Such notions would correspond closely to the "pragmatic" ethic discussed by Wayne A. R. Leys, Ethics and Social Policy (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1941) pp. 306-19.

[Handwritten signature]

1. *Explain the importance of the following factors in the development of a country's economy:*
 (a) *Human resources* (b) *Capital resources* (c) *Technology* (d) *Infrastructure*

There are two types of thermal analysis: thermogravimetric analysis (TGA), and differential thermal analysis (DTA). TGA is a technique for measuring the change in mass of a sample as a function of temperature. DTA is a technique for measuring the change in heat flow of a sample as a function of temperature.



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the political party. The political party, which has
lost its mass character, has lost its life. It is now that
political party has been reduced to a mere "machine,"
and political activity has become a mere "game." The
political party, which has lost its mass character, has
lost its political life in the eyes of the people. It is
now a mere "game" in the eyes of the people.

Finally, as part of the discernible tendencies towards the
mechanism of power and authority, it can be observed that political
power, administrative activity and economic power are interdepen-
dent, and are so interdependent. The political party
organization controls to a great extent the allocation of these
interdependent administrative activity and economic power. How-
ever, the number of persons so favored is severely limited. They
will utilize their influence to secure positions for others from
their party but their actions in their positions do not extend to
any well defined economic life of the party organization. In fact,
in so far as "power" is concerned, the major political parties are
not far apart--their aims are not well defined.

The influences which are exercised over the activities of power
holders in the administration or business activities are of three
kinds: (1) the political party organization, (2) the economic
life, and (3) the social life. These are the three main influences;
and individual power holders are staffed with these influences as well as with
these influences. These influences are the basis of the political
life. These influences are the necessary means for the political
life. These influences are the basis of the political life, but of the

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likely to give him a highly technical explanation or a request for more time to study the situation, than to give him action. Even the administrator in the local area is strongly oriented to his supervisors in Montevideo, and may speak of the "rusticness" of his farmer-clients as justification for the incomplete discharge of his responsibilities.

Within the Section of San Bautista there was a short period during which the local candillo of the Colorado Party was highly influential. Tomas Berreta, a politician from Canelones, became, first, minister of public works and, later, president. Improved roads and a new school in the town were results of the link between the local political boss and don Tomás. In comparison with other Sections of the country San Bautista is probably still favorably situated with respect to political power. For instance, the business of securing pensions is unusually highly developed and successful.

Higher government officials of the ministry are concerned²³ with farming conditions in the department of Canelones. Placement of the Institute's Demonstration Area in the San Ramón vicinity was designed for the development of this region and to serve the goal of greater equalization of levels of living. To find in this decision the reflection of the voting strength of a densely populated area would somewhat distort the facts. Nevertheless, the voting potential of Canelones is of importance whenever the decision serves to modify the comparative advantage of Canelones with respect to other regions, notably the litoral.

²³This is true at least of those officials with whom the investigator was in closest contact.

Changing Cultural Conditions. Insofar as belief systems are associated with particular areas of activity, as almost invariably they are, changes in beliefs may best be considered in relation to the specific area of activity. But at a certain level of analysis it becomes possible to isolate the formulation of beliefs and view them independently of their content. It is at this level of analysis that the following discussion is to be carried out.²⁴

Elements of belief systems which are considered to be independent of the areas of activity include ultimate or basic goals and general rules for the selection of means for the achievement of these basic aims. Becoming even more general, it is possible to consider only general rules for the establishment of both basic aims as well as for the selection of means to attain these aims. It will be asked if the rules appear to be changing, and what circumstances appear to be associated with particular changes.

Apparently, conditions favoring a shift in beliefs within the rural system are becoming more frequent and compelling than those which reinforce the rural belief systems. And the shift in the rural belief system is in the direction of greater compartmentalization of values.²⁵ When an individual of the small town or

²⁴The usual discussions of "national character" take place at this level. Propositions concerning beliefs are empirically verified or disproven by reference to a wide variety of areas of activity. Geoffrey Gorer in the Chapter, "National Character: Theory and Practice" in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux, The Study of Culture at a Distance (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953) argues for adoption of the notion of "congruence" as recognition of the fact that "the end results of various institutional activities...will be seen to fall into patterns," p. 63.

²⁵The concept "compartmentalization" is used here similarly to that of "low degree of interdependence" employed by Robert Redfield in The Folk Culture of Yucatán (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941) pp. 349-54.

especially a government official, say, of Montevideo interacts with a farmer, the former (from the small town or Montevideo) more frequently exercises task leadership and more frequently determines the set of common cultural standards to be utilized in the interaction situation.²⁶

If individuals from the towns or Montevideo went into the rural areas most frequently to learn farming, say, then the task leadership would be in the hands of the farmer. But no--contacts between persons of urban and of rural backgrounds take place primarily in the service of business or administrative aims--fields in which the person of the urban background is expected to be task leader, and fields in which the greater compartmentalization of values is more appropriate.

Another major difference concerns the use of authorities in backing up or supporting a decision. Looking at the rural belief system the prevalence of a striving for "independence" among farmers contains suggestions of their views on the appropriateness of authorities. "Personal experience" is an important guide to decisions in farming practices. To properly decide whether to adopt hybrid corn farmers wished to "try a few kilos." In the main they were willing to try the new practices but they were only confident of their decision after personally doing so. On the other hand people in the urban setting accept other criteria of authority. For example, trained agronomists felt that the experiences of experiment stations

²⁶ Salesmen, government officials and politicians, going into the rural areas provide some of the opportunities for rural-urban contacts but the farmers' trips into Montevideo are probably the more common of such occasions.

the fact that the people of the world are not yet united in a common front against the forces of darkness and evil.

It is the duty of every man and woman to stand up for the principles of justice and freedom, and to fight against the forces of oppression and tyranny. We must not allow ourselves to be divided by race, religion, or nationality. We must stand together as one people, united in our common purpose and our common destiny. **they** will be the first to see the light of truth and freedom. We must not allow ourselves to be divided by race, religion, or nationality. We must stand together as one people, united in our common purpose and our common destiny. We must not allow ourselves to be divided by race, religion, or nationality. We must stand together as one people, united in our common purpose and our common destiny.

they take their quiet pleasures seriously. Work, too, is serious but the contrast between work and relaxation is not great.

The farmers and townspeople are descendants of Spanish and Italian immigrants, many of them, who settled first nearer to Montevideo then later moved to the North. They now constitute a stable population except for the tendency of younger people to move into Montevideo. Usually they marry late and have small families. As their interest in farming wanes, they retire to make way for younger sons and frequently move into the town where they live out their old age on a pension from the national government.

The political boundaries of the Section of San Bautista correspond closely to that hazy line which separates farm families trading in other towns from those coming into San Bautista. Roads in the area lead to San Bautista except for the main blacktop highway from Montevideo which has the courtesy to skirt the center of the town on its way north. It is the main highway which carries farm produce, only storekeepers use the freight services of the railroad. But the passenger service of the railroad is generally preferred, perhaps, because of the romance of the massive diesels.

But the farm family's trips outside of the Section are a rarity. They come into San Bautista every month or more frequently and men especially, travel to the boliches within their rural neighborhoods while women make shorter trips to visit with close relatives and friends. Paraje, minimally, is a place name for a sub-area of the Section but in some cases it becomes equivalent to "neighborhood" with connotations of interaction-within being more intensive than -without

the sub-area. Wherever the local one-room school, the fútbol (soccer) team and the road repair committee operate within a paraje, here one finds a full blown rural neighborhood.

Life on the farm is quite well standardized over most of the rural population. The physical appointments and the round of routine chores do not vary greatly from one farm to the next. Some farmers work less land (as little as 20 acres) others work more land (as much as 60 acres) while some are owners and others are renters. But all have two or three cows, a little corn, a few pigs and 75 to 100 chickens, a small garden plot and a fig tree. Certain farms "specialize" in wheat, others in flax, sunflowers, or broom straw, others in garden crops, vineyards or orchards. They dress more or less alike, especially when they put on their grey or black dresses or shirts and climb onto the two-wheeled horsecart to journey into town. Somber colors are best suited to their dignity--a dignity which is the furthestest cry from a claim to fame.

Although life on the farms is to an extent routinized, changes in the world outside of the Section are felt within the Section. Other farming regions of Uruguay can produce more wheat and more cheaply but this was discovered only very recently. After the first brush with a national shortage of wheat and particularly after being "forced" to purchase wheat from Argentina, the Uruguayan government provided a bonus price for wheat. In great degree this made possible the present solvency of farm families in the Section. Also it provided an impulse for estancieros (ranchers) of the litoral to try their hand at wheat production on a large scale.

Changes in the form of exercise of political power constitute a continuation of an already well-established trend. If democracy can be equated to the multiplicity of avenues by which the average or even "below average" citizen can make his voice felt in government administration then Uruguay has the democracy par excellence. Government administrators and legislators are bombarded from all sides by a great congregation of individuals and groups seeking to trade their endorsement for favorable government action.

One thing every lobbyist must remember: Do not appear to be too prosperous. This is so because of the fact that an underlying policy of the government's actions is to equalize material benefits, to provide for everyone a minimal level of living. Being able to point out cases of disproportionate benefits is a powerful tool of pressure groups.

If the social structural aspects of the mechanism for the distribution and exercise of political power has been changing in the last 15 years, it has been changing in the direction of increasing even more the number of groups which have some potentiality for initiating government action. The main mechanism is placement of persons sympathetic to one's cause in positions of government responsibility. With the existing truce between the two major political parties, the Reds (Colorados) and Whites (Blancos), both groups now find it possible to utilize this technique.

Ideologically there has been an accommodating shift. Political ideologies at the present time permit a representative of a political

party or party faction to actively campaign or a program of commitment to securing short-range and concrete benefits for constituents. The sentimental and patriotic content of campaign propaganda has declined in importance, although not, perhaps, in volume of symbols produced.

The shift in political ideology is concomitant with certain shifts in the ideology or beliefs associated with getting-a-living patterns. In particular the "new ideas" in farming in the Section call for the concentration upon enterprises which yield more return from a smaller extension of land. At present the increased return derives from an increase of labor applied, but inevitably the increase in capital will replace labor as a crucial factor.

Underlying these shifts in content-specific beliefs is a deeper process in which the rural belief systems are being broken down in the face of urban patterns of evaluation. The contact between these belief systems occurs empirically in contacts between farmers and townspeople and between people of Montevideo. In these contacts the "outsider" rather than the farmer exercises task leadership. The situation is, in general, permeated by commitment to a task (economic exchange or exercise of political power) of which the outsider has greater knowledge.

The changes in economic, political and associational structures within the study area are responsive to these changes occurring outside of the area. The crucial roles in the transmission of these changes.

are the middleman roles of acopiador (grain merchant), almacenero (storekeeper), caudillo (political boss) and organizational specialist (who in Spanish may be called amigo de comisiones, "friend of committees"). The remainder of the thesis attempts to demonstrate how the effects of these changes are modified by such middleman roles.



two types of units are found a collection of middlemen verging on specialists, and a set of specialists, and these are to be discussed briefly.

I. Characterization of Farm-Family Units

The following treatment will consist of a search for ideal-type attitudes or value orientations and patterns of decision making. Such characteristics or traits are of two types: those common to almost all farm-family units and certain other ones specific to certain sub-sets of units. The specific traits provide a basis for constructing a typology of farm-family units.

Orientation to "Low-Pressure" Enjoyments. A large share of human behavior in the area is obedient to a pattern of work-relaxation rhythm which reflects a distinctive style of viewing activity.³ The activity which this attitude⁴ pervades includes much of economic activity, and of other activity as well. The attitude is one of

³This concept is all but identical to that of "inside view" used by Robert Redfield in The Little Community, Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole: (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) pp. 81-95.

⁴In their "A Conception of Personality," from Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (eds), Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, (2nd Ed., New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), Murray and Kluckhohn distinguish between modal or formal activity and directional or instrumental activity (p. 13ff.). Attitudes or value orientations are among the intervening variables used to explain only the second category of activities. However, it will be seen that many of the examples which are given below to illustrate this orientation to low pressure enjoyment are more appropriately classed as "modal" activity. Now admitting that the activities described are "modal" or "directionless" or "formal" the characteristic being conceptualized is the orientation toward directionless activity. The people organize their lives so as to provide a good supply of modal activity. Thus we are dealing ultimately with a directional activity and with an attitude.

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[illegible]

It is possible that the author of this work was not a native English speaker. The text is written in a style that is somewhat awkward and the grammar is not always correct. The author's name is not mentioned in the text.

[illegible]

11-11-11

1. $\frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{1}{2}$; the left and right sides are equal, so the inequality is true.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the H_2O_2 solution on the amount of the released H_2O from the H_2O_2 -loaded hydrogel. The amount of the released H_2O was measured by the weight difference of the hydrogel before and after the release. The concentration of the H_2O_2 solution was 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, 0.4, 0.5, 0.6, 0.7, 0.8, 0.9, and 1.0 wt. %.



commercial transactions are constructed in anticipation of dishonesty with a great specification of detail envisioning both the acts punishable and the reactions of the law's representatives.⁸

But going back to the honesty of farm families, it was apparent that they are themselves honest and inclined to distribute their trust in directions which seem to the more "sophisticated" townsman unjustified. Many stories circulate telling of the hoaxes perpetrated by sharp peddlers on farm families. "Contraband Irish fabrics" have been sold which turn out to be Uruguayan goods with inflated prices. However, it is believed by the townsman that farm families are now much less susceptible to these frauds -- they have become "suspicious."

Probably many instances of "dishonesty" on the part of farmers could be attributed to misunderstandings over the terms of a commercial contract. Other farm people would not call this dishonesty nor in general would persons of the small town. The government official having loaned money to farmers in order that they could obtain wheat seed after a poor harvest and never receiving cash repayment of this loan may, however, call them dishonest. It seems significant that non-repayment of loans or failure to pay bills is very infrequently termed dishonest if the person who owes is obviously unable to pay. However, where a person shows signs of prosperity he may be charged

⁸Laws in such a form constitute an informative indication of the operation of society. Much was learned and later confirmed, concerning the farmer-middleman relationship, from a study of the laws covering the sale of wheat under fixed price.

But in the presence of the details of personalities, an underlying continuum of valuation breaks down. "Horizontal" differences rather than "vertical" differences prevail among farmers.

Standards of Living. The Area has a money economy. To a great degree there is available this yardstick, money, by which to assess the relative value of objects. But to what extent do monetary considerations pervade decisions to acquire material objects? Does every object have a price? The answer to this is complicated and even worse must be based on conjectures rather than more direct evidence.¹⁰

From farm management surveys¹¹ it appears that the average amount of money passing through a farm-family unit is about 2,000 to 3,000 pesos per year. But the family does not see all of this as cash. Their relationship to the pueblo storekeeper is frequently such that bills are paid, every three months or six months, through the sale of farm produce -- only the balance is given as cash. The relationship between the farm family and a peddler (mercachifle) or the rural

¹⁰Although originally planned as a field for research, no study of levels of living was carried out in the Area. Much of the information available was communicated by home economists working with farm housewives in the Demonstration Area.

¹¹A specialist of the ministry who was working on the Institute staff, Nelson Aral, used both the agricultural census data and data from farm management questionnaires to arrive at an estimate of about one-hundred pesos of disposable income per hectare in the Area. It is known that on smaller sized (in terms of land extension) farms this ratio is greater than on larger sized farms.

storekeeper is of this type also, eggs being exchanged for merchandise at the going price but without the exchange of money. During the last ten years this sidestepping of the actual use of money has decreased. Now storekeepers keep larger supplies of cash on hand each day.

The weighing of alternatives in which one object, as a price and "utility" combination, is compared with another object, is rather infrequent. Rather, the spending practices of farm families are to a great extent determined by a traditional or conventional time-schedule of acquisition. A farm family first of all builds a house, collects kitchen equipment, then furniture is accumulated, and so forth; at certain stages in the life history of the family certain articles must be acquired. The wear of other articles requires their replacement. To a great extent spending appears to be "automatic." The material equipment both for "living" and for "working" appears to be uniform from farm-family to farm-family and is probably more uniform than are farm incomes.

Included in the questionnaire were two questions designed to measure goal orientations in this area of standards of living: "If you were to win 500 pesos in the lottery next week how would you spend it?" while in the other question "500 pesos" was replaced by "5000 pesos." The responses were coded as in Table X.

TABLE 1

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE USE OF 500 PESOS
 WHEN RECEIVED: 2,117 500 PESOS AND 1,197 500 PESOS.

The respondent said that he would, first of all:	No. of respondents whose amount was:	
	500 Pesos	5000 Pesos
1. "Invest," but did not specify what	2	2
2. Buy tools for his work	9	7
3. Save it	11	1
4. Buy land with it	1	12
(Sub-Total)	(23)	(32)
5. Buy things for the house	14	2
6. Use it to go live in the <u>pueblo</u>	-	4
7. Have a party, buy presents, or repay debts	4	3
(Sub-Total)	(18)	(9)

The responses to the question of spending 500 pesos are not startling. Buying things for the house is the most frequently mentioned use, saving and buying tools are the next most frequently appearing responses. Five-hundred pesos is not an undeniably large amount of money. Thus the responses probably reflect actual practices. The large proportion (29%) saying they would "save it" is consistent with the pattern of saving for retirement since the average age of those responding "save it" is somewhat larger (59.5 years) than that of the others (52.7 years).

It is when 5,000 pesos are to be disposed of that a strong uniformity in responses appears. "Buy land" is seen to be the decision of over half of the farm families. Over half of the farmers rent their land. Judging from their statements in other contexts, these consider that renting land is a serious handicap and they could be expected to respond "buy land."¹² Among the older farmers it may be true that operating more land is a goal in and of itself even when this implies renting the additional land and precludes the purchase of land. But among younger farmers the goal is to own land even though it is a small plot--then do a good job on the smaller extension.

On the other hand the fact that buying land becomes a frequent response only when the amount of money reaches "unrealistic" proportions is consistent with the fact that relatively few farmers

¹²The cross-tabulation of the response "buy land" by tenure status yielded the following:

Response to Question of Spending 5,000 Pesos

Tenure Status	Buy Land	Other	Sums
Owner	2	9	11
Renter	16	8	24
Sums	18	17	35

For this 4-fold table $X^2 = 5.290$. Since if there is a positive association shown here the above statements stand supported, while if a lack of or a negative association is indicated there will need to be a modification of the statements, this test is designed as a one-tail test. In this case $p_0 = .011$ and it is concluded that the above statements stand.

actually work up through an agricultural ladder by passing from renters to owners. When this does take place it usually involves moving on to the parents' farm and inheriting the land.

While discussing land it may be helpful to note other portions of the farmers' viewpoint on land. Each farmer knows intimately his fields. When asked why they used certain fields for certain crops, an answer was invariably forthcoming in which some characteristic of that field was mentioned. And when discussing "design of experiments" in connection with the Institute's demonstrations, a farmer would be likely to insist that he could tell if a seed was good only by planting it in one of his fields; he knows what that field is expected to give with ordinary seed. Farmers expressed pride when they explained their tricks of telling their particular fields. And one farmer said: "I know that nothing grows in this corner (a sizeable one) but I plow the whole field -- it looks bad if you don't."

Land is not sacred. It is a source of pride. That everyone should care for it is a moral precept although not a very strong one. That everyone should own some is a portion of the prevailing "political" ideology.

Among the consumption-type goals it was found that moving from the farm to the town was a prevalent wish on the part of many elderly couples. In discussing their plans for moving to the town one couple said that they expected the cost of living to be higher but that they would have the advantage of convenient access to stores and services. They were willing to praise almost all other aspects of life in the

country but they did not like the isolation in the winter because of poor roads. In general, elderly farm families are preoccupied with their retirement and are saving for that end. Although frequently the retired parents live with one of their sons, this is by no means a universal pattern.

Most of the material goals appear to be established in the form of maintenance of rather fixed standards. Farming is done with two teams of oxen, two ploughs, a hoe, a couple of sickles, a wagon, a drag, a sled, a collection of stall barns, etc. This equipment is common to almost all farms in the Area. One farm-family unit will not have exactly the same equipment as another, but the differences are in the number of plough-heads, oxen, or barns while the overall picture from farm to farm stays largely constant. Those who do have considerable farm machinery almost cease being farmers and become machinery specialists.

Talking with farm people about such things as their housing, clothing, food and health occurred incidentally--most frequently as an opening or closing topic. Invariably when interviewing in the winter months a few words would be exchanged on the cold weather and then it would be decided whether to stand outside or go into the house. If it were not windy they would frequently stay outside to talk but not because "the rancho was damp and cold" but because it was "better outside." If the rancho were discussed it was evaluated almost exclusively by the fieldworkers. A farmer knew that his rancho was quite cool in the hot summer months and gave protection

against the cold winds from the Pampa during the winter but these were not the goals which led him to build the house. He just built a house for the family.

Advertising plays almost no role in the business of the Area, and a smaller role in selling to farm families. Exceptions are found in the propaganda utilized to push "brand" names of yerba, cigarettes, beverages, etc. In some cases the storekeeper will "sell" the farm wife on a slightly better quality article than was contemplated, but in general the farmer and his wife decide beforehand, in a sense described above, on their purchases. "Excess" income so far as could be determined is saved.¹³

In such instances as these one can see operating what seem to be goals in the form of more or less fixed standards. The efficacy of such fixed standards is reinforced by recognition of the temporal span of the farm family's decision-making processes. Decisions are characteristically made in a short time perspective. The need for shoes manifests itself today and then next week when the farm wife is in town she takes the child to buy shoes. As the team of oxen began to age the farmer looks for some younger replacements.

Specific Farming Standards of Farm-Family Units. In the description of the basic view of the world as an attitude to directionless

¹³The presence of two banks in such a small town is remarkable and in fact the reason is not entirely economic. One bank had earmarked some time ago the town of San Bautista as a site; but as they delayed, their competitor became established. However, mutual commitments were so strong between local people and the first bank that it hurried to open its doors. One of the banks has had success in collecting the savings among rural people in other similar areas.

activity and of the other trait, bluffing, and the norm, honesty, and the value, "Good worker of the land" and the value "land," and the value, "retire in the pueblo" and finally the value "fixed material standards of living and of working" the intent has been to build up a picture of the farm-family unit as a "potentiality"--basic values and norms have been introduced. The evaluative orientations which have been described stay constant as the farm family acts, they are, in a sense, responsible for the predictable and repetitive actions of the farm family.

It is helpful to characterize a unit in these terms, but such a characterization is sometimes a little uneconomical (i.e., excessively analytic) when the major empirical interests can be made specific. In particular, present interest revolves around certain actually occurring changes in market structure, and these can be understood fairly well through knowledge of a limited number of the farm-family's input-output¹⁴ relationships. For instance, knowledge that the reaction (output) of the farm family in the face of the depletion of the soil (input) is intensification of production with a noticeable preoccupation with soil conservation, is quite sufficient for present purposes. It is not required to know exactly how this reaction is

¹⁴The present usage of the term "input-output" approximates that in Talcott Parsons, Robert Bales and Edward A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press, 1953) p. 215, or to that current in the theory of "little black boxes." Especially important in the development of the investigator's conceptualization was John D. Trimmer, Response of Physical Systems, (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1950) pp. 1-3, where "forcing" and "response" are used in a sense equivalent to the present use of input and output.

dictated by a value placed on owning and caring for land, the kind of standard of living which requires a particular kind of income rather close to the land's capabilities, etc.

Nevertheless, the data which will shortly be examined on input-output relationships are sufficiently scanty so as to require any aid which can be provided by a knowledge of the general and more basic propensities of farm-family units. Thus, certain statements about these action-reaction or input-output relationships become more plausible when the frequently inadequate data by which they are upheld are buttressed with an understanding of the more basic attitudes and value-orientations of the units.

Introduction to the List of Input-Output Relationships. To organize the presentation, available resources (changes in which are viewed as inputs) can be classified in the familiar manner: land, capital, labor and managerial skills. Changes in market conditions on the Montevideo markets are another part of input. Later on the local acordeador (grain merchant) can be included as a source of input, but for now examination can be restricted to the more familiar portions of input.

To tie together bits and pieces of input-output relationships more work needs to be done on the whole of the farm-family production process. Decisions of a long range should be separated from those of a short range nature. In many cases the relationship between an input and an output is to be found only after a relatively long interval of time. The relationship size-of-farm-with-type-of-farm-produce

is of long range type. On the other hand, certain inputs are followed shortly by their output. Rainy weather on a particular day is followed by inside work--reseeding broomstraw or taking the plough point to be sharpened.

The "fixed standard" nature of material goals of the farm family is reinforced by the short time span of decisions on production processes. The farmer makes "marginal" adjustments in his farming techniques in order to bring his enterprise back into line with some complex but standardized conception of it. In particular, technological knowledge framed in terms of the long range processes is not accepted by farm-family units.

Experiences with the introduction of hybrid corn are confirmation of this generalization. The physical presence of the seed appears to be necessary in order to start the farmers considering how they will plant. The presence of weeds is necessary to have them take measures for their elimination. The problem of selling corn was not encountered until it had been produced and not until it had yielded did the problem of storage become of interest. Regardless, apparently, of the advice of the extension agents, personal experience was necessary to bring farmers to accept the wider rows used in planting hybrid corn. Despite arrangements between farmers and the extension agents as to a time to plant the corn the farmer postponed or in rarer cases went ahead on his own before the agreed upon date. These experiences are not representative of those encountered when working with a select group of farmers, the "collaborators," nor are they universal for the other farmers, but they

have been observed frequently enough to suggest the pattern.

Confirmation of the short range nature of such farm decision making comes from other sources. But in many cases the incidents were reported by persons of the town who wished to emphasize the irrationality of the farmers. For instance, many farmers have convinced themselves that they will soon be leaving their rented farm; at least they defend their refusal to plant trees, to spread fertilizer or to make drainage facilities on the grounds that they will be leaving. This line of reasoning is encountered in families who for twenty or thirty years have occupied the same farm as renters.

As it is with the influence of new technological knowledge so is it with many of the other inputs. A decrease in soil fertility, an excess of labor, a breakdown of a plough or even the introduction of a tractor, calls forth only a short range adaptation but is infrequently the source of long-reaching changes in outputs.

Input-output relationships. Even though a greater share of the input-output relationships are of the short time span type, still there are a few which represent a more lengthy reaction to some more basic changes. In the following list are found some of these which will be of importance in the later discussion of changes in the social organization of marketing. Where convenient the input is underlined.

Land as Input:

Land becomes worn out. Reactions to this situation have previously been mentioned. Each operator "juggles" the crop pattern on his pieces of land so as to maintain land for the same battery of crops. The output is decreased yield.

Size of family unit is decreased. This usually happens together with another change--the farm operator ceases to work for his father or for another employer and starts out on his own. Here it appears that the farmer adjusts by eliminating wheat production and substitutes potatoes, onions, etc. A more "intensive" use of the land is the output.

Land is rented. Usually few improvements of a permanent nature are made and maximum amount of cash crops are sought for the one-year renting period. Renters are probably not adverse to planting corn or even broom straw continuously in the same field.

Labor as Input:

Available labor increases through the maturation of sons. Frequently these sons find work on farms nearer to Montevideo, on the quintas (truck gardens) where most of the table vegetables for Montevideo are produced or on a vineyard or a fruit orchard. Certain of them find jobs with local tradesmen or jobs on the roads. It is infrequent that sons marry before twenty-five or thirty although they may establish themselves on a farm before marriage, usually using their savings accumulated while working elsewhere. An increase in land operated is another common output in response to a surplus of farm labor.

Available labor decreases through the exodus of married sons and increasing age of the father. Most frequently one son stays on the family farm¹⁵ and increasingly takes on its direction.

¹⁵He probably buys the share of the other sons and daughters. No specific data on this are available although inheritance in equal shares is the practice.

The father retires from active farming either by moving to the town or by spending his time in the local police and indoors.

Technological competence of labor is increased through the experience which younger sons acquire on farms outside of the demonstration area. Although this change is more properly considered below under increase in commercial skills, it is also intimately related to the conditions mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Experience on farms outside of the area and experiences with non-farm occupations appears to result in a shift in form of exploitation from extensive to more intensive farming.

Capital as Input:

Capital is becoming more available in the form of increased transportation facilities. Farmers have reacted to the increased number of trucks available for hire, by marketing more produce in Montevideo and by increasing the production of things marketable in Montevideo.

As machinery becomes available the farmer sometimes acquires either a tractor or a gasoline engine. Either he finds it uneconomical or else he tends to become a machinery specialist renting himself and his machine to other farmers and increasing his collection of machinery.

The increased availability of pesticides becomes a "significant" input only insofar as technological knowledge is also present. However, this becomes an important input when taken

in conjunction with the pattern of intensification and the "progressive" farmers are using more and more pesticides. They request technical assistance in these practices with greater frequency than in other areas of farming.

The increased availability of fertilizers has elicited little or no "active" reaction from the farm-family units although it has entered into their "thought processes." Farmers are more aware of it. A major drawback to its incorporation into farming practices -- and this is true of all above inputs in the form of capital, except the first (transportation) whose cost is lessened -- is its "elevated" cost. "Elevated" was placed in quotes since it represents the view of the farmer and his way of defining utility. Extension agents and "progressive" farmers do not believe fertilizer costs to be "elevated."

Market conditions as Input: (These input-output relationships are more complex and obscure and the discussion must be less formal.)

Prices affect the farm-family production processes in certain ways which become more understandable as types of modifications in prices are distinguished. The two major crops in the area are subject to widely different price-fixing mechanisms. Corn prices are fixed in the relatively free grain market of Montevideo, and are quite stable. From the farmer's standpoint corn prices are only a minor determinant in his decision on the quantity of corn to plant. He usually plants ten hectares, a good share of which (60 or 70%) he will use to feed pigs and

chickens and for household consumption while the excess (1500 or 2000 kilos) he will sell, if the price is not too low, or hold otherwise.

On the other hand wheat prices are fixed by government decree. Since the farmer plans to sell his entire production of wheat, he is especially sensitive to wheat prices. In recent years the government has had trouble deciding on the price for wheat and it appears that although the government has supported the wheat price to the extent of accumulating unsaleable surpluses, this price is only barely at the break-even point for the farmer who produces ten or twenty hectares of wheat. The belief that the production of wheat is becoming uneconomical is current in the area.

Prices of the truck garden type of produce are fixed in the large markets of Montevideo where as far as could be determined an almost perfect competitive mechanism operates. However, this same brand of perfect competition in the "wholesale" markets is not found in the ferias or retail farmers' markets of Montevideo. In these markets the government ceiling prices prevail; however, quality is decreased whenever the ceiling price is hard pressed by more basic economic realities.

Market forecasts are "labeled" by the tradesmen who buy produce from the farmers. According to his style the acordador tells the farmer what they should expect as prices for their produce. These acordadores are usually knowledgeable of current supplies in storage, of the current unharvested production, and

even have a recognized ability to predict the action of the government. Increasingly, however, farmers have been making their own assessments of market conditions.

The following is the entirety of a conversation overheard in a chacón:

Farmer: "Do you have the Elta (a newspaper)?"

Storekeeper: "No, but here is Acción, it has the prices in it, also."

Farmer: "It has? Good, I'll take it."

Another storekeeper laughed as he told that he frequently was informed by farmers of certain price changes. "He -- who am among these papers (he indicated his desk) all day long." This reflects a change in the awareness of farmers and it is significant that the storekeeper was of San Marcos, the sub-area which appears to have changed most in this respect.

Technological knowledge and/or managerial skills as Input:

The impact of technological knowledge in the Demonstration Area is probably most modified by the intervention of the acquaintanceship and family-friendship systems. By the time "knowledge" enters as an input into the far-family system of production it carries a "label" of approval or questionableness placed on it by its passage through other social structures. Since there appears to be a rather special label attached to some items of technological knowledge certain distinctions can be made.

It was told in a joking manner that if a way could be found to shroud in secrecy hybrid corn seed its diffusion would

be assured. If a farmer hears from his best friend of some very special and rare seed, he has a tendency to want to try it out. There is a tacit assumption that the truly good techniques are conserved as family secrets. In reality farmers have appeared who had a reputation as good workers but who were accused of keeping their secrets to themselves. This happened twice in the case of farmers who were demonstrators of hybrid corn.

It appears that technological knowledge which carries the stamp of tradition will have no special appeal for adoption. Even when farmers were asked why they rotated corn with wheat, a practice which has a history at least as long as the agricultural history of this farming area, many of them said, "I know from my own experience." Then they would mention what happens or what has happened to them as proof that the practice is a good one.

Summary and Further Comments on the Farm-Family Units.¹⁶ The farm-family unit has been examined as a locus of more or less organized and patterned activities. The emphasis has been upon aspects of this patterning which it is expected will become of aid in understanding some changes in social organization. First of all an attempt was made to appreciate a rather fundamental orientation--that to "directionless"

¹⁶ In Appendix C is found a more detailed consideration of farmer's "thought processes" in the face of possible technological changes in their particular farming enterprise. The level of interaction at which this treatment is located is sufficiently "low" to preclude its inclusion in the text.

or low-pressure adjustments by means of adopting the "insider" or farmer's view. Next, two related areas which operate within interpersonal contexts were identified; these were bluffing and honesty. Certain situational determinants of these, particularly the "threat to pride," were found.

Moving to more specific areas of patterning of activities at the farm-family unit level of organization the ways in which certain "personality" features are evaluated were examined. "Working well the land" was discussed. The existence of relatively fixed standards of living and standards of working was related to the relatively short time span of decision-making processes covering these actions.

Finally a list of input-output relationships was offered. Inputs were classified as changes in: land, labor, capital, market conditions and technological knowledge. And some of the more frequently appearing reactions of farm-family units to changes in these were described.

From time to time statements indicating the degree to which certain aspects of this characterization are "average" or typical were inserted. It is assumed that only those traits whose distribution is quite extensive have been included in the characterization. These aspects are by no means unrelated and some rather superficial impressions concerning the building up of more synthetic characterizations could be passed along. In a sense the following represents the outsider's view of the form of a rural stratification arrangement.

Starting first with the "middle class" or typical farm family,

its "profile" would include:

- a. The orientation to low pressure enjoyments.
- b. Little bluffing--probably an avoidance of situations in which pride would be threatened.
- c. Predominance of honesty.
- d. "Working well the land" is a value which guides the unit's farming activities but in assessing others a strong flavor of toleration of individual idiosyncracies is present.
- e. Given that the farming pattern is well established adaptation to land extension and labor supply conditions, any slight increases in income would call forth some improvement in level of consumption or "living."
- f. New ideas for farming are referred to "public opinion" and before they can be accepted will be submitted to a short trial on the farm.

Probably three-quarters of the farm-family units in the Section are within a few points of this characterization. There are, however, some notably "progressive" farmers. In certain cases these depart from the prevailing combination of enterprises--they may have a truck garden, orchard, or vineyard enterprise which is of prime importance. In other, the majority of, cases they do the same sorts of farming operations as the typical farmer but with a greater sensitivity to new methods--they have greater capital expenditures. They attach a high value to farming well, although their incomes permit, in general, a higher level of living. Slight increases in

income would be utilized in building up production. Perhaps one-tenth of the farm-family units are exceptional in this direction.

In the other direction are found a mixture of non-typical cases. Newly established farm-family units are liable to deem large building up production. Another case, elderly couples thinking of retirement, is also associated with a deemphasis on production but here saving is serious and consumption severely limited for this reason. Then there are some families who are constantly on the move from one rented farm to another until they find landlords who are insensitive to their incapacities to farm acceptably. Here are found the incompetent farmers, and here is found bluffing and dishonesty -- all three of which appear to be and are said to be interrelated.¹⁷

Finally there are found the apathetic farm-family units. These include many elderly couples preparing to retire as well as farm-families preparing to leave the campesino, perhaps to look for a job near Montevideo. The "apathetic" cases may constitute a five-percent sub-category and the others of this lower-level farm-family category a ten-percent section of the population.

Certain ecological correlations of the progressive-average-to-lower level breakdown are readily apparent. Further away from the population centers and further away from all-weather roads are found more of the average and lower level units. Progressive farmers are scattered throughout the section but with greater numbers occurring in the rural neighborhoods of El Cudro and Camellón (See Figure 3, Chapter II).

¹⁷ The term "campesino" is at times used to refer to persons of the area. When used by outsiders the term points to this idiosyncratic-bluffing-dishonesty "syndrome," but when used within the area the term is one of affectionate kidding.

In the preceding discussion the farm family as a whole has been the unit of investigation. In many instances the farmer has been examined separately--in certain cases because his is the dominant viewpoint while in others because he plays a representative role for the farm family. Insofar as primary emphasis has been placed on production activities this is even more justifiable. But when both the consumption as well as the production activities are to be considered, the role of the housewife deserves greater emphasis.

The close connection between consumption and production has been emphasized and the general fact that decisions are made in the presence of a combined criteria should be recognized. There is a branch of farm production, however, more intimately tied to consumption than the others--this is poultry production. Poultry production is to a great extent under the control of the farm wife and she uses the proceeds to buy small dry goods items from the mercachifle (peddler). The degree of "economizing" displayed by farm wives in this enterprise is probably highly variable. Nevertheless the economic sagacity displayed by the females was impressive. In some cases the wife is able to pay for the entire food bill through the poultry production. The popularity of new techniques in poultry production seems to be derivable in large part from the "progressiveness" of the farm wives. Certain of the "limitations" under which farmers operate (their "pride" in being a good worker of the land) are less in evidence in the case of the farm wives.

II. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TRADERMAN AS A UNIT

The middleman's functional environment is two-sided, as his role title implies. On one hand he is influenced by his farmer-clients while he also accepts influences from the Montevideo markets. Although something should be known about how he reacts to both types of influence, the side of the farmer-clients will receive more attention.

Distinct from the situation which was encountered in the case of the farm-family unit there appears to be more than one "average" type of middleman. There are at least two types. One type is exemplified in the acopiador who buys up produce from the farmer for resale in the Montevideo market (a plaza en Montevideo) while the other includes the trucker (camionero) who performs the service of transporting produce for the farmer. A third quasi-type is the machinery specialist who visits farmers with his corn sheller, a broom straw stripper, a threshing machine, etc. Such specialists can best be included in the second type. In fact a person of the second type is not a "genuine" middleman by legal definition, although his role almost invariably transcends that of "just" trucker or "just" machinery specialist.

A more objective distinction between these two types of middlemen could be made on the basis of the volume of their businesses. The first type, the acopiador-almacenero (grain merchant-storekeeper) has a large capital investment, a large clientel and large profits as compared to the second type. Locally, this distinction is reflected in the terms acopiador fuerte ("strong" grain merchant)

versus acopiador no-patenteado (non-licensed grain merchant), acopiador (trucker), or dueño de la fábrica (owner of the machine). In the following, we will examine first the acopiador-almacenero fuerte as a unit, then later we will consider the second type of middlemen.

Within what may be called the acopiador-almacenero fuerte type are included middlemen whose businesses are quite different. Some of them engage in grain buying and selling almost exclusively while for others their major business is the store. The type is distinguished not so much by the store-versus-grain dimension, but rather by the volume of business carried on. The men to be discussed in the following section are "large" businessmen.

Methodological Note. Available information concerning these middlemen as units is quite spotty.¹⁰ Some of the investigator's closest acquaintanceships were among the four acopiador-almaceneros of San Bautista. He had occasion to talk once, twice or three times with twelve acopiadores in other sections of the Demonstration Area. But only occasionally were contacts established with the almaceneros or acopiadores no-patenteados ("unlicensed" acopiadores). This lacuna should be emphasized since much of the information about these truckers comes from interviews with acopiadores, a possibly biased source since the two types are competitors.

In addition to the possible biases arising from selectivity in contacting middlemen, there is a further shortcoming of the data. There is a lack of a complete picture of the occupational role of

¹⁰See Chapter I for a statement on the "representativeness" of the middlemen interviewed.

any one of these middlemen. From each one of them was secured something a little bit different--from one a life history, from another a viewpoint on farmers as clients, from yet another his reaction to certain economic changes, etc. Consequently, although one cannot resist characterizing middlemen as more or less homogeneous types of units, this typology will bear conditional acceptance.

Sketches of Middlemen--the "Strong" Type. In comparison to the farmer, the distinctiveness of the acopiador was impressive. His reaction to the interview situation, the symbols of his position (the office, the papers, the employees), his command of relevant information, his views on farming and the Institute's program--all argued for the differences between farmers and acopiadores. This difference is all the more notable since the histories of many of these men show them to have been reared on a farm themselves, and many of them still maintain their chacra.

Since the number of middlemen who were interviewed is small it may be wise to describe each of them in a few words. In San Bautista are located the following:

1. Peña: Two sons have, in the last five years, taken over the operation of this almacén from their father. One of their distinctive enterprises has been the introduction of tomato cultivation into the area. They are purchasing agents of tomatoes for Swift Company of Montevideo. Both of these men are "progressive" businessmen with a style of active salesmanship.

2. Maurat: The owner-operator is a long-time almacenero who is a son of one of the original families of the town. One of his brothers was acopiador until during the last few years when he has given it up as "no business." This businessman appears to be quite passive and reserved; his clientele are more on the order of "traditional."

3. Delgado: This is probably the almacén which combines with it the major share of the buying of farm produce in the Section. The two brothers who operate the business are quite different from each other. One is the active businessman with extensive contacts in Montevideo while the other is a jovial, sociable fellow.

4. Pérez: This business was started about four years ago by the former right-hand man of Maurat. The operator appears to be very conscientious and unpretentious. The store played such a prominent role in the election campaign that it has been difficult to separate this business from its political overtones. The clientele is probably younger farmers who made their choice of almacenero and political faction simultaneously.

In other parts of the Demonstration Area are found the following:

5. In Castellanos, Fassanelo: The business is largely that of almacén although Fassanelo does buy some corn and considerable quantities of eggs and chickens in the marketing of which he specializes. He started as a mercachifle (traveling peddler exchanging small items of dry goods for poultry products)

and was loaned money by colono in San Antista to make his start in a store. He is much less of an active businessman than the ones mentioned in San Antista.

6. North of El Yarcos, Guejo: This is a socially and mentally active man maintains that he has all but retired from the business of acopiador. He does not mix storekeeping with acopiador. He said that at one time he had more than 10,000 pesos of credit distributed to his clients but that other smaller operators have ruined the business so that about all he does now is to rent his truck and buy from some of his long-term clients who refuse to deal directly with the Montevideo markets.

7. In El Yarcos, Loraes: He impressed the interviewer as a very "political" or cavillero type of person. He did not discuss his business to a very great extent but found that he had very rigid views on market conditions.

8. In San Carlos, Mavajo: This is one of the few surviving acopiador-almaceneros of San Carlos. He described for us the rather unusual situation in the area around San Carlos where dairy farming has gradually replaced the crop farms (canebrás) on those lands near the river and near good roads. Because of this change-over his business in corn and wheat has all but disappeared and he is attempting to introduce other types of services so as to utilize his capital outlay.

9. In Pita, Inca: He even is the owner of the anti-trichinosis plant. He attempted to sell but also our conversation into a contract binding us to deliver to him the hybrid corn seed. Finally he realized that what was wanted was information as well and he told us of his activities and his plans for the future. He recognized the increase in importance of corn and wheat and is negotiating to build a miller to make pig and chicken feed. He estimated his regular clientele as three-hundred while some one-hundred or two-hundred others (said with derision) also did business with him. He complained of the demands made on him by his clients and appears to be an active politician.

10. Near Chumizo, Cortez: To a great extent his major business is his store although he handles considerable eggs and poultry and an "occasional" crate of vegetables. His son is a specialist in pig raising and both he and his son have "progressive" views of farming. The interviews with him were somewhat unsuccessful; they were carried out in a tense, artificial atmosphere. This was surprising in view of his previous support of the Institute, but explicable to some extent by the fact that he was frequently interrupted by farmers coming in to buy from him.

11. Near San Antonio (west of the Section) Alfonso: His warehouse and store are on a large scale and modern--in sharp contrast to the surrounding farm area. He gives us the impression of having created an empire and his associates are "yes-men." He is credited with the introduction of alfalfa in the San Antonio

region and he was very interested in trying out the hybrid corn. He said that he would see to it that the seed was distributed to farmers who would give it a fair trial. From what could be determined he enjoys a virtual monopoly of the acornifer business in the area.

12. Herr San Jacinto (Southeast of the Section) Valenti: Our reception was marked by an initial antagonism caused apparently by mentioning that we had heard of his activities from one of the warehouses of Montevideo. He also attempted to make the interview produce a contract promising delivery of seed and a promise to buy any hybrid corn produced. Finally it became possible to discuss his business and he appeared to be primarily interested in corn and wheat. He said it understood that he was a very busy man, traveling to Montevideo three days of the week.

How They become Acornifers? Although the data are not complete for each of these cases, it was possible to achieve a general picture of the ways in which a person enters into the role of middleman. All of the middlemen mentioned are, so far as is known, originally from the Area or from close by. The pattern of movement from the farm into business is quite consistent. On an average farm, laboring sons frequently create a labor surplus. These sons frequently find work on nearby farms, or on farms closer to Montevideo, or in the cases of many of the above mentioned middlemen the sons find work with one of the nearby businessmen or in the town.

Their jobs were found for them by businessmen-cañilleros, usually on the request of their parents. This is a "political" receiver of the cañilleros (political bosses) in which they act to a great extent in accord with their orientation to power. That is, they (the businessmen-cañilleros) are on the lookout for "talent" among the young men. If a young man demonstrates an attitude for commercial activities, if he saves his money to reinvest, the businessmen sponsor may offer his advice and financial backing so that the young man can make his start. If the local businessman does not provide his support, a "belling" businessman will, as a result of his contacts with markets in Montevideo, find support in other places.

Characteristics of the Middlemen Unit. Due probably to this process of selection by sponsors, middlemen reflect a value orientation distinct from that of the farmers. The major basic differentiating characteristic is along the activity-passivity scale. The basic orientation to "directionless" activity posited in the case of the farm-family unit is to some extent modified in the case of these acopiadores. A passive style of activity can be equated to the orientation to low-pressure enjoyments, while the active style reflects or is equivalent to a more purposive orientation. At any rate the mental agility and questioning attitude displayed by the middlemen in the interview situation distinguishes these from the interviews with farmers.

This attitude is, so far as the data are concerned, somewhat bounded by the content of the interview, in that this was to a large extent built of economic topics. In at least one case the acopiador

was "passive" with respect to community affairs. This attitude is similar to that displayed by farmers. Nevertheless, the active orientation of the acopiadores frequently extends to political and social fields.

Comparing middlemen to farmers along the other elements of the value system reveals other associated differences. Insofar as could be determined bluffing was much less prevalent among the middlemen. This conclusion is at variance with the "popular" impression of the grasping middleman--the current stereotype held, for instance, by government officials. Middlemen appeared to be frank and truthful. This may represent only a more skillful bluff, although only a few instances support this suspicion. Several cases were reported in which a middleman announced that prices would drop or prices would hold and they did. But what is more important, the middlemen appeared to be making an "honest" estimate of market conditions. As far as could be determined the middleman's communications concerning market analysis are accepted in good faith by the farmers.

The interviewing of middlemen for this study was, it turned out, over-cautious in avoiding specific discussion of their profits and losses. Actually opportunities were missed not only to secure specific data on their business activities but also to maintain a "normal" relationship. The investigator was invited to look over their books; they expected him to take this interest; but he did not follow through. They did take considerable pride in the care which they lavish on their "papers."

This and the volume of their businesses constitute sources of satisfaction and of pride. They do not appear to be "threatened," as Midman of the center, by the presence of an outsider. Most of those interviewed were patently "successful." However, they were especially sensitive to their reputations among the farmers. Middleton provided a great amount of well-intentioned advice on the "personal feeling" of farmers. When considering their possible collaboration in the Institute's program they attempted to avoid activities which could be interpreted adversely by the farmers. An exemplar was in evidence one day when he found that the Institute had "at the last minute" added to the price of some seeds a transportation cost. This man, as distributor of the seeds, stood to receive the brunt of the farmers' criticisms.

As is the case with other "inbetween" roles, middlemen are caught in the problem of conflicting reference groups. The middleman is at different times expected to conform to different cultural standards. At one time he follows those of the peasants, at others those of the campesinos. In reality there is not a great deal of difference in the two but some evidence of the internal conflict can be found. In the consumption sphere the middleman is expected to heed the influence of his wife and conform to the town consumption patterns in accord with his income. This must, however, be guarded against. It would be disastrous in the rural view. The more casual familiarity of town social interaction must not intrude upon the rural reserve and formality. For a middleman to become active in town associational affairs constitutes a danger for his popularity among the farmers. It is probably due to this conflict of reference

group orientations that the Indians have become hypersensitive to farmers' criticisms.¹⁹

Secondly, more specific is the orientation of the basic value orientations of these proprietors the discussion turns now to their material goals. They were not asked the question, "If you won the lottery . . ." Thus it is not known which they would pick--the house-hold things, the land, the investment, or any of the others. They would probably not agree among themselves. A leading proprietor of San Antista is in the process of selling his business to his "trusted employee" and recently has expressed quite an interest in consumption activities, including building a new house with plush furnishings and taking vacation and trips. An proprietor in the Chirico area is retiring from his business, while one in Tula is about to go into the making of chicken feed. The goals of these men will differ.

It is known that their businesses are profitable and that they save considerable amounts of money, a good share of it in the form of land. This was supported by the statements of an employee of the local bank who assured us that a man could still make his "fortune" in San Antista. This situation should hold true outside the section as well--even more so judging from the fact that, on the average,

¹⁹ There is, in a sense, never a crisis in this situation, but one which goes beyond the "crisis" topic of this section. The village men have considerable cause to be "defensive." If there is a scarepost of the rural areas, i.e. "agro-outgroup, political," it is the proprietor. The proprietor is known to "own" business circles and he is known as a supporter of his clients', which means of course his own, interests. But in like manner he is a scapegoat for farm families--a symbol of capricious market fluctuations.

lower prices are charged in San Antista and "other things" appear to be "equal."

Growth and Decline of Middlemen. However, expansion of their businesses is checked by the productivity of the area and by their competition with each other. Certain of them appear to look upon these aspects resignedly. They have their clientele and a fairly secure source of income. Some of them are more than resigned, they are easing themselves out of their businesses. On the other hand are found acopiador-almaceneros who are turning to newer fields and who have recognized that they can expand only through the increased agricultural production of their area. There is, however, a pattern visible in this diversity--a "growth and decline" pattern.

In the first flush of his business activity the acopiador attempts to build up his clientele; he is quite active as well he must be. With a clientele secured his orientation to expansion tapers off. Such businesses have a definite limit because of the requirements of person-to-person treatment of clients. As the acopiador approaches older age the tendencies to retirement manifest themselves.²⁰

²⁰This can be inferred from the statements of many acopiadores concerning how busy they are. They complain of spending entire days-on-end traveling either to Montevideo or around the area to visit farmers. Many of them give the impression of always being engaged in some important affair and of these, many imply that they are overtaxed by these activities. The fact is that frequently they retire, and judging from examples in San Antista they retire without qualms.

Input-Output Relationships of Strong Middlemen. In the present discussion it will be assumed that the middleman is operating with his goals of business expansion unimpaired. Let it be assumed that he is near his peak of activity, i.e., before the "urge" to retire becomes evident. The following, then, are reactions to inputs from his farm-family clients (as previously the inputs are underlined):

Potential clients are increasingly farmers who depend less and less on corn and wheat. The acopiador's reaction has been to search for other activities to utilize his storage and transportation facilities, or in some cases the transportation facilities have been limited. Whereas formerly two of the almaceneros of San Bautista had trucks, now they hire transportation. More common, however, the acopiador branches out into other activities; he intensifies his poultry marketing activities, his seed-buying activities, he finds a new crop whose introduction will provide him with another job of marketing.

Clients pay their bills and eliminate their indebtedness: This increase in the economic independence of the farm families appears to be met by the acopiador fostering the increase of social and political dependence. The acopiadores appear to be accomplishing this. Here it is difficult to trace through this process in the case of a particular person. But it appears that those middlemen who emphasize a range of "personal" services are replacing other middlemen whose emphasis was upon just the economic exchange. That is, there is a reaction to this input but it occurs at a level above that of the single middleman unit, it is a reaction characteristic of the

whole collection of milkers.

Sketches of lesser milking. Into this category fall the truckers and non-licensed acuderos. Also it seems fitting to include the machinery specialists--part-time farmers who have a flair for machinery, buy a corn sheller, a tractor or even a threshing machine, and gradually find themselves visiting the rooms of farms in the area. Many of the machinery specialists are also part-time blacksmiths. And frequently these specialities coincide in the same person or in a close relative, with the sub-center almacenero-bolictero (storekeeper-"bartender"). The common feature of all of these specialists is the fact that they are still part-time farmers or else not very far removed from farming. Their brothers are farming on the next place to the south or they themselves are raising a flock of chickens or pigs, but more than likely not field crops. Their residence is almost always in the campesino. The exceptions to this residence rule are a few truckers who live in the towns. Although there must be some exceptions, the farm machinery specialists we knew, all lived in the country.

In addition to the bolicteros and acuderos, are the perambulantes, the traveling peddlers. These bounce about the country roads in their carts exhibiting articles found in dry pool stores for poultry products or cash. They are usually connected with some source of supply, some businessman, of the town and they deal with the farm housewife.

Also there are small scale buyers of specialized farm produce. For instance, there are some adventurous ones who deal in black

market lechones (suckling pigs), others buy broom straw, and then there are those who buy flax and sugar beets, but these come from outside the Area. Other specialists are truck drivers who do not own their truck, farm laborers who find work during the corn cutting season, or do occasional fencing, ploughing, etc. These make a heterogeneous collection which defies characterization in the same terms which have been applied to the farm-family units.

How they Became Lesser Middlemen or Specialists. Again there is probably a selective process by which farmers become lesser middlemen and specialists. And the same process as operates in the case of "strong" middlemen undoubtedly occurs here as well. But there are two additional possibilities of somewhat frequent occurrence. On one hand, farmers who turn out to be somewhat more successful in some work area than their neighbors will acquire a reputation accordingly. If the area happens to be machinery the groundwork has been laid for a more formalized specialization. Possibly an aptitude for reading and writing may lead toward the middleman specialization. On the other hand certain farmers may be unsuccessful at farming. These too, it appears, may be candidates for becoming middlemen. A farmer who cannot earn income to support his family may look to providing some delivery or some other service for extra cash. He may bring some groceries and cold drinks to his home for resale and thus become a bolichero.

The boundary line between the full-time farmer and one of these

part-time farmer - lesser middleman roles is crossed with frequency and quite easily. The lesser middleman or specialist is a part of the farmers' acquaintanceship and friendship circle. Farmers are quite familiar with the appropriate occupational behavior of lesser middlemen. This makes passage from role to role easier and given the collection of reasons for this passage its frequent occurrence is more easily explained.

Style of actions of lesser middlemen. The diversity in ways by which the role of lesser middleman or specialist is attained is reflected in the variety of existing styles of action among persons in this type of role. Policieros could be unceasingly active or the picture of passive contentment. Truck drivers could be flashy, younger fellows or sedate, responsible older ones. Non-licensed apodiferos were both pompous, presumptuous and crafty as well as reserved, retiring and too honest to make a profit.

One constant feature of these units, and one, more of their social position than of them as units, was the indication of their aspiration to the respect and esteem of farmers. It seemed that they were capable of calculating the effects of a "good impression" and greeted the interviewers with recognition of their positions as outsiders. There was greater awareness of the contest for social status and influence among these lesser middlemen than among the farmers. This was perhaps one of the reasons why as a group they constituted a serious interviewing problem.

As in the case of the desarrollados among the lesser middlemen

probably were caught in conflicts between the two reference groups, the corra and the pidlo. In this case the rural reference group is by far the dominant one, but these middlemen are quite sensitive of their contacts in the town. In general the lesser middlemen appear to exhibit town business practices and technological practices.

Other than this they may be characterized, in terms used to describe farm-family units and "stronger" middlemen units, as midway between these two. Their material standard of living appears to be no higher than that of the farm-family units, but they would be more likely to invest an increment of income in their businesses. They appear to be more aware of the world outside of the corra and attempt to give the impression that they are even better informed than, in truth, they are.

Stronger and Further Comments on the Middlemen and Specialists Units. Two broad types, "strong" and "lesser" of these roles were distinguished along a "size" continuum. Tied in with the size factors were some aspects of basic orientation and the identification with pidlo vs. corra. Later discussion will consider more thoroughly these middlemen since their most important aspects are those of interaction.

Having considered the farm-family units and the middlemen and specialists roles, the collection of "points" between which is found the network of economic exchange relationships is almost complete. However, certain units have thus far escaped consideration and should be briefly mentioned. For instance, the role of landlord is of considerable significance for many countries; however, this role

is likely to be found in combination with the millerman role.

Of some importance is the office of the regional agronomist in San Juan whose function of interest to the consideration of the economic exchange network is the distribution of certain government subsidy programs. In his office emphasis is upon the preparation of paper forms containing reasonable sounding information and the proper signatures. As mentioned previously, government programs have to some extent been devised to aid the less prosperous farmers in such areas as the San Antista district. The administration of these programs in the local areas falls upon the regional agronomist, the manager of the San Juan branch of the Banco de la República, and to some extent on the director of the agricultural school in San Juan.

These men can be characterized by their orientation to the world of government bureaucracy--they are "city-bred" civil servants. If a request comes to them from a farmer who indicates some acquaintanceship with the appropriate legislation they will be helpful, but they are not active salesmen of their services among farmers who do not have this grasp of the regulations. For instance, it is known that dairy farmers make use of a "consulting service" offered them by Comarela, the dairy producers' cooperative. They ask for and receive information concerning credit which allows them to make application for this credit from the local branch of the Banco. Almost all of the rural credit extended by the branch bank in San Juan goes to the dairy farmers.

One rather strange specialization is that found in the case of officers of the Society for Rural Betterment. In the Area there is but one of these Societies, that in Castellanos. Fringing the area there is one in San Jacinto and in Santa Rosa the Rotary Club has become interested in rural economic problems. The activities of these officers are much more properly discussed as part of the associational life in Chapter V.

III. PAIR-RELATIONSHIPS OF ECONOMIC EXCHANGE BETWEEN FARM-FAMILY AND MIDDLEMAN

Introduction. This discussion of pair-relationships considers the tasks to which the above-mentioned units are committed. From the standpoint of the Area-wide network of exchange relationships these pair-relationships are themselves building blocks or units, but it will be desirable to defer treatment of the dynamics of these interrelationships and of the problem of adaptability of the form of social interaction. In the following, the problems of the task behavior or aim-content directed activities will be emphasized. As in previous presentations the differences among such pair-relationships are sufficiently complicated so that the construction of typologies is required.

The major features which provide the basis for a typology of pair-relationships are: (1) the limited aim-content versus unlimited aim-content and (2) the degree of permanency of the relationship, to be denoted the "fixed-client" versus "transitory-client" distinction.

In the typical case the farmer sells to an acopiador that

portion of his corn and wheat which he does not intend to use himself. The acopiador pays either in cash on delivery or else a previous debt is cancelled. Nothing could be simpler. However, along with this bare economic exchange are present a considerable number of regularities in conduct which can be used to further describe it.

Unlimited versus Limited Content of the Relationship. Of the twenty farmers (in the 1945, forty-one farmer study) who sold wheat, all sold to acopiadores except for one case in which the farmer took his wheat to the mill. All but eight of the twenty-five farmers who sold corn sold to acopiadores. Of these eight, six sold directly in the Montevideo market and two to their neighbors or other farmers in the area. Combining marketing activities across kinds of produce it was found that four of the forty-one farmers marketed none of the usual farm products, nine appeared to utilize outlets other than acopiadores, while twenty-eight sold at least some, if not all, of their produce to some type of acopiador.

The data do not reveal to what extent selling a particular kind of produce constitutes the only or but one of many other bases for interaction between the two. In particular, there are cases in which the farmer deals with a placero-acopiador of the town, he sells both corn and wheat to the miller and even more he purchases consumers' articles from the same miller. On the other hand there are farmers who make a much more selective use of millers. They sell certain produce to one and buy certain articles from another.

Fixed Client versus Transitory Client. The extent to which farmers are clients of one or another of the four placeros in San Cristista is fairly common knowledge. Only a newcomer to the area

could have done as one farmer was said to have done: he asked for and received credit at three of the alacenos in the town. Credit is also a common element in the fixed client-acopiador relationship. In the San Cristobal area credit is essentially consumer's credit because of the close tie between acopiador and storekeeper. They are usually the same person. In other areas it is offered in the form of a cash advance or, as is also the case in the San Cristobal area, in the form of seeds and equipment.

Upon the extension of credit the relationship is assured a duration until the harvest and subsequent liquidation through sale of the farm produce. According to government officials, farmers, and acopiadores,²¹ the farmer is frequently "forced" to continue in the relationship for successive years due to the lack of sufficient return at harvests to pay off his debt. Now, however, most of the fixed clients accept consumer's credit on a one-month basis and both the storekeeper and the client keep their libreta, little book in which all purchases are recorded.

Negotiations for the sale of the farmer's produce are usually initiated by the farmer who frequently asks the advice of the acopiador as to when he should sell. This decision to sell is probably made by the farmer in accord with his more or less short-range

²¹ Talking about this situation one acopiador explained: "Times were hard then. We had to give the farmer everything--seeds, tools and even food. Then with the harvest we totalled up the account and paid the difference, but many times it wasn't enough. Then they lived on 30 to 60 pesos a month where now they spend 100 to 200 pesos. But now they don't owe money, most of the business is on a cash basis. Now we have to keep 14,000 pesos on hand each day where before 1,000 was enough."

outlook. For example, a decision is made to sell the lechones (suckling pigs) because of a favorable price; his requirements for corn then seem to be decreased; and so he decides to sell the corn as well and thus be able to replace his plough, etc. Of course, his wheat is ready to sell any time after harvest since wheat has no outlet other than sale. Corn, however, is an important item of domestic consumption. They take it to one of various tahonas (corn mills), to be elaborated into gallin (corn flour toasted, used like a breakfast cereal) or corn flour. On the other hand, corn is also fed to the pigs whose number can be varied.

Once the farmer expresses his readiness to sell, the relationship persists until the sale. This is so even in the case in which there may be no credit involved. In the case that the acopiador is also alcazavero he and the farmer will see each other at least once a month. These meetings almost invariably involve an exchange of detailed information on the condition of the farm family and perhaps a discussion of market conditions which lead naturally to a coordination (of time, place, and material) of the sale of farm produce.

When this stage is entered the "initiative" is transferred to the acopiador. The acopiador fixes exact dates, arranges transportation and, most importantly, decides on the price of the grain. His determination of price includes examination of the quality of the grain in order to fix the price per one-hundred kilos. Then he weighs the grain and thus arrives at the final price. Long are the jokes about the acopiador's scales which always weigh slightly for incoming produce. The skillfulness of the farmer's calculations to use

scoules are the final arbiter. The determination of the quality of the grain is less objective. The acquirer lets out his mill, he weighs it in his hands, looks attentive and perfunctory as well as a bit discouraged. And his concerns concern the quality of the grain (size, grain, but grains, moisture, etc.).

Theoretically the farmer is free to reject or accept the price offered, but actually this happens infrequently. This however is related to something rather general which seems to underlie all contacts between farmers and "outsiders" (traders, politicians, government officials, etc.). It arises from an index upon the fact that both the farmer and the acquirer know that the other has a usually fair amount of information concerning the possible losses and gains accruing to themselves, they are usually aware of the way in which the other evaluates possible actions; and, although this type of calculation is not verbalized in the relationship itself, it is the kind of thing which makes the limits of the final exchange tolerable. It is thus not necessary to insist that there be a common goal guiding the actions of both, but only to realize that both recognize the possibility of common gain, in order to understand the stability of such relationships. It is not necessary to assure that they can both evaluate their values in some way translatable to an overall money scale of values.

An element of this relationship which is of importance and whose limits should be analyzed a bit further is its generality from year to year. During field work the question was unfortunately not asked but perhaps inference could be made now as to the existence of an

institutionalized norm to the effect that this relationship should be continual. This norm probably does arise, but only after years of a constant miller-client relationship.

Certain farmer-clients were "closer" to the acopiador than other clients. Among witnesses in San Antonio there was found evidence of an "empire" in which the acopiador was surrounded by selected farmers who, for instance, corroborated his statements, upon his request.

With some of these farmers the rural acopiador will undoubtedly have a friendship relationship, but with many of them it will be an institutionalized client-client relationship. Such a relationship was indicated in the following statement by an acopiador. "Yes, there are some farmers who just tell me when their produce is ready, they never ask about price." However, this norm has validity for only particular pair-relationships, it does not cover farmers entering the market for the first time.

The setting of the following incident is in the literal, outside of the demonstration area but within a farming region similar in crop pattern to the area. Two or three years ago the government debated and debated on the support price of wheat up to mid-July harvest time without coming to an agreement. It was widely accepted that when a price was fixed, that it would be above present prices; therefore, anyone with wheat would be wise to hold it. The farmers, however, were inadequately equipped with storage facilities. The acopiadores did have the storage facilities but they refused to buy at a price above current levels. Into this impasse officials of the

Ministry of Agriculture (and was then not acting officially, but no matter) made a proposal: that the farmers form a cooperative and build their own temporary storage silos. A meeting of farmers was called and the proposal was about to carry the day. Then a farmer rose to say that he could see the reasons for the plan. But he had always sold to the same acquirer and so had his father; and if the acquirer had not helped them they would have been hungry more than once. The plan was to bypass the acquirer, but this he could not do. It turned out that other farmers felt the same way and the storage silos were not built.

In case that there is an institutionalization of the relationship, both acquirer and the farmer are probably orientated to the common goal: maintenance of the farmer's level of living. The profit of the acquirer can attain higher levels only after this requirement is satisfied.

This seems to have been the case some years ago, during the depression and war, while grain prices were subject to wide fluctuations. Under such conditions the willingness of the acquirer to assume the risks was probably welcomed by the farmer. The acquirer was sufficiently familiar with the market to recognize that if he could accumulate and store a sufficient quantity of grain his expected gain was large. But farmers then apparently had fewer alternative occupations³² and depended on the sale of their corn and wheat, and

³²More than once was heard, "My father knew nothing, but wheat and corn, corn and wheat."

given their orientation to a fixed level of living the solution becomes self-evident--confide in an acopiador.

Farmers-Montevideo Markets and Farmer-Trucker. To deal with these two relationships simultaneously seems natural in that they appear together concretely. They cannot be separated since practically none of the farmers own trucks and practically none of the Montevideo grain or farm-produce merchants send trucks to the area.

There are two basic types of produce markets in Montevideo.²³ The warehousemen or companies (barracas, which means warehouse) buy corn, wheat, and forages largely from the acopiadores of the country but at times, now more frequently, directly from the farmers. These barracas sell in their turn to the mills and other consumers of large quantities of grain. Their operations are closely governed as far as prices are concerned by the facts: (1) that they are fairly numerous (twenty-five to thirty listings appear in the telephone directory) and appear to offer very similar services, and also (2) there exists a Camara Mercantile (Board of Trade) which maintains an "open" market in which prices are fixed. The barracas' function appears to be that of storage, which provides a buffer for the time discrepancies between supply and demand. Most of these businesses are of relatively long histories, many are family owned.

The other type of Montevideo market outlet is the produce or

²³A possible third type is the feria or retail farmers' market. These markets are held almost every day of the week in differing locations in Montevideo. Very few farmers in the San Bautista Section appear to attend these.

Farmer's market of which there are two principal ones, the Mercado Modelo and Mercado del Puerto. In the Mercado Modelo business goes on every morning of the year in a large coliseum-type building. Farmers begin to arrive at two to three o'clock in the morning; they rent a half meter, a meter or several meters of space in which to display their onions, potatoes, oranges, garlic, squash, etc.; at five A.M. the market officially opens. Vegetable merchants, and restaurant and hotel proprietors look over the offerings and listen to the prices quoted by the farmers. Prices are very sensitive to the supply and a good measure of impersonality and conflict of interests forms the basis of negotiations. With unusual items, e.g., offerings of any special fruits and vegetables, there are exceptions to this "free" competition in that buyers start earlier than five o'clock to corner these types of produce. However, the overall atmosphere of the market underlines its competitive and conflict aspects. Buyers and sellers alike display stoic indifference to concluding a sale. Sellers watch their neighbors for indications of a break in prices and buyers watch each other for the same reason. Relationships between a buyer and a non-interconnected collection of sellers probably arise, but the seller-buyer conflict of interests persists.

The job of the trucker is to bring the farmer into contact with these two outlets for his produce. Consider first the trip to the Farmers' Market for sale of vegetable produce. A circle of farmers, four to six, arrange to go together to the market in some truck. Fixing the date is left to the farmers in most instances who arrive at this decision on the basis of their available produce. A group

of farmers now to decide a week or less, depending on the rate at which their produce is sold, the ready or dependent on market conditions when the produce can be stored by the farmer. The trucker is usually the buyer for the trip.

Now turning to the farmer-warehouseman relationship the trucker assumes a more important role. The trucker is hired by the farmer to take a sample of grain to the harraca and to bring back to the farmer an offer of a price. This information is usually in the form of an "interval estimate," twenty to twenty-two pesos for instance. On the basis of this information the farmer decides to sell or not. In case he decides to sell, the trucker transports the grain at a fixed price (about twenty centésimos per bag).

In transporting to grain markets rather than to vegetable markets the trucker has more leeway for the exercise of his discretion. He may "favor" certain harracas and he may represent the market conditions to the farmer as favorable or unfavorable. Specific instances in which the trucker has consistently pursued a biased course of action are not known, but it is known that frequently truckers are spoken of as acopiadores no autorizados or "unlicensed" grain merchants. In one very outstanding case one of these truckers flatly refused to discuss his operations, obviously because he was conscious of its "illegal" nature.

Frequently farmers misjudge their needs for corn or have a poor harvest. Then they themselves desire to buy. In this case they frequently deal with a trucker, rather than a local grain merchant, who

leaves the man from another farmer. It is entirely true that in some way of the dairy farmers use their corn for feed and are forced to buy for their own consumption from neighboring farmers.

Other Fair-Dealing. There is a fair less interest in the exchange relationships which should be identified. They occur between the farmer and certain other specialists. The land market is of great sentimental as well as economic importance. The market for land both for rent and for sale was "tight" and was a source of much dissatisfaction to non-landowners. Although each of the placeros in San Luis had a few plots of land, their holdings were hardly those of one landowner in the town, "the richest man in town." This person may rent close to one-thousand hectares of land, worth from one-hundred and fifty to two-hundred pesos per hectare. This is a very conjectural estimate. In addition to the few wealthy town-people who rent land a few farmers rent (usually neighboring) plots, frequently to some relative. Land also was obtained from a lawyer's office in Montevideo by means of a local representative.

Land is in some cases let on shares, but by far the most prevalent was a straight rent. Almost never is there a formal agreement between a farmer and landowner although conflicts are not unknown. The great movement by tenants across farms was not unusual, but there is probably a small group of highly mobile tenants. The relationship between renter and landlord is frequently antagonistic. Considerable hostility was evinced when one was talking about the other. In this relationship an intervention of the principal

and evictions is quite common. During the winter months, around the official date for eviction, the judge's office almost invariably has the scene of an adjustment between tenant and landlord.

In the market for better land the same individuals, the provincianos, have great influence. Apparently the essential step which the farmer must take to buy land is to secure credit. This usually means a loan from the State Mortgage Bank and, because of its local nature, usually means a trip to the cabildo.²¹ This is one of the favors which a cabildo político (political boss) can sometimes perform. In any case the cabildo is almost invariably consulted. A considerable amount of land in the town is purchased by farm families who retire there with their old age pensions.

Another of the specialities which has been mentioned above is that of sub-center storekeeper who frequently makes bi-weekly deliveries to neighboring families thus saving them a trip to the town. Transportation facilities are sufficiently rough, especially during the rainy winter months, so that farm families seem to be quite willing to pay the few extra centésimos for the delivery service. Other delivery services which are widely used in most of the area are those providing bread and meat. Many younger men with a horse-drawn cart make their livelihoods in this way.

Finally, the peddler or mercachife is a visitor to almost every farm family. The mercachife brings small items of wearing apparel,

²¹ See the later discussion in the last of "Favors" which such cabildos (political bosses) customarily do for farm families.

jewelry, skins, thread, etc. to and with Agave. To pay for these items Agave exchanges her eggs and chickens. In these exchanges no money or change is used and this is frequently the case (such exchange is called treque).³⁵ Sub-center Alonso eros as well as Marcelino are also purchasers of eggs and chickens.

³⁵The spelling of this word may possibly be in error.

CHAPTER 11

11-1. Form of Social Interaction

Introduction. Here, finally, the topic of discussion is the form of social interaction within the network of economic relationships. The form is to be viewed as it changes in a direction from one structural arrangement to another and back. And the reasons for such a change will be examined.

This form is to be defined in terms of a contact-no-contact structure and a division of leadership related to the arrangement of the contact-no-contact structure. The two structural type arrangements are labelled structure A and structure B. The identifying marks of structure A are a "star-shaped" contact-no-contact structure and a piling up of leadership roles on central positions of the contact-no-contact structure. Structure B is recognized by a "decentralized" contact-no-contact structure and a finer division by sub-tasks of leadership.

The body of the chapter explores some of the ways in which changes in the form of this interaction may take place. Change does not appear to take place as a smooth and consistent transmutation of all portions of the Section-wide economic structure in which one structural form imperceptibly becomes another. Change appears to proceed by various kinds of part-processes, one portion of the network changing to another form in one way, while another portion of the network changes into the same form but in some other way.

Present Structure of Economic Exchange Relationships. The area-wide matrix of economic exchange relationships appear at first glance quite complex. Because of the fact that two-person groups are the prevalent size of links in the exchange structure, certain complications are avoided. Still, the contacts surrounding any one farm family or any one millman or any one specialist are numerous, and to look at them all simultaneously gives the impression of a "boonin , buzzing confusion."

But the notion of an ideal type can be applied. One can conceive that if each farmer had but one acopiador to whom he sold his produce and one almacenero, possibly the same person, from whom he bought his articles for the home then the network would look like Structure A. If, on the other hand, each farmer utilized a battery of market outlets ("strong" acopiadores, camioneros to take him to Montevideo, "lesser" acopiadores, etc.) the network would resemble more closely Structure B.

The existing structure is somewhere between these extremes. Its specification could be achieved by collecting the required data from the farm-family units, but this was not done. The forty-one farm sample carried some data on marketing practices of farmers but the identification of the type of acopiador mentioned was incomplete. The data of Table AII did only roughly in identifying the existing structure.

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

*In some cases, Partners solidify consent in one place

Unfortunately, no association has yet been reported between the

There are four place names of San Artists: the bar San. produce.

There are four producers of San Artist: the Bar, San, produce.

In the can zone there are two licensed accompanions and probably six or eight unlicensed ones, plus six or eight holders who buy some farm produce. The smaller operators are, they may have fifty to seventy-five clients while the larger ones do business with three-hundred. But no way of putting together these two bodies of data, from the farm family and from the millmen, to yield the complete picture of the structure could be found.

Change in the Structure. The millmen who were interviewed, farmers, and townspeople in conversations pointed out the recent increase in tractors and the recent decrease in the popularity of wheat. Three of the accompanions said that their businesses had dropped off. These millmen who were still in the "up swing" of their careers were casting about for other services and articles to allow them to utilize their capital outlay. The "bamboo" of the rural millmen who holds the farmer for months under his "credit-heavy" thumb did not materialize from the interviews. Rural specialists and lesser millmen who had recently started in business were looking around for other machinery to purchase and were buying new trucks every year. Many were doing well. True, some tractors must be having a hard time making profits but it seems that the lesser millmen has more opportunity than is being presently exploited.

At any point in time the structure of economic exchange relationships, i.e., the "latent" structure, since not all of its portions would be observable at any slice in time, (this structure)

represents a mixture of the two end types. A certain number of farmers are fixed clients of strong geopistler-shipkeepers who constitute practically the farm-family's sole contact with the world of money exchange. Other farmers market a variety of produce in a variety of ways and are not fixed clients of even a storekeeper, much less of an geopistler.

The problem of the following discussion is that of determining: (1) if there are any mechanisms which operate to push farmers from one of these poles to the other; (2) if there are any mechanisms which tend to replace farmers of one pole by farmers of another; and (3) if there are any mechanisms which do the same for the miller.

An explanation of how certain farm families modify their pattern of ties to partners in exchange will be attempted. The shift from "dependence" upon a single miller to "diversification" in their marketing outlets and "inlets" constitutes Path I. The replacement of farm families with the former pattern of ties by those with the latter pattern constitutes Path II. Finally, although there has already been offered a discussion of these changes from the standpoint of the miller himself, this discussion will be reiterated to show how the style of economic activities of miller is changing in the presence of these shifts in relationships.

Other paths could be proposed. For instance, some consideration needs to be given to the reverse process. This is a question of whether certain farm families with a present pattern of market ties along the lines of structure might shift to a pattern more akin

to that of structure I. As a matter of fact there does seem to exist an equilibrium in perfect structures. A change over to a structure I goes on just so far then it stabilizes or returns in the direction of I. It now let us consider those units which carry the structure from I to .

Path I:

- Given that:
- (a) increased prices and stabilized prices for farm produce appear in the extra-area economic conditions and bring about (this is the point to be accentuated) "prosperity" of farm families, and
 - (b) increased market information becomes available to farmers, and
 - (c) tractors arise, while
 - (d) properties of farm-family units and individual units remain constant,
- then:
- (a) certain of the farm-family units will discontinue selling their farm produce exclusively through a single acopiador (-almacenero) and will utilize the tractors as transporters and go-betweens to the warehouses (graneros) of Montevideo, while
 - (b) certain of the farm-family units will continue to deal with a single acopiador-almacenero but within the pair-relationship the power of the farmer will increase and also his leadership component will increase.

PART II:

- What that: (a) and (b) of the given in Para I, and
- (c) Land pressure is created by (1) isolation of the soil and (2) surplus labor, and
- (d) the introduction and acceptance of a "new" ideology of farming, namely "work's will shall, but so it will,"
- then: (a) certain of the already existing far-farmer units will shift in the direction of the intensive rather than the extensive style of exploitation, and then
- (c) Farmers will utilize, through the services of truckers, the outlets in Porterville for their produce from the intensive style of exploitation.

In addition to these units there are others, subsidiary ones, which were less well studied. In particular, the rise of an intensive style of farming and that of truckers must be intimately related. The explanation of the appearance of truckers would be very instructive but unfortunately the data are not available. Likewise the analysis of the appearance of the new ideology needs to be carried out.

In the following discussions of the two units a difference in viewpoint can be discerned. As of Para with I, where the change takes place in the pair-relationship, a theory of the social-psychological flavor is appropriate. Each of the discussions will go back to

material presented in the preceding section when the more "long-range" explanation of Art. II is undertaken.

Application of Art. I. Resulting from the two classes of events (increase and stabilization) of the prices paid for farm produce is a rise in real income. With a rise in real income for farm families the breakdown of certain ties between farmers and middlemen can be understood. In the first place farm families can pay their debts to middlemen. As has already been observed credit promotes the permanency of the farmer-middleman relationship; therefore, the probability that the tie is maintained lessens as debts to middlemen are liquidated.

Such a result is not automatic nor need it be true generally. It arises in the Section because of the peculiar character of the farm-family units involved. Only where there are comparatively strong benefits to be expected is the farm family prone to enter into any compromises or entanglements or, in verbiage, "non-family-friendship social relationships which have a 'latency' phase." In the words of the middlemen, "the farmers are very independent."

The factor of the increased stability of prices also destroys another basis of the farmer's tie to the middleman. One of the salient services of the middleman has been the guarantee--implicit as it might be, still extant--of a minimum level of living to farm families. In years of a poor crop, in the entire Area or for certain farmers, the middleman advances credit for a loan or two, and otherwise adjust their demands on the farmer to suit his economic

condition. In any case the middle estate as described in the first family's "tradition," by limiting or extending credit and providing advice or purchases. With the increase in prices and their stabilization, these services of the middle estate are no longer as necessary and there is no longer a basis for insisting a reciprocal obligation of service in their "trade," from the first families.

This "freeing" of the first family is followed by either a cessation of the pair-relationship or possibly the tie is continued with a modification of the type of leadership within it. However, rather than struggle with the reasons why the relationship goes one way or the other a comment on the process of "becoming independent" itself is in order.¹ Only in the case of a long-term association between certain farmers and the peopier does an element of loyalty enter into the relationship. Since its absence even after years of association appears to be possible, a further inquiry as to "functional substitutes" for loyalty can be initiated.

A combination of several elements (most of them introduced in Part I of Chapter III) will be used in the following analysis: (1) The people are very militaristic--"Bravery is the country of freedom"--no man is better than another; (2) Their pride is great--pride in material possessions as much or more so than social or personal talents. The source of this pride is in the possession of certain

¹The following discussion is closely connected with the general "blatting" discussed in Chapter I. Here we are looking at its more social implications. The subject of the process of becoming independent from the standpoint of individual first-family units was suggested here as it is above.

valued objects and fruits. But even the similarities in levels of living should be observed. The people are materialistic but in a highly regulated way. And how is it regulation, this leveling, attained?

Consider a pair-relationship as a "game." Two "players," Farmer and Millionaire, are attempting to maximize their individual gains by means of varying their actions and reactions within the relationship. Accepting the statement "people are very equilibriumal" seems to imply that "solutions"² which involve a large differential or large inequalities in material rewards or in interpersonal rewards have a very low utility for particularly the player, say i, who receives the lesser amount of rewards. This is so even though in monetary or material units the rewards received by i in a lesser i-valued solution (i.e., the payoffs are less for i) may be greater than those involved in another more i-valued solution. Saying this again, it might turn out that for the farmer he could make more money if he adopted action L (more money) but then his "opponent," the millionaire, would make three times as much money; he (the farmer) would make less money if he (the farmer) adopted article L (less money) but in this case his opponent makes only two times as much. It may result that the farmer prefers action L to M even though his money return is less. This can easily be a "rational" decision, if rationality is defined as present whenever a person is

² Solutions or "equilibria" consist of patterns of payoffs which maximize payoffs to certain sub-sets or conditions of players. See John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, Theory of Games and Economic Behavior (2nd. ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) pp. 243-45.

consistent in pursuing his values. Rationality does not require that he adopt any particular scale of evaluation.

Such a scaling of values appears to have validity among the farmers in the area, at any rate, certain ones more so than others. The procurador is probably less affected in this way. His "utility curve" follows monetary values more closely and without regard to disparity of returns. In at least one other respect the procurador evaluates differently the change in relationship. For the procurador an essential asset in his business is having the security that a sufficient quantity of farm produce will pass through his hands to allow him to utilize his capital outlay. Certain grain merchants have been quick to sell their trucks as they see that operating them is losing money. Middlemen, at least those of the publico, appear to maintain careful accounts and would probably notice such a non-paying enterprise. In consequence the middleman places a positive value on accumulating a long string of fixed clients who represent a predictable and high level of business. The middleman thus values particular market social organizations in their totalities which is a viewpoint quite foreign to farmers.

In these differences of outlook, are the seeds of friction between farmer and grain merchant. While the procurador justifies his activities by the fact that he can provide the farmer with at least sufficient monetary returns for his (the farmer's) ill-luck and with advice and tools to increase his income, the farmer sees in these activities the possibility, frequently a real one, that the procurador stands to profit even more.

This situation is reflected in interviews with academics who have stated that it is difficult to introduce new ideas or materials into a rural area and then to go on to cite instances where they were actually were resisted. It is also reflected in the "growth and decline" work-history pattern of the academics which suggests that "public opinion" permits a village to enjoy only limited prosperity.

Finally it is reflected in the "fixed-standard-of-living" pattern which holds true for the families, as well as for academics.

Granted this rather tenuous elaboration of some of the ways in which the value systems of academics and Peasants differ, it remains to inquire how their relationship is "integrated." The common goals, maintenance of the Peasants' level of living and sale to intermediate markets at market prices, seem to be responsible for collusion in the face of fluctuations in prices and in yields. With the rise and stabilization of prices these common goals have been reduced in importance; and more personal preferences operate in determining the final arrangement. Certain mechanisms of social control which operate within this relationship will now be outlined.

Most individuals of authority and position in the section hold that certain other persons (in the authority or position of some of these individuals) were critical of their activities. Their justification of their actions in terms of the interests of their clients. The criticisms are indirect; and in order for an individual in a leadership position to act on the basis of the interests of his clients he must be in long and intimate association with them in

order to rectify elliptical cues. The building up of the elliptical and diffuse utterances is a process to which the persons in the interview positions must be alert to consider the answer.

While talking with a storekeeper and his wife in the store, a farm wife came in with her two daughters. The storekeeper's wife broke away incidentally to talk with the farmer's wife. This was done even though another employee of the store was waiting--but she (the employee) is to take care of the more physical operations involved in selling. The farmer's and the storekeeper's wives discussed the health of the members of the farm family, the extended family, neighbors, etc. As the sale was about to be concluded the storekeeper himself broke away (from us) to inquire about the farmer. They exchanged news of events in the people and in the rural sub-center. All have quite wide and detailed information of the other.

There are differences in the 'Treatment' applied by middlemen to different farm families. Each middleman has a great deal of intimacy with a small number of farm families. It is expected that criticisms (criticisms) will be reported by these particular farm families to the storekeeper or accumulator as the case may be. These criticisms are reported as "people are saying . . ." or in the course of discussing a problem the farmer may disagree with the storekeeper. Such disagreement would be interpreted to signify more than an individual preference on the part of the farmer.

Openly and directly "bottling it off your chest" is not an acceptable strategy. Such a practice would be evaluated as a lack of

'business.' The strictness of the "business" is determined by the possibilities and obstacles. However, in the conditions are favorable, in friendship ties are strong enough to withstand it, polite business is extended far.

The talents of hillmen and farmers when operating under these rules of social control give rise to differential successes. There is farmers and certain hillmen are more 'illiberal.' A successful style seems to include a good command of the techniques of "therapeutic counselling." These nuances of skill will be more fully translated below when the discussion returns to this mechanism of social control in its more social rather than economic content.

The extent to which prices and terms of exchange are held in line by such a mechanism of social control is not exactly known. During the last year of field work the bottom dropped out of the tomato market. Some of the stereotypes or perceptions in our Antista responsible for marketing to cities were "bursting" with justifications of their actions. They criticized the growing plant and the government restrictions which prevented exporting. In addition they or, rather, certain of the already named farmers, said the losses were not extreme. Their actions and words reflect a relatively high degree of sensitivity to farm problems and farmers' viewpoint.

In a nearby area the tomato situation was more serious. Apparently the agricultores had not been as skillful. In this area the local farmers' society had sent delegations to the Ministry of Agriculture and to the government. As 'innocent' visitors the hill-workers entered this town to inquire about marketing practices. The

institutional role of the farmer as central in the leaders of this farmers' society. So the need is to tell the story of their flight from the farmers' past and replace these "farmers'ists" with critics. Later that day in discussion with a local specialist about the problem he said that "certain people" had political ambitions.

The appearance of "certain people" illustrates an important aspect of criticism. It can be quite effective. There are available to the farmer alternative courses of action. There are other middlemen willing to offer the farmer "better" treatment or at least an equal treatment in comparison to that which he is receiving in the existing pair-relationship.

It is hypothesized that criticisms also have the effect of pushing people, generally other farmers, into the roles (i.e., middlemen) which provide farmers with these alternatives. This may underlie the recent increase in trucks--this and the more economic or accounting reasons such as labor surpluses or under-capitalization.

To assign "cause" or "effect" is difficult but the large number of small scale middlemen and specialists is "associated" with those tendencies which prevent the large businessman from unlimited expansion. However, it is also necessary to fall back on certain economic arguments--namely that the greater productivity of labor in the area is not to be achieved by more farm work but by more work in other activities. At the fact that many alternative occupations in the area are more or equally profitable than farming may be one possi-

file by the fact that there are always potential clients for a newly-established middleman or speed list. Farmers in particular may be willing to act upon their criticisms."

This discussion stressing the divisive elements in the middleman-farmer relationship should be compared with the previous discussion in Part III, Chapter III which emphasized the common goals or functional features of the relationship. Given the "becoming independent" of the farmer the relationship may go either of two directions, break off or continue, with about equal chance. When certain changes take place in market conditions then certain economic inhibitions against dissolution are listed. Only in special cases of intimacy or loyalty in the farmer-appropriator relationship are the social inhibitions effective.

An increase in market news utilized by farmers directly contributes to the process of "becoming independent." More than one-fourth of the farm families have radios and since all polities have them, the news on farm prices is available to almost every farmer. Newspapers are a rarity in the rural area, but when found their major use is as a source of information on markets. Having this information the farmer is in a better position to evaluate the cost or margin of an appropriator and to apply this knowledge usually in increasing his own share of the sale price of farm produce.

If the appropriator were to "take advantage" of an unimproved farmer the cultural patterns do not provide for severe sanction of the appropriator. The farmer is granted his liberty but he must also guard his own interests. This is probably somewhat more of an

"ideal" rather than the actual case. It would be more true for transitory than for "fixed" clients.

A list of market quotations does not tell the farmer at which grade his produce can be sold. This decision has remained still to a great extent in the hands of the suppaler. But where there are truckers to be hired to take a sample of his grain into the long-distance markets the farmer can guard somewhat against trickery.

The disappearance of large middlemen is probably limited by "dis economies" from going too far. "Strong" middlemen offer valuable services. A cooperative movement replacing middlemen may be considered a future possibility although formidable problems of social organization would have to be solved. The decentralization of middlemen functions and the breaking down of "colletores" can be carried so far that the advantages of specialization are lost. No rural sub-center storekeeper can offer the range of goods and of market outlets of the town hypermarket-supermarket. On the other hand, those of the large businessman's tasks which become routinized are very likely to be taken over to some extent by part-time farmers or by other smaller businessmen. This pattern of change is self-regulating to some extent.

Conclusions to the Analysis of both I and the use of the concept of "dis-economies". In the face of economic uncertainty the farm-family and middlemen, fixed-client-with-multiple-or-diffuse-bases, relationship is more probable than the transitory-client-with-specialized-bases relationship. But as economic uncertainty, defined from the farmer's standpoint, diminishes, the reverse becomes true. Due to a

lack of more detailed data on the economic situation this notion of "uncertainty" becomes an intermediary, non-measurable, variable in the theory.

Credit extended by the millmen is designed to reduce uncertainty. Even if the crop is poor and/or the price is low, the full effect of these hardships is not vented on farm families which can secure credit. That credit is implied by and implies a degree of permanency in the relationship. In addition, since the credit is usually extended for the purchase of consumers' articles but is to be paid off through the sale of farm produce, its extension is still more convenient when the millman is both alacenero and acopiador at the same time, that is, when the relationship is built on multiple bases of exchange activity.

Reducing uncertainty implies that the probability of farmers' economic setbacks to the farm families is reduced. To show that uncertainty has diminished, it would help to be able to show that in reality prices are more stabilized. For instance, a fixed and controlled price for wheat supports such a statement. Other evidence points out that the prosperity of farm families has increased to a point where a "bad year" would not have overly disastrous effects. For instance, the degree of indebtedness has decreased. This means that farm families have a greater margin of safety with which to cope should it for other means of marketing their produce.

The tracing through of this process makes implicit use of the concept of alaciveness and it may help to make more explicit the use

of this concept. It is not intended that one type of relations is is in some "absolute" or "final" sense more effective than another. What is implied is that change takes place from lesser to greater effectiveness-- repeatedly with effectiveness defined in some specific time-limited context. This limitation is necessary because, as was frequently pointed out, the decision-making patterns of the family units involved are of a short time span. It becomes logical to suppose that with an elimination of indecision new actions of family members which were restrained previously because of this indecision would take place.

Criticism which can be expressed as aims in alleviating the conflict generated by participation in a relationship (that of individualistic to more basic values would be expected to serve as a corrective orientation of action once the restraints were removed. Thus the passage to "becoming independent" is followed by the formation of a variety of ties to a variety of lesser differences and activities themselves were born of the criticisms. Once a change achieves a greater congruence between the value of "independence" and the results of the interaction arrangement. This was pointed out in the discussion of the evaluation of different schemes of growth.

Integration of both II. An increase in the orientation of intensive style versus extensive style during units is brought about by two mechanisms. One operates through the replacement of extensive-style arrangements by intensive-style arrangements. The other "stage" operates within a given family unit, pushing

types are in the upper left and lower right corners of Table XII. But these are concrete possibilities even in the case that the intensive-extensive variable is a clear-cut, one-dimensional variable.

By introducing into Table XII further characteristics, (1) size of farm and (2) an indicator of available labor, an important but somewhat obvious empirical generalization is uncovered. From Table XIII one concludes that on a small farm, particularly if it is of less than ten hectares, the combination no-wheat with garden produce prevails.³ For larger size of farm anything else may happen. For more than an "average" (one male over twenty years) supply of labor, garden produce is almost invariably produced for sale.⁴

³The following re-combination of the characteristics of Table XIII sustains this statement:

	Garden Produce and No Wheat	Other	
Nine hectares or less	7	1	$\chi^2 = 4.87$
Ten hectares or more	12	21	$P_o = .027$

⁴The following re-combination of the characteristics of Table XII sustains this statement:

	Garden Produce	No Garden Produce	
Only one male over 20 years	16	13	$\chi^2 = .354$
More than one male over 20 years	11	1	$P_o = .060$

If the cross-classified characteristics are not associated then the probability of a result like that discovered or one even "deeper" in the critical region is P_o .

Table III

TABLE III. CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS BY SIZE OF FOLLYING

		Indicators of extensive vs. intensive style			
Indicators of labor supply	Hectares in follying	Sold garden-type produce		Did not sell garden-type produce	
		Sold about	Did not	Sold about	Did not
Only one sale over 20 years	3 - 4	-	2	-	1*
	5 - 9	-	0	-	-
	10 - 14	-	3	-	2**
	15 - 19	-	4	3	-
	20 - 24	2	-	1	1***
	25 - 29	-	-	-	1****
	30 - 44	-	-	-	-
	45 - more	-	-	3	1*****
Sub-totals		2	14	7	6
More than one sale over 20	3 - 4	-	-	-	-
	5 - 9	-	-	-	-
	10 - 14	-	1	-	-
	15 - 19	-	-	-	-
	20 - 24	1	1	-	1****
	25 - 29	-	-	-	-
	30 - 44	2	-	-	-
	45 - more	-	1	-	-
Sub-totals		3	2	0	1

* Is retired, daughters are seamstresses.

** One is also a barber, the other is a peddler.

*** Has five cows.

**** Wife has outside work.

***** Has sheep.

***** No explanation.

The above footnotes to Table III provide so extent of an explanation of the other sources of income in the cases of a source of both labor and garden produce.

If only-one type of units are smaller in size than units being classified, then this relationship suggests that more of the larger ones will be intensive style than of the other ones. The new farm units should be smaller if it is true that there is land pressure. Now it is only necessary to examine the data to determine if, among the farms in the sample, the "newer" ones are smaller.

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND SIZE OF FARM

Age of Head	Size of Farm			Cases
	0 - 11	12 - 20	21 - more	
20 - 34	1	0	1	2
35 - 44	3	5	2	10
45 - 59	2	4	3	9
60 - over	2	6	7	15
Cases	8	21	13	41

A glance at Table XII suggests no dissimilarity. No relationship is even hinted. It does "Age of head of the household" so closely together with "Ageless" of Family-farm unit. A further investigation of the individual cases in Table XII resulted in Table III.

TABLE XV. FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF CASES TABULATED IN TABLE XIV ABOVE

Age of Head	0 to 14 hectares	15 to 29 hectares	30 hectares or more
20 to 34 Years	1. Normal family; head is also cattle driver	1. Normal family 2. Normal family; head works as barber also 3. Normal family; señora works part time outside of home. 4. Señora (69) only; married son (head) is also blacksmith. 5. Señora (53) only with two sons, 21 and 18 6. Señora (57) only with two sons, 22 and 19, daughter sews.	1. Señora (57) only; sons 27 and 24 with son-in-law 29.
35 to 44 Years	1. Normal family 2. Normal family 3. Normal family	1. Normal family; oldest son 18 2. Normal family 3. Normal family 4. Normal family; head has machinery to rent 5. Head alone is on farm	1. Both parents living but father (73) is retired; unmarried sons 38 and 26 2. Señora only; unmarried son 35
45 to 59 Years	1. Normal family 2. Normal family; head has truck	1. Normal family 2. Normal family (Señora died) 3. Normal family; head is mercachifle 4. Normal family; head is retiring from farm work and leaving to son, 26	1. Normal family 2. Normal family; 2 sons (25 and 19)
60 Years or over	1. Normal family 2. Normal family; head (66) is retired and daughter is seamstress	1. Normal family; sons 23 and 17 2. Normal family; sons 49 and 36 3. Normal family; daughter works outside home. 4. Normal family; head (65) says he has retired; sons 22 and 16. 5. Normal family; head (65) says he has retired; daughter (30) is seamstress. 6. Head (72) only one left at home; married son (35) lives on adjacent farm.	1. Normal family; head has retired 2. Normal family; son 23 3. Normal family; sons 23 and 19 4. Normal family; son 22 5. Normal family; son (40) is also cattle driver 6. Normal family; married son (20) works part of farm 7. Normal family; sons 21 and 26 work at home; son 35 works as farm laborer; son 23 has his own farm but lives at home.

Some explanation of the terminology found in the body of Table XV is called for. "Normal family" means that the husband and/or father of the nuclear family operates the farm. It was rather difficult to determine when the husband-father has retired to make way for the sons. So for present purposes the interviewer's criterion was used. He asked, "Who is the head of the family?" Then later on in the interview the so-called head may say that he has retired from farming but if one of the sons did not make the responses to our questions, the husband-father was still considered head of the family. In these cases usually the husband-father still directs the farming operation.

In those cases in which a younger head of family operated a large expanse of land the farm-family unit is not newly formed (see Table XV). In most cases a son has taken over upon the father's death. Eliminating these cases leaves the picture clearer as in Table XVI. The operation of thirty hectares or more is assoc-

TABLE XVI

REPRODUCTION OF TABLE XV, WITH ONLY THE
NORMAL FAMILY UNITS BEING CLASSIFIED

Age of Head	Size of Family in Hectares		
	0 - 14	15 - 29	30 - more
20 - 34	1	3	-
35 - 44	3	4	-
45 - 59	2	4	2
60 - over	2	5	7

⁵iated with an older age of the head of the family, and here older age of family head is more closely tied to older age of the family-farm unit. The "newly-formed" family-farm units in the sample are somewhat smaller although more of them are medium-sized than smallest-sized.

The number of part-time farmers in the younger age category and the association between small farm size and off-farm occupations also appears in Table XV. The tendency to off-farm occupations also contributes to the change-over from structure A to B although not along Path II. Judging from the questionnaire reports and from more extended contact with certain farm families of this type, younger farm families which are occupied exclusively on the farm engage in an intensive exploitation: growing potatoes, onions, squash, etc., with no wheat and very little corn. Even so the young farmer is expected to help on his father's and father-in-law's farm.

The second sub-path can now be examined. As the sons mature, a labor surplus develops which leads logically to the intensification of the pattern of exploitation. This is quite evident from the data of footnote 4 above. However, the sons have other alternatives. They may search for work on other farms or leave the Area

⁵Combining the classes of Table XVI gives the following:

Age of Head	Size of Farm in Hectares		Sums
	0 - 29	30 - more	
20 - 44	11	-	11
45 -	13	9	22
Sums	24	9	33

to limit work. In determining the direction of migration in such cases of surplus labor, cost in terms of orientation, came into play.

Family and friendship solidarities appear to exert strong pressures. In Santa and Santos de Lando (see Figure 3) a great degree of such solidarity was evinced. The large extended family binds together a large proportion of this population. Barrio-wide activities are quite intense. People of other neighborhoods say that the people are very united in Santos de Lando. Size of farming unit is notoriously small in this barrio. Farms have been repeatedly subdivided. Yet the younger sons and daughters stay on.

Indicating some of the barriers to movement toward the neighborhood is a comment of the rural schoolteacher who was discussing the content of his classes in the local school. "We talk about the city. If one of the children has travelled on a train to Montevideo he is hailed as a hero." This lack of familiarity with the outside is probably as potent an inhibition as a "tie to the land." And, of course, they are interrelated inhibitions.

To explain why both of these sub-paths operate in the unrelated direction an economic analysis may almost be sufficient. However, more than the economic reasons can be discovered. Farmers are "expected" to intensify from various directions. The favorable experiences of those farmers who have intensified have been cited and the current conclusion is that "What is no longer cultivation, is business," and that "to work a little bit and do it well" is better.

It is difficult to assess the influence of German ideology.

This is particularly true because many interviews in which this ideology was discussed were conducted with those farmers who "collaborated" with the Institute, possibly not a representative group. Nevertheless, the ideology has the support of national government agricultural agencies, local authorities, leading citizens, and materially successful farmers.

Having explained in part the tendencies toward intensification and having some data on the market relationships of intensive farming units, the final step is to sustain that such a pattern of exploitation supports a market structure of type B rather than A. Table XVII shows this to be a little less than self-evident.

TABLE XVII

NUMBER OF FARMERS UTILIZING VARIOUS MARKET
OUTLETS FOR THEIR GARDEN-TYPE PRODUCE

Market relationship	Number of farmers
Had garden-type produce and sold to:	
<u>Acopiador</u>	9
<u>Acopiador-almacenero</u>	4
Montevideo market	3
Had no garden-type produce to sell .	19
No response	1

However, a closer check on the meaning of "acopiador" in the context of garden-type produce reveals that the persons mentioned as acopiadores here are smaller operators--the truckers them-

which encourages farmers to intensify their pattern of exploitation. Marketing of the residual type of produce is done through local markets or else through the service of traders. In addition, this same exploitation pressure encourages an increase in the number of children.

Another part of the explanation is, however, more sociological. In this case one observes the way in which increased prosperity leads the farm family to becoming more reliant through the extension of credit. The farm family shifts away from the direct-silent relationship to the middleman. This process of social development is self-reinforced and is set in order through the operation of cultural values placed on liberty or freedom from external demands and on equality of material benefits. It is related in its effects to the pattern of enforced or sectional retirement. Such a pattern of change fits easily into the identification of the traditional values, equality and low-measure of demands.

Upon release from the limits of credit and from the security of the long-term relationship between the farmer and the middleman when the level of living was close to the lowest culturally or possible level, the farm families find the values in a position to carry through with their criticisms. These criticisms were originally expressed in resentment of the necessity for external demand with a strong negative-therapeutic effect in the face of pressure that was

change to a more efficient. It will also increase the
efficiency of the system.

Looking into the future one can see a number of possibilities
in relation to the present direction of shift in structural engineering.
It does not seem unlikely that many of the present trends
in structural engineering will be carried out in the future.
At present the competitive power of structural engineering is
of transportation to the point where it is hardly economical to
operate a truck. This present trend structurally and economically
is retained.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL AND ASSOCIATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction. Changes in social organization of another sphere of activity, the political, will now be examined in much the same way as in the preceding chapter. At many points there is a similarity in the arguments of the two chapters--excessively many it seems because there is the danger of overworking an analogy between the two, the political and the economic. Many of the same people are key participants in both changes. To separate the economic from the political bases of their changed actions is difficult. Nevertheless, political activity is a distinguishable element of life in the Section of San Bautista.

At times as the analysis focusses on small details, one can lose sight of the broader national setting of such activity. It should always be remembered that Uruguay, as a nation, occupies a foremost place among nations with its welfare-type legislation. This claim to uniqueness can be advanced as well, with respect to the administration of such programs at the "grass roots" level. The symbol, "democratic," would be appropriately applied to Uruguay if this were a discourse in political philosophy.

The following discussion is divided into two parts. First there is an introduction to, actually a definition of, what constitutes political activity in the Area. Some of this material refers to social relationships, but a great deal of it treats the tasks which constitute politicking. This is followed by a continuation of the argument on social change in terms of movement between two structural arrangements of social relationships. The

and the political life is a part of the social structure. In the past, it is rural, and rural.

7. Political Activities

Almost every family is tied in some way into the political structure--not in a passive way only, but in an active way as well. The services of a caudillo politico (political boss) are sought or later solicited by almost every family. During election campaigns the reverse solicitation is the case. Families request old age pensions; they seek help to gain entry to a government hospital; they want advice on other legal matters; they require help in maintaining their roads and bridges and so on. They request these services of the political boss. In this turn the political boss requires votes and he requires the expressions of family which can be translated into votes.

In the elections of December 1954, 2,833 votes were cast from the Section of San Bartolomé. A majority of eighteen years and over is eligible to vote. To find the extent to which this is exercised an estimate of the population in the Section of San Bartolomé and over is required.

In the sample there were about ¹one-hundred and twenty-three persons in this age range. Since there were approximately 211 families from which the sample was drawn, the number 123 can be multiplied by the factor 29.51. This gives 2,833 as an estimate of the rural population of fifteen years and older. In the town of San

¹"about" 123 because of the fact that an estimate of the number of 13 to 19 year olds was obtained by multiplying the number of 15 to 19 year olds by 2.1. See Figure 4.

Bautista there were some 590 persons in this age range. These 590 persons constitute about 74.40 percent of the total town population. Thus, the number of total population in Castellanos (200) can be multiplied by .744 to yield an estimate of eligible voters in this population cluster--this is 149. Adding together the 2,523 and 590 and 149 gives 3,262 as an estimate of the total number of eligible voters in the Section.

Consequently, about 87 percent of those eligible exercised their right to vote. Considering that throughout the entire Sunday of voting all of the cars and trucks in the Section were constantly making trips to and fro between campana and pueblo this result is not surprising. Election day is an adventure for many people, especially the oldsters,² who leave home very infrequently. Even more, people take their politics seriously. They fulfill their obligation by voting and they expect their candillo to do likewise--to reciprocate.

Looking at Table XVI the number and size of political factions can be assessed.

²An elderly lady from the campana, too feeble to walk, was all but carried to the polls. In accord with a widespread pattern, she was assisted by volunteers of the party for which she was expected to vote. During election day each political club fields a team of "helpers" to go out into the campana and bring in their voters, to help people find the correct polling place and to do last minute electioneering. At times voters are claimed by both parties with not infrequently ruffled feelings.

TABLE XVIII

ANALYSIS BY FRACTIONAL PARTIES OF THE 2,833 VOTES CAST IN THE URBAN AND
RURAL SECTIONS OF THE SECTION OF SAN LUIS, 1954
JULY 27, 1954

<u>Faction</u>	<u>Number of Votes</u>	<u>Identification of Faction by National Party or Party Leader</u>
1	813	
4	133	Partido Nacional, Herrera
5	142	
49	4	
97	20	Nacional Independiente
		Blanco Party
991	5	Reconstrucción Blanca
Sub-total	1239	Blanco votes
14	930	Preses Lomas, Lorenzo Batlle, and César Batlle
15	33	
73	14	
115	42	
515	255	Leis Batlle
715	62	
1515	1	
161	2	(?)
Sub-total	1319	Colorado votes
80	144	Unión Cívica
Observed	61	

Factions are each designated by a number, a slogan and a color:
Faction is the Uruguayan term for faction. In the table factions are iden-
tified by their number.

**Not counted because of some irregularity in voting.

With the exception of the party union clique, which is closely related to the Catholic Church, all other factions which received more than one hundred votes are represented at the local level of a party organization, the political club and local caudillos. In each local political organization there are three, four or five most active persons--³ the caudillos or caudillitos ("little political bosses"). During elections these persons act jointly, but between elections group unity tends to fade away and each caudillo operates in his own sphere.

The activities of party workers are analogous to those of the middlemen considered in previous chapters. They "purchase" political favors wholesale, from within the national political party and national government nexus, and dispense these favors retail to the "Faithful" at the local level. In bargaining for political favors the local people use their loyalty and more concretely the expressions of loyalty to the caudillo's party.

Description of a Typical Local Political Organization or Faction.
To understand this process better one may view the roles of a particular set of caudillos pertaining to a particular faction. Among the active workers of this particular faction at least two roles can be distinguished. There is a principal caudillo and various secondary caudillos (caudillitos). First, who are the individuals involved and how did they come to take an active part in political activities?

³ This word caudillito carries a connotation of disparagement and is not exactly appropriate. Secondary caudillo is better.

The principal candillo was born in a rural neighborhood within the Section of San Bautista. His father was the administrator of a group of Italian colonists who arrived in the Section probably shortly before the turn of the century. The candillo worked in various stores, first in the sub-center type business and later in a town near San Bautista. He accumulated sufficient funds to speculate in real estate and now lives in Montevideo where he bought properties.

He stated that he was attracted to the party by the forcefulness, integrity and foresightedness of the party's leader during 1919-23. He said, "We were young then, with a vision of what could be accomplished." Various information sources reported that he accumulated a broad range of contacts as a businessman. By his political opponents he has been accused of having used his position of creditor, as a former businessman, to extract votes. In reply to these criticisms he outlined his program of increasing his political power: "I did not attempt to get votes, only to make another friend."

The apex of his power was reached a few years ago when a politician from San Carlos was elected president. The oversized school building in the town is a reminder of this candillo's influence with the president and of this president's support of education.

Within the national and departmental party organization his role has been that of organizer. In the last few years he has been elected to these positions by "primary" elections but, so far as is known, he has not held an elective office within the national governmental system. He was considered as a candidate for departmental governor (intendente) but the untimely death of the past president from San Carlos left this

possibility unrealized.

In addition to the principal caudillo there are about seven leading citizens of the town who politically are closely identified with and work "within" this party's organization. They are: two brothers, owners of an almacén; the owner of another almacén; the owner, a brother of the principal caudillo, of the dry goods store; an employee of the State Mortgage Bank who lives in San Bautista; the under-secretary of the Junta Local (Town Council); and the local medical doctor. These lesser caudillos are specialists in distinct phases of the favor-dispensing work of the local organization. They form a quite effective "team", although they act in a somewhat less-than-harmonious fashion.

How these men came to be active in political affairs seems to need little explanation. There is only one storekeeper in the town who is not highly active in politics. His is the case which requires explanation. Business and politics not only can be mixed but it appears that they must be mixed. Here there is undoubtedly a strong set of expectancies among the clients of businessmen which tend to involve the businessmen in extra-economic affairs. Even the businessman who attempts to watch only his cash register soon becomes conscious of the necessity of providing other services in order to maintain and especially to attract clientele.

Besides the businessmen, the three other persons have occupational roles which represent both a product of and producers of political activity. The employee of the Junta Local is undoubtedly a political appointee. Even the medical doctor is subsidized by the Ministry of Health to treat charity cases and such a subsidy requires some

political intervention.

In addition to the principal caudillos and the lesser caudillos there is another level of participation in political activities represented in many cases by leading farmers. These farmers are active in the organizational affairs of their particular neighborhoods as members of the Comité de Vecinos for road repairs or as members of the local schoolboard. Many of these farmers visit the town on the day that the principal caudillo arrives. They solicit aid in getting the heavy road building machinery to their neighborhoods, in getting improvements in their school buildings, and they place before the caudillo specific requests for pensions for people in their neighborhoods.

Something has already been said of the division of labor among these roles but more detail would be helpful. Judging from the "style" of the principal caudillo his contribution was along the lines of smoothing out personality conflicts. He was skillful in dispensing praise and the exercise of this skill formed an important portion of the content of his contacts within the local organization.

When the investigator was in his office the caudillo was usually careful to introduce him to the farmers present and to speak of them in "glowing" language whenever it was appropriate. They were described as of solid "gaucha" stock--the backbone of the country. This may mean that they were old reprobates, but the dispensing of praise was too strong a pattern to be inhibited by "realities." The principal caudillo

4
The mode of entry into the roles of leading farmer in a political faction is similar to the mode of entry of the rank and file into a particular faction. This topic will be discussed shortly.

was very considerate of farmer's time and effort and, of course, of their requests.

He was consulted on matters less closely connected to political patronage. People asked for his advice on their economic and moral problems as well. He brought with him from Montevideo a young man specialized in legal matters. The provision of the services of escribano (specialist in civil law) indicates the wide scope of requests which he was equipped to handle. But in this position of such "diffuse" responsibility it was not infrequently the case that contradictions and stresses should arise.

This principal caballero was fond of saying that he would not make a promise if he felt that he could not follow through. This appears to be a rather unusual stand for a caballero to take. Faced with an unreasonable request the situation seems to call for at least a partial promise. In two instances where such requests were made by towns people, the principal caballero was observed to make no promises--even in one case going so far as to say he would have nothing to do with the matter. But facing up to "unreasonable" demands required considerable skill. And chief among these skills is the ability to close the conversation with the impression in the solicitor's mind that he had received even more than he had bargained for.

The roles of the other leading citizens who worked within the organization are more closely tied to specific services. Looking at the occupational positions of these persons gives an idea of the kind of work they might be expected to do. The abogados (businessmen) are tied closely to the economic affairs of the Section. They are in

a position to facilitate credit and thus to become a part of the political process. Such credit is not only of the type mentioned above in Chapter II, credit also used as part of their normal operation, but also special loans to "promising" young men who are eventually become leading citizens. Storekeepers control a certain amount of real estate which can be handled so as to increase their political power. Finally they can find jobs for constituents either in their own businesses or through their contacts with other businesses and the government.

The dry goods storekeeper contributed more on the basis of the influence of contacts which he and his wife maintain with families. He is also a "trusted" treasurer for the political organization. The under-secretary of the Santa Fe coal has extensive contacts with the departmental government offices. It was he to whom we turned to secure our drivers' licenses, for example. The role of the doctor is apparently increasing in importance. In large measure this is due to the laws governing the granting of old age pensions which require a medical certificate to the effect that the recipient is no longer capable of work.⁵

The usefulness of the employee of the State Mortgage Bank is fairly obvious. For example, one day he brought an official surveyor to the town to clear up a boundary dispute. The employee of the bank had extensive real estate interests in the town which probably were manipulated under a partially political set of criteria. His advice

⁵ The statements of former-informants to the effect that they were "retired" were interpreted with a "grain of salt."

on the sale and routing of land was requested by farmers.

Most of these men appeared to maintain in some degree their own clientele of political followers for whom they acted as spokesman. They accept the cases of these followers and attempt to use their influence so that the principal cavillero would aid to fulfill their obligations. Whether it was due to their conflicts in gaining the support of the principal cavillero or due to their competition for followers it appeared that animosities were generated among the secondary cavilleros.

The following are comments of secondary cavilleros about each other. "Who does he think he is? Having to spend his time in the store is certainly no more important than having to be in my office." "He is a little over ambitious--he doesn't know how to get along with farmers." "Is selling a kilo of sugar more necessary than saving a life?" Other more extended commentaries from secondary cavilleros reflect this antagonism toward their role equals.

As mediator of these conflicts the principal cavillero was called upon to caution moderation, to advise that things be left to work themselves out, to wait and see. His leadership in ironing out such difficulties was expected and generally delivered. Secondary cavilleros with grievances turned to him. But as far as could be determined his leadership was not of the forceful executive type, he was accustomed to making the best of situations. This usually resulted in prescribing compromise.

A "creative" component of his leadership was much less in evidence. In the face of an internal split in the Colorado party in which another faction (Lista 16) of the same Colorado party had quickly joined in

strength in opposition to the faction of this candillo his reaction was relatively passive. He advised his followers to continue to vote for his faction because they would be electing good and honorable men. However, they would not be committed to outright opposition to the new faction. They would wait and see.

Other Local Political Factions. The local representatives (secondary candillos) of the other Colorado faction (Lista 15) were much more positive and "dynamic" in their appeals for followers. However, shortly before election day they disintegrated as a unit, and apparently for the same reasons which were posited as behind the antagonisms among party workers of the Lista 14 faction. It is interesting to note that the party workers or secondary candillos of the Lista 15 group were a comparatively well-balanced team (although a younger group) but they lacked an effective principal candillo.

Certain confirmation of the above picture as a typical case can be provided by other factions. The major faction of the other major party (Blanco) is headed by a principal candillo who also resides outside of the Section. His visits also are weekly in a regular pattern of scheduling, usually. The position of this principal candillo was built up during the time he was druggist in the town and was strengthened considerably when he received an appointment to the board governing the distribution of old age pension.

The organizations of the other two Blanco factions are headed by local candillos. However, a candillo from a neighboring town, plays the role of principal candillo for one of the factions. The secondary candillos of these factions are long-time residents and prominent

citizens. Both have real estate interests, one is a contractor. Both appear to have a rather passive style in doing their politicking, their influence stems from extensive contacts largely on the local level. The number of and activities of lesser caudillos of these factions are less-well documented.

In addition to these local organizations with headquarters in the town of San Bautista there is a political organization of the Blanco Party in Castellanos. Here the caudillo is a large landowner. His farm is primarily a dairy enterprise. In this case the caudillo's hold is a traditional one. It is said that with two exceptions he has never spoken to anyone of another political party in the neighborhood. In fact it does appear that much of the vitality of this party organization arises from its rivalry with all other representatives of other political factions in the population center and trade-service area of Castellanos. This rivalry exists even though persons of other political factions have no organization in Castellanos.

In Castellanos, more so than in San Bautista, politics is inseparable from associational life. Castellanos was, at the time of the study, split into two camps. One clustered around the Rural Betterment Society of Castellanos, the Blanco Party, and the Central Committee of the Institute's Extension Program. The other was tied to the Artigas-Varela Club, non-Blanco Party membership and the Home Economics Club of the Institute. These affiliations were not unequivocally clustered for the majority of the rent-and-file residents of the area. But the leadership element was sharply divided. In the San Bautista area the political organizations are to a greater extent disassociated from

other portions of associational activities--but only relatively so.

Birth of a man--Caddy's decision as to which faction to be
supported. Almost invariably, affiliation to the Blanco or Colorado
party, the major political divisions, is mixed by birth. This is invari-
ably the case when both parents are of one party, a phenomenon which
appears to be somewhat more frequent than 50% of the cases. But the
most important decision with respect to party affiliation is made when
the farm family finds itself in need of a service. Here, perhaps for
the first time, a caydillo is consulted.

Apparently there is a preponderance of available caydillos of
certain factions within certain rural neighborhoods. Differences in
faction affiliation were noticeable in El Cuadro and Costa de Lando.
In El Cuadro (where the principal caydillo of the Lista 11 was born)
most of the farm families are Lista 11 of the Colorado party while in
Costa de Lando most of them are Blancos. These conclusions on party
affiliations are based on inferences from the fact that local associa-
tional leaders in these parrajes seem to be identified with the different
parties. There are also ideological differences between these parrajes
which are connected with the differential party affiliation.

For many farm families the first occasion of need for a caydillo
is upon the death of a parent and the division of the property. The
caydillo is called in as legal consultant. Probably at this same time
an attempt will be made to secure a pension for the surviving widow.
The selection of a caydillo is probably binding for an election period
at least, and frequently for life. However, in many cases the tie is
revoked and then remake.

The degree of caudillesco character of the definition means that it becomes largely inoperative if the caudillo leaves the area or leaves politics. During the last elections for instance it was said that certain rank-and-file Blancos whose caudillos ceased to be active in the Section, voted for the Lista 13 of the Colorado party. This constitutes a radical change, i.e., crossing the Blanco-Colorado boundary.

Changes across the Blanco-Colorado line are quite infrequent although certain factions of each group are "closer" to the boundary line than others.⁶ Changes of affiliation within these broad limits

⁶ To define "degree of affinity" among factions would require a special and detailed analysis of the national political scene. Considering the uniformness and complexity of their histories the two major parties (Blanco and Colorado) are surprisingly similar with respect to their internal structure. In both the Blanco and Colorado parties factions which receive the lion's share of the party votes are identified with the name of a nationally prominent caudillo. In the Blanco party the caudillo is José Batlle y Ordóñez. In the Blanco or Nacionalista party the caudillo is Luis Alberto Herrera. Although José Batlle is dead and Herrera is living their names as symbols occupy similar places within the respective parties. The factions which claim affiliation to the caudillo base their claim for votes in competition with other factions of the same party upon their authenticity as the faction of the caudillo. To be "true" Batllista or "true" Herrerista means more votes, or so the propaganda would have one believe.

In addition to the factions tied to these two caudillos there are additional factions in each major party which do not lay claim to identification with either Batlle or Herrera. It would be readily possible to discern certain Blanco factions (the Nacionalista Independientes in particular) which are non-Herrerista and ideologically akin to the Batllistas. Considering that in general the Blancos are the more conservative and less progressive while the Colorados are more progressive and less conservative, this faction, the Nacionalistas Independientes, embraces a progressive ideology under the Blanco label. Likewise, there are non-Batllista Colorado factions more conservative than the Batllistas. At any rate, changes across the Colorado-Blanco line are more frequent when the initial or terminating faction is one of the non-caudillo identified factions.

are usually a fairly good an even use. The cavillero stays within the department but seldom leaves his home. He usually receives his instructions with the organization (e.g., his requests for jobs were received) he may form his own party. He will run in within the present Colorado or Blanco party by placing the party's candidates for national representatives on his "list." But he will complete the list of candidates with his own and/or the names of his supporters. This creates a new faction and the supporters of this cavillero may or may not follow along in line by voting for the new faction. After this process of forming new lists has been repeated several times it is not difficult to appreciate that platform and ideology are rather watered down in importance to the farm family.

Importance of personal qualities of the cavillero. A "life history" of commitment to a faction can be, to a certain extent, reconstructed from commentaries collected "after the fact." How do people justify their affiliation? Perhaps the strongest argument is based on the qualities of the man, the cavillero. These qualities are indicative of his tie to government administration. This justification works satisfactorily except in a politically "neutral" group. That is, all people affiliated to one particular cavillero will agree with the claims, terms used to characterize him as honest, honorable, influential, etc. Within the collection, frequently group, of his followers the cavillero enjoys high prestige.

However, outside of this "prestige based" a cavillero may carry the

⁷
National Consejoero, member of the National Executive Council, is the highest elective office in the nation.

contrary reputation. The existence of these contrary and likely contradictory estimates of the value of a caudillo appear to arise more in the case of the secondary caudillos than for the principal caudillo.

National caudillos, Herrera and Batlle, enjoy almost universal respect. Evaluations of the locally principal caudillos of the two major factions are in mild disagreement. However, considerable heat is generated around conflicting estimates of the secondary caudillos. Schisms within neighborhoods and within towns are frequently deep and are tied to differences in political affiliation.

Importance of Traditional and Patriotic Sentiments. Popularity of the political ideology of a faction is a less potent factor in deciding affiliation, but is present in a particular form. As mentioned above, the allocation of a person to one of the major parties frequently occurs at birth. In such cases the traditional nature of the party, as a rallying symbol around which personal rivalries and civil wars were waged from the country's independence until 1904, strikes a deep cord of sentiment. Thus, caudillos seeking to build up their faction resort to claims that their's is the "true", the "original" faction and that people who join them are "loyal" and "faithful." Blanco caudillos utilize this strategy and have probably kept these

For two reasons the investigator's impressions of these differences should be carefully examined. First, much of the data on political activities and verbalizations were collected in the heat of two elections, the Colorado primaries and the national elections. Second, much of the data was collected from the secondary caudillos who, it may be presumed, would emphasize more strongly than fact realities the undesirable aspects of their opponents. Nevertheless, the "back biting" found in discussions with farmers indicates the existence of sincerely felt animosities toward caudillos of the opposition.

sentiments alive more so than the Colorado caudillos. Such sentiments constitute barriers against crossing from Blanco to Colorado or vice versa, but other than that they are, at present, probably of little influence on a choice of faction.

That such sentiments could have efficacy was demonstrated by a short-lived farmer's movement which reached its climax and demise shortly before the elections. ⁹ The organization was called the Rural League and the leader's nickname was Chico Tazo. Previous to his assumption of active adherents, Chico Tazo directed a daily radio program to topics of farm policy. He called the farmer the backbone of the country and decried the sorry treatment which they had received at the hands of the government. The movement shifted to more active tactics ¹⁰ by means of the Cabildos Abiertos (open assemblies).

During these meetings, many of the sacred national symbols were presented in their most effective fashion. Among these were horsemen in gaucho regalia, payadores (extemporaneous songsters in a competition of wits), the asado (roast beef), and speeches extolling the virtues, of the age of Artigas, of the gaucho, of fighting and freedom, of forceful and honorable leaders. All of these made irresistible appeals

9

This movement deserves a much more detailed analysis in its own right but is described here only to illustrate the role of traditional ideas in political activity.

10

The "Cabildo" was an organizational form adopted during the Spanish domination. It occupied a position low in the hierarchy of the Spanish Colonial administration but high in the viewpoint of the colonists. "The Cabildo was composed of the most distinguished of the native son or criollo element." The members (8 to 12) acted as judges in direct contact with the local people. "It looked out always for the interests of the colonists, protecting them against the demands of the Spanish administrators." See H.B., Curso de Historia Uruguaya (Libro Segundo, 14th edition, Montevideo: Barreiro y Ramos S. A., 1939, pp. 144-5).

to the serious sentiments of a true "dedicatal."

Continuation of the Rural League's organizational activities came during the final Cabildo Abierto held in Montevideo. The day was drizzly. Farmers and their families, perhaps 15,000 people, from all Departments of the nation arrived and took up their positions for the march. Loudspeakers blared forth instructions to stay in line, to be patient, to walk slowly, to show the people of Montevideo that they were not to be denied, that they were serious. There were very few in gaucha regalia, no asado, Chico Eazo arrived and looked and played the part of a caudillo, shaking hands and asking his advisers what more to make next. Finally the march started and the rain had become more intense. Lives and children were as numerous as men. The people of Montevideo in the windows of the tall buildings cheered, but the marchers were serious. Shortly after, the movement faded away.

To analyze the reasons for its failure would involve much speculation since the data are not all available. The demonstration of the efficacy of national and cultural symbols is, however, solid. An analysis of the more profound bases of the movement should make use of the fact, which was true at least in the Section and reportedly of the country as a whole, that by and large Blanco elements participated more so than the Colorado factions. Affiliates to the Blanco party are apparently more hooked in their attempts to enjoy the "bread and butter" advantages of some control of the public administration.

Importance of the Caudillo's Political Influence. Certain aspects

¹¹The term by which they may refer to themselves.

of the national and local governments are administered in accord with the political power wielded by comitales serving their clients, the voters.¹² Most important are the services which have been provided by this highly "socialized" republic. Pensions and retirement benefits are prime examples and their administration has been noted. Hospitalization and medical care are subsidized and some political contacts are a sis qua non in order that the family receive maximum aid. Various "inspections" are carried out to some extent under political influence. To be able to exercise some influence over the application of these services and regulations leads the farm family to select that comital who can do the most for the family.

In the construction of laws, in the legislature or by executive decree, one can possibly find certain patterns which encourage politicizing. Although many legal prescriptions are laid down in detailed fashion, lacunae appear which lead to numerous interpretations and partialized administration of the laws. In the most recent law on farm renting agreements, many details of the proper procedure to be followed in case of grievances were written into the laws. But the local judge was left with the complete responsibility under the advice of an "economist" for adjusting the rent and fixing it at a "just" level. No specific procedure for finding a "just" rent was specified. In most cases the law is so detailed and exacting in the requirements to be fulfilled before the social service is granted that only a specialist in cutting red tape can secure the service.

¹² The background to this present discussion is to be found in Chapter II, Part II where the operation of the national government is described.

to assist in carrying out the requirements for resolution one of the social services act, person with local or administrative experience and access to the aid of the farmer. Hence a caudillo without a large following can reasonably be selected by a Farm Family. This is probably more true of services administered on the local level than for those with headquarters in Montevideo.

A property of the civil service in Uruguay is that government employees are hired in accordance with their party affiliation. Thus, those factions receiving more votes can be more attractive to farm families than those receiving less votes. The caudillo of a more-voted faction has, in general, more avenues of influence into the governmental organization. But, of course, he has to satisfy the demands of more clients.

This makes more understandable the fact that "prominent" people favor the more-voted Colorado factions where a large rural population support the Blanco faction. The ability to disseminate favors to the more prominent businessmen requires a rather strong political position. This leads to less political favors for the rank-and-file member of this more-voted faction. However, the lack of "prestigious" favors can be partially offset by the greater supply of economic favors provided by the prominent affiliates (afiliados) of the more-voted faction. The fact that secondary caudillos of the Colorado factions in San Bautista are more important than their counterparts in the Blanco factions is consistent with this analysis.

On the other hand caudillos of the less-voted factions continue to offer services. They can facilitate requests for services and

families. At their peak in 1941-42, they constituted the core support of lovers.

Furthermore, the considerations taken by a family in making a decision to become identified with a faction have been inferred in large part from that attributes are so important to maintaining their affiliation. The considerations which are the personal politics of the cellule, patriots and their adversaries (the non-political elements of the political ideology) associated with the faction and the associated ideology of the cellule are being his fact. These considerations are conditioned by the utilization of agents and by the availability of local cellules where the family is located.

Change in the Social Organization of Political Affiliation. The reason for spending so much time with the problem of deciding affiliation will be seen in the following analysis. The question becomes: What are the present tendencies toward change in the form of political organizations and how can these be explained? As in the case of the analysis of this same question with respect to the economic structure the explanation appears to lie in changes taking place on a lower level of social interaction.

There are decided differences between the analysis of the political organization and the analysis of the economic exchange structures. Three major differences appear to be that: (1) in the political structure larger groupings of participants are socially interrelated in some sense while in the economic structure pair-relationships only are the rule; (2) in the political structure boundaries between clusters of participants, the factions, are emphasized in more or less with hostility;

and, finally, (3) political structures are more intimately connected with a wide range of associational activities whereas the economic structure could, although only to a certain extent, be studied in isolation.

This last aspect of the political structure makes the construction of hypotheses similar to those utilized in the section on economic structures more difficult, but only relatively so. As was the case with the economic structure, some modification takes place in the setting or functional environment which poses different problems to the political structure which is then adapted to these modifications. In the political structure, however, adaptation or "working out" involves overcoming a more ramified set of restraints.

The use of a typology of forms of political organization will aid in the following discussion. On one hand, a structure, call it A, is defined as a single principal caudillo as leader of a collection of affiliates to his faction. This structure A then is a star pattern and the task-leadership pattern will be defined as one-way. On the other hand one can define a structure, call it B, which consists of a team of secondary caudillos operating under some degree of social integration with additional pair-relationships between certain of these secondary caudillos and certain affiliates of their faction. There may be, in structure B, one principal caudillo or leader of the team.

By fixing attention now upon the pair-relationships between, in one case, the single caudillos and the farm family and, in the other case, the secondary caudillos and the farm family changes in certain independent variables can be shown to result in changed social arrange-

ments.

Most of the independent variables have been mentioned in the previous discussion. However, a restatement here would be convenient. The most important change has been an extension in the range of benefits to farmers offered in the social legislation emanating from the capital city. Although Uruguay has for years been "first with the most" in socialistic-type legislation, the benefits of this legislation have been shared largely by workers in the capital. Under an increasing awareness of the voting potential of, primarily, the more densely populated small-farming regions around Montevideo such "benefits" as hospital services, old age pensions, price fixing, "developmental" programs to aid in capitalization, protection to tenant farmers, and credit facilities have been written into legislative and executive decrees. Now farmers can get more if they are aided in requesting these benefits.

Another change is the increased participation of the "minority" or second party (the Blancos) in governmental affairs. Since the truce negotiated with them by José Batlle, the Blancos have gradually been able to make their influence felt in the day-to-day administration of the government. At the present time Blancos name members of governing boards and lesser officials, even though a minority of these. This change and the one mentioned just above combine to open many avenues of political influence from the citizen to the governmental apparatus. It comes about in the following way.

Along with increasing the scope of benefits to farmers, the newer legislation leaves a great deal of freedom for making important decisions

in the hands of lower administrators. Decisions are made at a relatively low rank in the administrative hierarchy as to whom, when, and how the benefits are to be distributed.¹³ In order to bring effective influence to bear upon these administrators, one almost has to have been responsible for having secured the man's job.¹⁴

In addition to the above, there is associated a change in political ethic.¹⁵ The principal caudillo who expressed his amazement in the face of what he called the personal and petty aims of younger politicians reflects this change. Previously it was probably quite enough that a caudillo proclaim the idealistic and sentimental catchwords of his party. He was appealing to the important considerations used by citizens in

¹³ This phenomenon is related to the discussion in Chapter II, Part II, concerning the operation of business and public bureaucracies. There it was observed that lower administrators carefully demonstrate and cultivate their independence.

¹⁴ A note on the investigator's "frame of attention" viz a viz this problem would be helpful. An employee of the Institute's staff in Montevideo acted as representative of the government employee's association in negotiations with the government over a "Public Employee's Code". This man was a source of much of the above information. Also one of the field workers experienced considerable difficulty in finding employment after completing his work in sociology with the Institute. Thus, the writer became involved in the political overtones of job hunting. In addition, personal contacts with other, usually younger, men with interests in the social sciences provided the impression that the job market was tight and that political influence was invariably needed. Given this situation it seems most logical to suppose that one of the most effective sources of influence upon an administrator or a government employee would be the political caudillo who gave the man his job.

¹⁵ Although "associated" is undoubtedly a valid way of speaking, the bases for this association are not under investigation here.

selecting their faction. But now, more materialistic considerations have become important. People have become sensitized to their neighbor's conquests of the public bureaucracy. They see that there are concrete benefits to be derived from the correct political affiliation.

By now it should have become quite evident that with respect to concrete benefits, structure B is more adaptive than structure A for farm-family units. Under structure B there exist designated specialists responsible for securing for farm families a wide range of these benefits. In addition it should be demonstrated that for these specialists themselves there accrue benefits under structure B. Looking at the occupational position of these specialists suffices to suggest the nature of their gains.

In the business of storekeeper and/or grain merchant a person is rather strictly regulated. The new law establishing a fixed price for wheat also specifies the margin of profit to be secured by the grain merchant. If he is to be able to realize gains such as he is accustomed to, it is necessary that he have certain protection against inspection. Since the prices of many commodities (e.g., flour and afrechillo or ground wheat husk for pig and chicken feed) are subsidized, but subsidized only for certain uses (again spelled out in great legal detail), there is a positive advantage to the seller if he is relatively insured against government inspection. With the possibilities of securing fertilizers, special seeds and other agricultural "capital" being tied to government administered programs of improvement of farming, it becomes helpful to have contacts with the appropriate government agencies. With the operations of the State Mortgage Bank constituting a limiting factor

for most types of operations of buying and selling real estate, the connection to this bank is a "negotiable" advantage.

In the special cases of the employee of the local government and the doctor, the advantages of their tie into a political faction are even more direct. The employee owes his job in certain measure to his role of party worker while the doctor is enabled to receive compensation for his work with families unable to pay fees. Thus it appears that the gain to all participants is greater under structure B than A.

The division of the local population into various factions remains to be explained. On the national level of political organization the divisions are also found, so perhaps their appearance on the local level could be explained as a result of national proselytizing. But the vigor of local factions depends too much upon local leadership to allow this explanation much weight. The more adequate explanation lies in a further understanding of the local situation.

Given certain tasks to perform, given certain structural arrangements which are more adaptive, and given certain characteristics of the persons who are to perform the roles in the more adaptive structural arrangement, there arise certain size limits on the number of persons that can be tied together in a faction.

In certain cases, the people playing the roles of principal and secondary caudillos in "large" factions appear to be overworked. On one hand, demands on their time are extensive while on the other, their native abilities appear to be taxed. As was remarked above there was invariably a line of farmers and townspeople waiting to see the principal caudillo who was introduced in detail earlier. During the field work

period an escribano (expert in civil law) was brought into the area to help handle the large number of requests. Even so, there were occasions on which farmers were required to pass the caudillo's office three or four times, give a sideways glance to find that he was occupied and to move by again. Frequently, when the caudillo would notice this behavior he would bound to the window or doorway and say hello to the farmer and promise him some time in a little while.

Although we did not interview any of these farmers to ascertain their feelings, it seems very probable that this was for them very uncomfortable. We know from Chapter III the configuration of pride of the farmer and can infer the displeasure such treatment could cause. And also it is known how essential to a caudillo's standing it is to give the farmer the impression that the farmer's business is of greatest import.

A leadership position, even one whose content is specialized, must still be based on a great deal of common knowledge. Even though the knowledge required to aid in facilitating an application for a pension is specific, the knowledge required to select from among thirty applications those for which a pension "should" reasonably be secured involves detailed acquaintance with the needs of the farm families or town families involved. The accumulation of such knowledge is time consuming.

Under these conditions a caudillo can handle only a limited number of clients. He usually has an occupational role. With the remaining time and energy he can attend to approximately fifty or one hundred clients. Although their requests are spaced so that there are three or

four important ones throughout the lifetime of a farm-family unit, they are requests which require considerable work.

Over and above these time requirements are the skill requirements of the role of candillo. These, it is apparent, are more important limiting factors over the size of the faction. "Candilloship" is an exacting task due to the demand for diplomacy and tact. The job usually requires an energetic and forceful task leadership along with an understanding and sympathetic influence over feelings of pride and self-esteem of the constituents or over the distribution of interpersonal rewards. In the few observed cases of breakup within factions this interpersonal skill component has given fair evidence of its importance (i.e., by its lack).

The distribution of pensions is presumably well known. This was a common, although unforseen, topic of conversation in interviews and the more unusual cases were points of common reference. Such cases as thirty-year old recipients of old age pensions were widely recognized. Due to the fact that pensions are collected on the last day of each month and that the recipients or a representative must go to the office of distribution in San Bautista makes it easy for others to discover if neighbors, or affiliates of an opposing action, have been successful in their quest for a pension.¹⁶ And the candillo may beware if such is the case while their application remains inactive.

¹⁶In this presentation much of the interpretation revolves around granting of pensions rather than other services. In the district of San Bautista pensions are more prevalent than in other rural regions. The principal candillo who became a member of the board for granting

Where the bases of affiliation of farm families to faction are to a great extent ideological, an outstanding caudillo stands a fair chance of extending his influence over the sentiments of a large number of persons. When, however, the basis of affiliation are more of the nature of concrete favors this becomes impossible. With these requirements it becomes necessary: (1) to offer a local team of principal and secondary caudillos balanced in the sense of being able to offer a variety of services, and (2) to maintain some internal harmony among the members of this team capable of sustaining the division of labor. More extended discussion of problems of maintaining internal integration will be presented in the following section on other associational activities.

Summarizing then, it appears that the arrangements under structure B are natural outgrowths of the changes occurring in the nature of national legislation, and administrative organization. It would require a more extended analysis of these features of the national scene in order to predict their future tendencies, nevertheless it appears that the trend is, for the time being, toward an even greater production of the same type of legislation. Perhaps some changes will take place in the administrative operations which involve the inclusion of certain components of the caudillo role in that of the bureaucrat.

pensions started the trend. As his successes became known the other factions made extensive demands for pensions which apparently have been acceded to. At present there are about five hundred old-age pensions in the district, which number is quite unusual. The consequences which are now being examined should be similar regardless of the nature of the service offered; however, calculation of relative deprivation is probably easier where the item being distributed (differentially) is as concrete and has an easily calculable monetary value as does a pension.

II. Associational Structures

Associations in the San Bautista Section can be grouped into two types, non-autonomous and autonomous, which terms will become more meaningful as they are utilized.¹⁷ For now, a nominal definition, a listing, can be accepted. The first type includes those associations appended to other, parent, organizations and functioning with the parent organization as an important portion of the association's setting. Such associations are the religious societies,¹⁸ the schoolboards and associations of alumni, the neighbors' committees for road repair, and finally the extension organizations. The second type includes the home-grown associations which are oriented primarily to recreation. These are the social clubs and the athletic clubs. An interstitial organization is one farmers' betterment society (Sociedad de Fomento) which is largely autonomous although affiliated with one of the nationwide farmers' organizations.

Description of Some Associational Activities. In San Bautista during the time of the study finishing touches were being applied to the building to house the local Club Social, "Vida Nueva" ("New Life" Social Club). The building includes an auditorium, dance floor and cantina (bar). The building of a local (as it is called) constituted a signal achievement and for the last four years has been the chief task of the comisión (directory) of the club. This directory is composed of seven members,

¹⁷ Herbert A. Thelen, Dynamics of Groups at Work, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) provided a series of concepts (and an ethical system as well) with which the investigator found it convenient to operate.

¹⁸ Although the list of religious societies is lengthy they are, according to the local padre, inactive--functioning largely on ceremonial occasions. Thus they will not be referred to below.

at present all from the mullo, "elected" during the annual meeting of the membership.

The mode of election is characteristic. Nominations are made in "packages." An entire slate of officers is proposed or there may be more than one slate. Votes are cast for the entire slate. Most commonly only one slate of officers is proposed and voting is perfunctory. But from time to time crises occur and another slate is proposed. This happened in San Bautista in 1947.

The club started its legal life in 1937 after many years of informal and stormy existence. In 1947 a proposal was made for reorganization. Charges and counter-charges were unleashed, and in the end a new slate of officers was chosen. In 1950 plans were made for building a local, then two years later a loan from the State Mortgage Bank permitted construction to begin. As construction was started membership grew until, at present, there are about five hundred members.

For most farm families their membership amounts to a season's ticket to the more fashionable dances on the social calendar. Membership is part of the obligation of a comfortably situated family, especially one with marriageable daughters. For members of the comisión their's is an action of dedication to the public weal in the face of most unreasonable opposition. If they accept credit for their actions it is preferable from their standpoint that it be forced upon them. They are prevailed upon to assume office, and they are prevailed upon to accept the thanks of the membership. There are yearly meetings in which to make public these expressions of solidarity. And there are closer friendship circles which provide a more up-to-date verification

of their worthiness.

A great share of the action of the comision is meaningful only if some understanding of the friendship circles of these leaders is attained. At the time of the reorganization in 1947 there existed a note-drinking circle of the leading citizens of the town who were accustomed to congregate in a tailor's shop. The tailor himself acted as a vehicle of good fellowship, although he took no part in the more serious deliberations of the group. From this group arose the idea of reorganization. And upon the success of their candidates, this group continued to provide policy, especially the impetus to construction of the local.

Gradually, however, the responsibility for implementing these ideas passed into other hands--into the hands of "financial" specialists. The circle broke up for other reasons as well. This circle underlay a considerable political activity and a division within the leaders of the Lista 14 is related to its breakdown. As this circle lost its unity the efficacy of informal policy making did not. Holding the position of treasurer of the club was a man to whom all of this group constantly turned, and at the time of the study, decision-making was carried out within pair-relationships with this man.

At the present time the local has been completed and this treasurer's functions have diminished. Now the problems are those of raising funds (fixing dues and collecting them), administering the cantina and arranging entertainment (movies, dances and by performers from Montevideo). The "old" circle of decision-makers has not become strongly involved in these tasks. Perhaps it is due to their own internal disunities or maybe they sense that difficulties are bound to arise. Already the criticos are

arriving. "What do the people of the town mean by bringing in these 'Jazz' bands? We need more folk dancing and folk orchestras."

The strategies of decision-making in the comisión are not known in detail. However, the following general statement is quite well documented. Proposals are worked out before the formal meeting in informal conversations. They are presented by the person whose word is felt to carry most weight. Nevertheless, not all members find themselves consulted and persons thus left out usually become the "reactionaries." This pattern of a dissenting opinion is so widespread in other associations as to give the impression that unanimity is being avoided.

Data covering the associations in Castellanos are less complete; nevertheless certain incidents are pertinent. The Rural Betterment Society of Castellanos dates back to 1928, and has had its share of reorganizations. There are about four hundred and fifty registered members. The comisión consists of seven members all of whom, interestingly enough, are from the campesino. However, the details of the day-to-day administration of the local are entrusted with an "advisory secretary" who lives in the population center.

The privileges associated with membership are similar to those in San Bautista, although the Society in Castellanos from time to time participates in influencing agricultural policy and offers some services to the farmers (e.g., credit and pure-bred livestock for breeding purposes). An important distinguishing factor in Castellanos is the presence of large farmers to the north, some of which are quite wealthy.

Unlike the situation in San Bautista, the Rural Betterment Society is not the only association of its type in Castellanos. There is, in

addition, the Artigas-Varela¹⁰ Club. The competition and, at times, open conflict between these organizations was of vital importance to the operation of the Institute's extension program and is also of interest to an understanding of the functioning of associations.

To discover the origin of the Artigas-Varela Club one can go back about five or six years to the Association of ex-students in Castellanos. Within this organization the familiar pattern of schism had been developing for some time. There were two groups of decision-makers or organizational specialists. One was led by the "advisory secretary" of the Rural Betterment Society while the other was led by the female principal of the Castellanos school. The circle of friends of the advisory secretary were people largely from the campesin with a predominately rural background and Blanco political affiliations, while those around the principal were largely from the pueblo or oriented to the city with non-Blanco political tendencies.

In the Association of ex-students the principal's faction was in control, and apparently a feeling of confidence in their power permitted this circle to translate into action their opposition to the Rural Betterment Society. A proposal to create another social club arose from within this association and was bitterly contested by the advisory secretary. But in the end his opposition was probably responsible for the realization of its founding. A loan was secured for the construction of a local, largely through the personal prestige of the principal. And

¹⁰If Artigas can be called the "Washington" of Uruguay, Varela could be called the "Moreno Nam."

competition for followers became more open.

The activities of the Artigas-Varela Club were similar to those of any social club. Dances were organized, but they were not attended to the extent of those of the Rural Betterment Society. The prohibition against hard liquor was held responsible for the lack of interest but certainly the fact the Castellanos is not big enough to support two social clubs" (in the words of the advisory secretary) was also responsible. At the present time the Artigas-Varela Club is the center of the activities of the Institute's Home Economics Club, but dances have ceased.

The pattern of decision-making for the two societies is similar to that found in San Bautista. The members of the leadership circle maintain strong ties of friendship to each other. The integration of the leadership circle of the Rural Betterment Society is probably stronger, although the same pattern of claimants to power not receiving their "just dues" is apparent.

The leadership circle of the Rural Betterment Society was intensively studied by an extension agent who became one of its members. He found them "sincere" and "knowledgeable" in their actions for the good of their society. Likewise, the leadership circle of the Artigas-Varela Club was entered by another extension agent who reports the same. In the latter case, however, this impression has been modified upon the departure of the school principal from Castellanos. The remaining leadership clique has apparently reverted to negative opposition in which the motivations toward personal recognition have become more overt.

In San Jacinto, a town to the southeast of San Bautista, the Rural Betterment Society was said to be doing its utmost to help the farmer, while other informants reported too much internal politicking. In Tala to the east of San Ramón, the Rural Betterment Society is now defunct--a casualty of internal dissensions. In San Ramón there exist two major social clubs--one with a rural, the other with a pueblo orientation. Both organizations have been rocked by internal battles. A Rotary Club is all but non-existent and a third social club is in the throes of reorganization. Internal division and reorganization is part of the associational pattern.

In Costa de Iwado associational activities such as the Fútbol Team, the schoolboard and the Association of Ex-students are active. These three are to a great extent controlled by two brothers. The brothers are ranking members of one of the largest kinship groups in the paraje. "Everybody is related to everyone else in Costa de Iwado." One of the brothers is a bolichero while the other is an acopiador-farmer. The second brother is the more active and the task leader.

On occasion the leadership style of the task-leader brother was noted and found to fit closely the conception of another farmer in the area who said, "He is very dry." This style consists of waiting to offer sage pronouncements which give the impression when finally uttered that everything important which could be said on the subject has been included. The other brother is more open and jovial when his health permits.

The activities of the associations which they control are to a

great degree routinized. The Fútbol Club gives an asado (barbecue) each year and supports the team with equipment. The schoolboard is all but inactive although in one action a local seamstress was hired to teach dressmaking. Although several broken windows in the school building let in cold winter winds, the response of the schoolboard is: The building belongs to so-and-so; he could keep it in repair. The Association of Ex-students gives two large school fiestas each year.

In El Cuadro the situation is less well defined with respect to the locus of leadership in associational activities. There a leadership circle is in evidence, but a leadership circle for certain, not all, associational activities. Those activities centered in the school and with the Institute are handled by a group of four or five farm families. These families appear to be closely affiliated to the Lista 14 political faction. The committee of neighbors for the repair of roads is headed by a local bolichero who became affiliated with the Lista 15 group. The activities of the Institute have been avoided by this bolichero. The integration of the first circle of decision-makers appears to be high. The response to the organization of a Home Economics Club in the paraje was the attendance of over thirty farm families.

Much has been said concerning the more active and prominent participants in these associational activities and less concerning the role of the membership or of the other families. Their role seems to be that of voicing their criticisms or agreeing with praise produced in the local boliches. For the rural area the geographic locus of decision-making is probably the boliche. In the town, on the other hand,

decision-makers infrequently entered a boliche; the focus of their conversations were other business houses (tailor shop and dry goods store) or their homes. In the campaña visiting is limited largely to close neighbors while the opportunities for contact with other decision-makers is provided by the boliche. In addition, this place permits an immediate check on public opinion. However, this feature inhibits the "experimental" phase of decision-making as was found on the occasions when the investigator attempted to stimulate conversations over hypothetical social situations in the boliches.

Social Structure in Associational Activities. In both the campaña and the pueblo it appears to be possible to locate certain individuals who are organizational specialists. These persons form part of the leadership circles behind a number of associations. In many cases the careers of these individuals were initiated within the Association of Ex-students. This association is probably a more mixed group including elements of most of the factions existing at any time.²⁰ In this setting, organizational capabilities are tested. Probably at this time the schismatic tendencies are developed and sub-groups of persons with organizational skills are formed.

In Castellanos this process eventuated in the creation of a new social club. In San Bautista the same process contributed to the creation

²⁰ At any rate school functions are attended by a greater proportion of farm families than other organizational activities. Note category 6 of Table XII. From Table IX one can see that the number of farm families from which at least one member is on a comision is appreciable.

TABLE XIX

PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED ACTIVITIES OF SOME MEMBERS OF FARM
FAMILY UNITS IN THE FORTY-FIVE FIRST STATES

Form of participation of some member of the farm-family units	No. of farm- family units participating
1. Meetings of Athol Club	4
2. Practices of Athol team	7
3. Athol Games	11
4. School tour	10
5. Association of ex-student	4
6. School fiestas	22
7. Road repair commission	6
8. On excursions	10
9. Horse races	15
10. Games	17
11. Help at wheat harvest	20

TABLE XX

PARTICIPATION RATE OF SOME MEMBER OF FARM FAMILY UNITS IN
THE SEVENTEEN ACTIVITIES, FORTY-FIVE FIRST STATES

	No. of farm- family units
Some member of the family is a member of a <u>convención</u>	12
No one in the unit is on a <u>convención</u>	20

1. *What is the purpose of this study?*

of a new political faction. The present leadership of the Communist Association of Ex-students has assumed an important role in the lista 11 faction.

Within the Association of Ex-students schismatic tendencies can be tolerated because of the fact that the association is appealed to the school and the tasks and internal organization of the group are to a great extent imposed from without. The same is true of the schoolboard. It appears that the activities of the fútbol clubs and of the road repair committees have become routinized and the goals are to a great extent objective and external. This last is more true of the fútbol clubs than of the road repair committees where demands are frequently conflicting and resources limited. Under these two conditions (development of tradition and external goals) it appears that the dangers of disappearance or dissolution of the association are less.

In the more autonomous associations such as social clubs and even extension organizations the difficulties are multiplied. Internal determination of the form of organization and especially of the goals is lacking. It is apparent that in these spheres of activity more personal goals are operative. In particular these associations lead themselves as arenas of competition for recognition or for interpersonal rewards. In understanding the operation of these associations it would be helpful to explore the rules of the "game" for social status and recognition.²¹

Somewhat the same characteristics are found in this game as were

²¹ The data upon which the following discussion is based were collected largely in the cuadró.

ment in that played for monetary stakes. There is a negative value placed on strong differentials in the distribution of such rewards. It is possible to accumulate prestige through playing active roles in a series of such associations. Nevertheless, one mistake in the performance of any of these roles can easily be disastrous. Given that the goals of the association are not clear-cut there is practically unlimited freedom to define a "mistake". Thus "equalization" can be made effective. Persons with greatest prestige are those who are the brunt of most of the criticisms.

Under these conditions it is essential to review all proposals extensively before they are submitted to discussion. This results in the pattern of informal decision-making before the formal meetings of a convention. If this does not occur then the committee meeting degenerates to the repetition of platitudes and truisms. The participants are extremely reluctant to take an action. More frequently, they simply do not attend.

The safest road to greater prestige appears to be that of self-sacrifice. If a member can claim that he is losing time and expending energy and even money for the cause of the association, this appears to be a more legitimate claim for recognition than that he is responsible for certain results or accomplishments of the convention. If results could be evaluated there would exist objective goals of the association.

This material on associational activities should be related to that on the political and even economic activities. The most appropriate summarizing concept is the notion of social stratification. But a few

preliminary remarks are in order. Activities in all three spheres can in a sense be "explained" from two points of view. One may view these activities as in the service of some culturally defined aims or goals. In this case one looks for "tasks" to which the participants are committed and explains activities in terms of their contribution to these tasks which were posited as necessary to the attainment of the goals. One may equally justifiably view these activities as in the service of some widely recognized individual goals--in particular, the goal of social acceptance. "Acceptance" is bestowed by the members of groups (e.g., his family) called important by the individual.

For certain activities "tasks" are more important as organizing principles while in other activities the individual's concern for social acceptance is paramount. As the analysis moves from the economic through the political to the associational, the importance of tasks gives way to the importance of social acceptance. In the concrete society the notion of this separation is cloudy. There is a tendency to subsume the differences among persons with respect to their contribution to tasks and with respect to the validity of their claims to social acceptance under summarizing rubrics. However, one cannot say that this is the case in the section of San Bautista, at least not at the present time.

Although there is relatively wide agreement upon which persons of the pueblo are of the "elite", and upon which persons are, so-to-speak, "out of the running", many sub-classifications are imposed.²² In

²² The investigator made up cards carrying names of the heads of families in the pueblo and had two "judges" form a ranked grouping on

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Chapter III, Part I, the discussion of the evaluation of personal traits pointed out that hierarchical arrangements of farmers were not conceived. Rather, in the country persons are individuals with a vengeance--almost non-comparable.²³ The above remarks should serve as qualifications to the following statements.

Many of the middlemen, political leaders and organizational specialists participate in the contest for social recognition. They are aware of the implications of their actions for this contest. Such awareness does not appear to be a characteristic of the rest of the population. Members of this elite, aware of the contest for social prominence, engage in certain activities explainable only in terms of the contest. Two patterns observable among these activities deserve particular mention.

An "occupational hazard" attendant upon playing in this contest is the relatively rapid oscillation of the elite. An individual of prominence can continue with security only if he sponsors or supports others who are on their way to becoming prominent. In three quite well documented cases such sponsorship was under way. In two cases the sponsorship consisted of unusually generous financial aid. In the other case it consisted of organizational manipulation so that the protege

the basis of "importance." Unfortunately, this was not done in the campaign. For use of a similar technique see C. K. Loomis, et al, Murder: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change, (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1955), p. 391f.

²³ C. K. Stone and J. W. Fern in "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18:148, (April 1953), also question the existence of over-all comparability.

could gain valuable experience. In countless other cases it was less apparent but sponsorship was there. Although fathers sponsored their sons, sponsorship of more distant relatives did not seem to be "automatic."

As was noted above in the discussion of jobs in the government administration, the relationship between a man who is responsible for placing another in a better role can expect to wield influence. The society is "open"; there are ways of entering government positions; but the path to upward mobility is hedged about with personal obligations to the persons responsible for one's rise.

The second pattern is the affiliation of such persons with outside organizations. An attempt is made to gain for the outside organization a prestigious position within the Section and/or an attempt is made to contact prestigious organizations. On the other hand, attempts are made to devalue the organization to which opponents in the contest are affiliated.

Needless to say, the relationships between the Institute and persons of the Area were greatly affected by this pattern. This pattern is the complement of another pattern illustrated by the case of Castellanos. There the schism of the leaders in the community was marked by the sharp exclusiveness of their patterns of entry into associational and political activities. Even in San Bautista where internal strife had been greatly diminished, a tendency to crystallization of memberships was apparent. Among the secondary cabildos of the Lista 14 some differentiation ("sub-factionation") was reported. And the different approach of the secondary cabildos from distinct sub-factions was noticeable. In one

set they were anxious for the successful future of the extension program while in the other set they were obliquely critical of the program.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview of the Thesis. The objective of the preceeding development has been to analyze or explain certain changes in the structure of economic exchange relationships and changes in the social organization of political activities. Specifically, attention was focussed upon the changes in two aspects of social organization: (1) the nature of the contact-no-contact structure and (2) the distribution of leadership.

There appears to be some empirical relationship between these two aspects. The "star" pattern of the contact-no-contact structure is associated with a "one-way" pattern of leadership, while the "non-centralized" contact-no-contact structure goes with the "two-way" leadership pattern.

In order to explain this association and also to explain current trends in these aspects of social organization at the Section-wide level of integration the analysis focussed on changes in pair-relationships. Certain of these changes, which are called "Paths," tend to bring the structure toward the star with one-way pattern while others move it in the non-centralized with two-way pattern. On balance, the latter changes are more numerous at present and this condition appears to have a fairly long history.

The explanations of these changes occurring in pair-relationships conform to a familiar theoretical model. Something happens outside the pair-relationship. This something happening may be seen as a

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modification in the conditions of action of the relationship or, saying it in another way, as a modification in the functional environment of the system. On the other hand something may happen inside the pair-relationship. This may be seen as a modification in the cultural standards which are "used" or drawn upon to organize the relationship. The "something happening" is viewed as a change in the independent variables which are defined in terms either of the functional environment or of cultural standards.

It is hypothesized that certain changes in the independent variables lead to certain changes in the nature of the pair-relationships. Two kinds of effects or changes in the pair-relationships were of central interest: (1) breakdowns of existing relationships and the formation of others, and (2) changes in the distribution of leadership tasks in the pair-relationship.

In order to show that certain pair-relationships may be expected to break down, or to form, or to shift leadership tasks under the influence of certain changes in the independent variables, the pair-relationship should be viewed as a social system. Being a social system implies that the relationships will tend to change in the direction of attaining adaptiveness.

The individuals of the pair-relationship become committed to the accomplishment of certain tasks through acceptance of the common culture. In some cases a change in the independent variables brings about a change in the tasks to which the pair-relationship is committed. Under certain social arrangements the pair-relationship may perform tasks more efficiently than under other social arrangements. Thus it is

that certain changes in the independent variables bring forth changes in the social arrangement of the pair-relationship. The need for a specification of the association between types of changes in the independent variables and types of changes in the social arrangements found in pair-relationships is dealt with in Chapters III, IV, and V.

Summary of Chapter III, Participants and Pair-Relationships in Economic Structures, and Chapter IV, Area-wide Economic Structures and Structural Change.¹ In Part I of Chapter III the problem was essentially that of delineating the nature of the farm families. Certain of the more basic cultural standards drawn upon by these units in their social interaction were described. The standards were conceived to be responsible for the relationships between outside happenings and the reactions of the farm families. The cultural standards define the "transfer function" of the farm-family unit.

Identifying titles of these cultural standards important to the analysis are:

- (1) Orientation to low-pressure enjoyment,
- (2) Bluffing and honesty,
- (3) Evaluation of personal traits,
- (4) Orientation to fixed standards of living,
- (5) Orientation to fixed standards of working the farm,
- (6) Specific norms of the farm-family units viewed as input-output relationships:

¹ Inasmuch as a brief summary of Chapter II was included it will not be necessary to recapitulate the discussion of "Background."

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2. The second part is a detailed account of the work done during the year.

3. The third part is a summary of the work done during the year.

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- a. Characteristic reactions to changes in land holding,
- b. Characteristic reactions to changes in labor supply,
- c. Characteristic reactions to changes in capital utilized,
- d. Characteristic reactions to changes in technological knowledge.

Some idea of the specific standards which appear to be valid guides of action was gained in spite of scanty data. The variations from farm-family to farm-family with respect to the differential standards embraced were indicated. A similar investigation of cultural standards was carried out in Part II of Chapter III for the middleman units. The basic process of becoming a middleman was also outlined.² And a pattern, "the natural life history of a middleman," was discovered. Finally, "strong" middlemen were compared to farmers along the other cultural standards. The role of "lesser" middleman was treated in a way similar to the above.

In Part III of Chapter III a description of typical pair-relationships was provided. The culturally defined commitments of the units to these relationships were given. That is, certain tasks of the pair-relationship were outlined. Maintaining the farm-family's standard of living was a most important one of these. Possibilities for the profit of the middleman were to be realized only after this commitment had been satisfied.

In Chapter IV the reactions of pair-relationships in the face of certain changes in the outside conditions or in the functional

²The middleman role is more of an "achieved" role while that of farmer is to a greater extent "ascribed." Becoming a middleman is more of an "adventure;" becoming a farmer more "routine."

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. It discusses the data sources, the data collection methods, and the data analysis methods. It also provides a detailed description of the research design and the sampling method used in the study.

3. The third part of the report is a detailed description of the results of the study. It discusses the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from the results. It also provides a detailed description of the statistical analysis used in the study and the results of the statistical tests.

4. The fourth part of the report is a detailed description of the conclusions drawn from the study. It discusses the implications of the findings and the recommendations for future research. It also provides a detailed description of the limitations of the study and the strengths of the study.

5. The fifth part of the report is a detailed description of the references used in the study. It lists the books, articles, and other sources used in the study and provides a detailed description of the information provided in each source.

environment of the pair-relationship were explored. There are certain rather widespread types of changes. In some portions of the structure of economic exchange relationships, breakdowns of pair-relationships are taking place, while at other points, pair-relationships are forming. The same observation applies to the redistribution of leadership tasks.

As farmers become more prosperous they become more independent. This overly simplified statement summarizes one type of change or, as it was termed in Chapter IV, one Path (Path I). Increased prices for wheat and other produce have increased income to the Section. Greater income has allowed the farmers to avoid indebtedness to middlemen and has thus released them from one of the restraints built into this relationship. Being thus "released," the relationship tended to follow certain cultural standards which support a breakdown of the tie between farm families and the larger scale middleman.

The breakdown of the strong middleman-farmer pair-relationships was frequently not only a "negative" reaction, but also involved movement toward another type of pair-relationship, that of the lesser middleman-farmer. Conditions which favor the increase of lesser middlemen were found to be similar to those which led to the breakdown of the other pair-relationships. And, of course, such breakdowns and formations are themselves mutually reinforcing.

Changes in conditions other than those occurring in the extra-Section markets for farm produce were also considered as independent variables. The combination of land pressure with a set of new ideas in farming placing emphasis upon diversification on a small scale where there is a high "ratio" of labor to land, appear to lead to much the

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same type of changes in the pair-relationships. The series of events which reflect the effect of these changes in the independent variables was outlined in the discussion of Path II.

At several points in the analysis rather great weight has been placed on the assumption that both the farmer and the middleman calculate and compare the payoffs or benefits to them of the different possible social arrangements. In particular, farmers try to avoid discrepancies in returns to the parties even in the face of having to pay a monetary "price" for a more equal distribution of gain. It was also posited that farmers, as well as middlemen, calculate the monetary returns associated with various arrangements and that they are inclined to select that arrangement from which they will receive a higher price for their farm produce.

Added to this comment. / The value placed on monetary gain is probably becoming of more rather than of less importance relative to other types of gains or losses. This is also the result of a change in an independent variable. As the content of political and governmental discussions includes farm income and as farmers become more frequently exposed to these discussions in the newspapers and, most importantly, on the radio their attention will be directed to monetary gain. There is evidence of this shift in the amount of attention farmers give prices. As a result of these calculations, middlemen have tended to retreat from the marketing of field crops. Farmers also, have been placing more emphasis on garden-type produce. Since marketing of such produce is done primarily through lesser middlemen the net result is similar to the result of changes in market conditions.

The division of leadership tasks also appears to be changing. Whereas previously the middleman was in sole possession of much of the information which was to be used in making decisions in the pair-relationship and, therefore, directed activities, more recently farmers themselves have been exposed to market news and find themselves in a position to make decisions on when to sell their produce, what crops to plant, and even where to sell. Being able to escape from debt they are no longer required to accept the terms of a single middleman. They may find another one who is in the process of building up a clientele.

/ Much government legislation is specifically designed to protect the farmer from the middleman by legally fixing the terms of exchange. Although this legislation may have been designed to reduce the leadership of the middleman by placing the government in authority over the pair-relationship, its intent appears to be only partially realized. By and large, middlemen tend to become more familiar with such legislation than farmers and are in a position to give "authoritative" interpretations. They become leaders in legal interpreting.

Having found so many "reasons" why the pair-relationships between larger middlemen and farmers should give way to pair relations between lesser middlemen and farmers or to relations between farmers and extra-Section markets, it may come as a surprise that empirically the change-over is not immediate and widespread. In part it is true that many of the restraints which the changes in the independent variables have tended to remove are still in existence. For example, some younger farmers must still go into debt and usually to a larger middleman, and some older farmers persist within a pair-relationship because this

relationship has become institutionalized.

Given that changes in the independent variables have "loosened" the existing pattern of exchange relationships, there is still a possibility that the resulting pattern may look much the same as the original one. Granted that farmers as well as middlemen make monetary calculations important, there are reasons (e.g., the efficiencies of scale) to expect that larger middlemen will increase their clientele. But as was pointed out, the resulting pair-relationship between larger middleman and farmer is more of the limited-content than the unlimited-content type. Larger middlemen have increased the scope of their businesses and thus increased their clienteles, but they engage a smaller portion of the farmer's interests.

In the face of the present proliferation of lesser middlemen it seems logical to suppose that the economic limitations of the Section will make themselves known in the business failure of some of these lesser middlemen. In fact, this appears to be taking place.

Summary of Chapter V, Political and Associational Organizations.

The changes taking place in the political organizations are similar to those in the economic exchange structure. The star pattern appears to be giving way to a more de-centralized pattern while the leadership tasks are becoming subdivided and distributed among a larger group of persons.

The subdivision of leadership tasks is not, however, exactly equivalent to a change from a one-way leadership pattern to a two-way pattern. While there is an empirical relationship between more subdivision of tasks and more scattering of leaderships among the parties

to the pair-relationships of the economic structure, in the political sphere the first is more apparent than the latter. There are probably more secondary caudillos with specializations now than formerly, but perhaps the leadership of the caudillo is as "strong" as it was before. At least the data available on political affairs do not show strong evidence of change from a one-way to a two-way pattern although the degree of influence of certain "prominent" farmers (lesser caudillos) is at present, considerable.

As in the economic case, changes in political organization were explained by examining the effects of certain changes occurring at the national political scene, in the farmer-caudillo pair-relationship. To a certain extent the changes in political structure appear to be empirically related to the changes in economic structure and to an extent they rest on other bases.

The reduction of the economic influence of the larger grain merchants and storekeepers is reflected in their diminished political influence. During the last elections the preeminence of the former political leaders in San Bautista was challenged by another new political organization. The results showed the previous leaders to be in control of the major share of the voters but still a goodly share of their former monopoly was lost. The leaders of the new faction were, although not exactly "lesser" middlemen, middlemen whose businesses were on a smaller scale. There is a pattern of oscillation of the "elite," illustrated by this case.

Several changes in independent variables were suggested as "producer" causes of the shifts in the social arrangements of the pair-

relationships. Among these was the increase in the welfare- or social-type legislation whose important features are: (1) detailed requirements, of a legal and bureaucratic nature, which must be met before citizens may receive benefits of the legislation and (2) placement of responsibility for making crucial decisions in the hands of government officials of a lower administrative rank or in the hands of those in the local areas. These tendencies result in an increase in the usefulness of certain specialized (e.g., legal) knowledge to citizens and also an increase in the power of local political caudillos who can influence the nominations of persons to lesser administrative positions.

Another change appears to be taking place in the "ethic" governing the caudillo-farm family relationship. In a geographical sense the influence on ethic is proceeding from the capitol city of Montevideo outward into the interior of the country. The result is seen in an increased emphasis, by both caudillo and constituency, on the "bread-and-butter" benefits derived from affiliation to a political faction rather than in an increased emphasis on sentimental and traditional benefits of this affiliation.

A final "outside" change has been the working agreement arrived at between the two major parties (Blanco and Colorado) whereby the appointments to government positions are made in accord with a three-to-two or two-to-one ratio. The party which receives a majority of the votes can appoint about two-thirds or three-fifths of the government employees, but the other party (invariably the Blancos) can appoint the remaining portion. Although the power of the Blanco party to appoint officials has increased in recent years, Uruguay has had a system of

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proportional representation for a much longer time. Under this system parties or factions with a minority of votes have still been able to send a goodly number of their men into the legislature and to derive some political patronage from this.

Turning from independent variables to the pair-relationships, it was asked to what extent are there common aims or tasks to which both caudillo and farmer are committed. Rather than the discovery (by caudillo and farmer) of a common goal, an agreement on each one's legitimate individual aim within the relationship was apparent. The caudillo is generally expected to be oriented to increases in his constituency, while the farm family is oriented to the concrete benefits or favors to be derived either from the caudillo's intervention in the governmental or economic spheres or from his distribution of praise. The duality of the aims of farm families is related to the partial replacement of a sentimental or patriotic ethic of politics by a "pragmatic" ethic.

In the face of changes in the independent variables, the caudillo who had legal skills, or other specialized skills which would enable him to assist the farm families secure advantages from the government's social programs, would tend to increase his affiliates at the expense of the caudillo whose "prominent" position as dispenser of praise was his major claim to affiliates. Likewise, those caudillos who were able to exercise a degree of influence upon government administrators also tended to increase their adherents.

The increase of caudillos or, as some informants would say, caudillitos has been quite noticeable. The newer style political

leader tends to concentrate his appeal upon granting a series of extra-political services, usually in the course of his normal business operation. After he has accumulated a collection of clients, he decides upon joining an existing political faction or working with a more recent arrival among local political organizations. In any case he enters into some political organization with other secondary caudillos.

The existence of a group of secondary caudillos, the "team," represents an element not found in the structure of economic relationships. The political organization differs from the economic structure in one other related aspect. There exist in the structure of political relationships recognizable barriers between members of different factions. In general these two structural features of the political organization are closely related to the associational structures, and in this way they are tied into the system of social stratification.

In addition to the impulse given by changes in the independent variables toward fostering the proliferation of secondary caudillos, associational activities and the system for distributing social recognition may also contribute in this same direction. This was the theme of Part II of Chapter V. A major purpose of this discussion was to underline the tendencies toward a relatively rapid oscillation of the associational and political leaders. Realignment of affiliation and rises and falls in social prominence are the rule.

Under these conditions it is difficult to attain a single picture of the political structure or of the associational structure. There is no star pattern. However, it does appear that the task leadership is one-way while the rank-and-file have recourse to criticas. It could

be expected that as knowledge of the tasks filters down to the rank-and-file the one-way leadership pattern will give way.

Contributions to Substantive Sociology. There are several points at which the previous analysis contributes to current substantive sociological theory. Something, perhaps, can be claimed for having studied a rather little known population. But until other studies of similar places are available many judgments as to the scope of the results must be suspended.

San Bautista is a very unique place, but so is any other place in the world. It might reasonably be expected that in the mixed-farming districts of Uruguay most of the rural and small towns are similar to San Bautista. This mixed-farming "cultural region" may include parts of Argentina as well. Such areas of mixed-farming are between the population centers and the livestock regions of Argentina. But the rural Section of San Bautista may be more similar to a rural township in the Northeastern and North Central United States than to other Latin American rural cultures.

Beyond discovering that survey techniques can be adapted to the Uruguayan rural population--but with reservations--no significant methodological advance is represented in the study. What was accomplished can be found in the methodological discussion, Part II of Chapter I.

An attempt was made to study change in social organization from data collected during a limited time period and to study change in society-wide social structures without benefit of surveys which would provide a static but more or less complete view of those structures.

It is difficult to judge the extent to which propositions developed upon such data and tested by such data can be considered to be valid. As a personal conviction the investigator found that many incidents observed in the field were given meaning later on, as this type of analysis was developed.

A few examples of this type of validation may serve to define the technique. Judging largely from experiences in Castellanos where factional strife was open and strong, it was evident that the pattern of participation in the Institute's extension program depended upon factional affiliation and was largely independent of considerations of the different payoffs deriving from different patterns of participation in the extension program. Can this be made into a more general proposition? Answering this question involved looking at the following data. In the town of San Bautista the factional strife was less public, since much of it was carried on among members of a single political faction. These secondary caudillos had a commitment to demonstrate solidarity for public eyes. However, the existence of sub-factions was reported, although a search through the field notes was required to identify the persons involved. Having identified the sub-factions a review of differential patterns of association to the Institute's program revealed that differences were markedly associated with sub-faction membership. The "critics" and the "cynics" were of one sub-faction while those anxious about the fate of the program were of another sub-faction.

Before the field work with middlemen had commenced, hypotheses concerning the shifting role of these persons were suggested by

reports on the activities of certain of them. Middlemen were searching for other outlets for employment of their capital. Thus it was decided to introduce our interviews with a discussion of hybrid corn seed. The middlemen were eager to talk along this line and the opening was in this sense successful as a methodological device. It also confirmed previous notions of the shifting role-definition of middlemen.

With respect to many of the statements concerning the role of caudillo, verification was found through an examination of experiences of Institute personnel. Extension workers in voicing their problems gave evidence of the fact that a farm-family's expectancies of extensionist's actions represented a generalization from the role of caudillo. When extensionists acted at times like caudillos are expected (by rural people) to act but at other times like extension people are expected (by their supervisors) to act they had trouble.

The fact that late marriages were the rule brought up the possibility that other related conditions in the Section may be like those in rural Ireland. In particular, how was retirement handled? Finding evidence of enforced retirement at a relatively early age was the result. And this result lends support to the posited existence of an orientation to low-pressure enjoyments and fits with the great importance of getting pensions as part of political activities.

These examples could be multiplied many-fold. Some would be rather trivial, others more fundamental. The advantages of the technique appear to be in the construction of a fairly consistent and powerful (in the sense of explanatory power) set of general statements. The disadvantages, of course, lie in the partial violation of experimental

canons. Sufficient possibility may not have been given for the disproof of such propositions if all available data had been consumed in the various stages of hypothesis construction.

The technique of investigating change in a social organization or structure at a higher level of integration, by looking at part-processes occurring at a lower level of integration is common to almost all scientific fields. Determination of the more commonly occurring part-processes (or Paths) is a first step. A second step consists of determining the relative frequencies or probabilities of these part-processes. The fact that certain Paths are utilized more frequently than others is considered to be responsible for the shifts in structure observed at the higher level of integration. A "stability" of structure or equilibrium state is reached when part-processes of one kind are balanced by part-processes of other kinds.

The present study aims to accomplish the first step, identification of the most commonly occurring part-processes. Methodologically, this is the "easier" task since such Paths are at the center of attention of the participant-informants. The second step, the determination of the relative frequencies of these part-processes is a much more exacting job which was but started in this study. A further examination of the more quantitative relationships between changes in the independent variables and the relative frequencies of the part-processes could become the objective of further study.³

³In Appendix C some suggestions concerning probability models to be used in further studies are provided.

A great deal was made of the fact that because the middlemen were better informed on market conditions, therefore they had task leadership. Insofar as politicians have more information of governmental operations and of legal procedures, therefore they had task leadership. Although a specific statement was not made to this effect, there is an analogous situation with respect to associational activities. These leaders are appreciably more informed of the associational activities in other neighboring communities.

The problem of the passage of this information from outside the Section into the Section passes the scope of the study. Nevertheless it must be considered in an adequate examination of leadership. Without a doubt information enters the Section by way of a limited number of channels. Only a limited number of persons are in personal contact with others outside the area; only a limited number read newspapers, and only a limited (but much less limited) number listen to the radio. In addition, only a limited number of those receiving this information "absorb" it.

For the kinds of tasks performed in the social relationships studied, having information is a key to task leadership. Thus limiting the number of persons receiving information contributes both to the star pattern and the one-way leadership pattern. Perhaps for this reason the two structural aspects were related. As the number of persons receiving information increases the star pattern breaks down and two-way leadership arises.

However, there are other reasons for the relationship between a multiplication of central roles and the movement from a one-way

to a two-way leadership pattern. Practically all of the changes in the independent variables which helped produce a reaction among pair-relationships had this dual effect.

Implications of the Study for Applied Social Science: The Case of the Institute's Program. The question may now be raised as to whether the information produced in the course of the study may be of use to action programs operating in the San Bautista Section. The question must, of course, be made more specific by a rather detailed specification of the aims, commitments, and available means of the action agency. In the following discussion an attempt will be made to point to the decisions of the action agency, the Institute, to which the information of this study might contribute.

Even in this brief consideration, it will be necessary to separate the various phases of activity of the Institute. The central office of the Institute's program for the five southern nations Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, is located in Montevideo. One phase of the Institute's activities is the international education one. Staff members of the Institute organize both international and national courses in the field of agricultural extension and associated specialties. The geographic focus of this phase of activity is the Montevideo office.

A second phase of the Institute's activity is the demonstration in agricultural extension. This phase has proceeded under the sometimes distant, collaboration between the Institute and national agencies. The Uruguayan Ministry of Agriculture is the principal one in this regard. The aim has been to increase farm levels of

living by educating the farming population in scientific agriculture and home economics. From the standpoint of the Institute, the program is particularly designed to serve as a model for the improvement of agricultural extension work first within Uruguay and then in the other countries of the Southern Zone.

The geographic focus of this second phase has been the Institute's office in San Ramon from which point the activities of a staff of trainees in extension are coordinated. The trainees operate throughout the Demonstration Area (see Figure 1 of Chapter II). There are usually two or three men and two or three women of about 25 years of age in Uruguay on fellowships from various countries of the Southern Zone. These were known as the becados (fellowship students). There is, in addition, an administrator-trainer who is part of the Institute staff. All other members of the Institute's staff attend the weekly or bi-monthly meetings in San Ramon. Representatives of the national agencies make periodic (semi-annual or more frequent) visits to the Area, but their intervention occurs primarily in Montevideo in meetings with the Institute's staff where the operations of the Area are discussed.

As the study was begun, in January of 1954, the extension program had been in operation for somewhat more than two years. It was established on the model of the extension services in the United States. Demonstrations of corn, wheat, and artificial pastures were carried out early in its history; farmers' committees were organized; youth clubs were organized (or rather reconstituted since most of them had existed previously under the Movimiento de Clubes Juveniles);

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and home economics club work was begun. During the time that the data for the study were being compiled, the extension workers were finding it difficult to meet current commitments while their work was continually expanding.

There are few, if any, decisions being made for which the provision of information could be called a crucial component. To see this more vividly would require going beyond the scope of the present remarks, but it was evinced in the gulf which existed between the becados and that portion of the Institute's staff which was not directly responsible for a becado's training. Information was available on demographic and agricultural conditions of the area, soils information was collected, and economic and sociological studies were carried out, but the flow of this information into the extension program was, although noticeable, not in accord with the views of the information producers. They felt that it should have been utilized more often and in more important ways.

Under certain early policy pronouncements the rural sociologist was assigned a major portion of the task of assessing human resources. The term human resources implies that there is conceived to be some production process relative to which, aspects of the human population are discovered to be potential contributors. Certain aspects of the human population could be expected to inhibit, others to accelerate the production process. It was suspected that certain inhibiting (or accelerating) aspects could be modified so as to become less inhibiting (or more accelerating).

The definition of the "production process" was left somewhat implicit. It was an educating process with certain side conditions. The content of the educating process must consist of efficient and effective means whereby farm families might raise their levels of living. There is a gap in the means-end chain between this general formulation and the more concrete goals of program administrators at the Demonstration Area level of operations. Their goals are best conceived as a set of images representing a "healthy," "dynamic," and "organic" pattern of work with farm families.

Both the administrator-trainer and the becados as well as the project director from Montevideo were able to agree that certain reactions on the part of farm families were desirable and that others were undesirable. The major goal was to associate with and work with farm families in such a way that expressions of satisfaction from the farm families were elicited and críticas were minimized.

Following this goal led in numerous cases to the adoption of "stop-gap" solutions to problems. When a deep schism was discovered in a community, the extension program was split along the lines of the schism. One set of becados worked with one faction and concentrated upon home economics extension, while another set of becados worked with another faction and concentrated upon agricultural extension. This worked for awhile. It worked until pure-bred chickens were distributed among the one faction. Then the other faction asked for similar treatment. Unfortunately the supply of chickens was exhausted. In haste an attempt was made to provide more chickens, but more than a normal number of feathers was ruffled.

Another example of the result of commitment to this goal of realizing images was the following. Early in the extension work it was discovered that organizational skills were limited to the few persons who participated as leaders in the associational activities of the pueblo. The creation of farmers' committees naturally involved the inclusion of these associational leaders, for these were the persons who, with minimum previous instruction, could realize the goal of a "dynamic" and "cooperating" group. As a result, most of the original farmers' committees were composed of persons committed largely to the goal of social recognition. The pervasiveness of the goal of social recognition was increased by the difficulties in communicating to these groups the aims of an extension program. The more or less "objective" goal of these original extension organizations was only imperfectly understood, but the search for social recognition was a concrete guide to action.

The program's goal of providing new technological information to the farmers, and to the housewives and children as well, was also operative. Along these lines certain farming and homemaking practices were promoted. In this case there existed certain images of a "well-run" farm and home. This did not emerge as an integrated image but was composed of certain "indices," which were the practices being promoted (e.g., enclosures for chickens, green manure, hybrid corn, etc.).

Recognizing that these "images" are the concrete guides to the program's action, then it can be asked more realistically in what ways information such as that produced in this study might be

used. The "decision maker" in the following discussion is assumed to be the extension organization operating in the Demonstration Area. The organization is composed of almost all of the actions of the becados and the administrator-trainer plus the acts of the Institute staff and the national agencies when treating the problems of the Area.

There appear to be two ways in which information may enter into this decision-making process. On one hand there arise problem cases in which farm families' reactions do not conform to the image. In certain of these cases information on social organization will aid the decision maker in understanding the expressions of dissatisfaction and withdrawals, on the part of farm families, from the extension program. Under normal operating conditions such problems arise not too frequently and are seen to require only marginal adjustment. These adjustments usually involve the more concerted use of already available techniques such as more visits to farm families, more meetings to revitalize the committee and more demonstrations of hybrid corn. In order that such information as the study produced be used, the extension workers would have to visualize different courses of action and such alternative courses of action were not considered.

The other way in which information enters into decision making involves the changes taking place in the images employed by the people of the extension program. In a general sense these images constitute secondary goals. But in the day-to-day operation of the extension program these images enter into the action sequences as

ends. This does not necessarily imply that the images are fixed and rigid, only relatively so.

Looking at some more specific examples of these images may assist in discovering whether these images may be expected to be modified in face of some of the information produced. One of the images is that of: Working with the most progressive of an atomized collection of farm families, teaching these farm families the recommended practices, and having such practices "filter" through the rest of the farm population. Information, other than that collected as a part of the present study, has tended to modify this image. For example, it is recognized that a most progressive farmer may be somewhat of a social isolate and if this is so then working with him may not be desirable.

But information from the study itself may also serve to modify the image. As almost the first step in field work among the rural population, an investigation of trade-service area boundaries and paraje boundaries was attempted. A picture was obtained of the short-range recurrent movement of farm families. This investigation suggested the importance of the boliche (country store and bar) as a center of social interaction and incidentally of the bolichero as a leader in such social activities. The cases in which the bolicheros were grain merchants as well underscored their importance.

This information could be used to break down the image of an atomized collection of farm families and suggested that the "filtering" of recommended farm practices proceeds along somewhat predictable channels. In particular, if a progressive farmer tries a new practice

his experiences may be discussed in the boliche and evaluated as part of a group process. In this group process the bolichero would be somewhat of an "opinion leader." To recognize that a bolichero, or acopiador (grain merchant) or almacenero (pueblo storekeeper) or canionero (trucker) may be a crucial figure in the spread of recommended farming practices involves a modification of the original image of extension work under which the extension people had been operating.

As the activities of the extension program increasingly involved the organization and maintenance of committees and clubs, another image arose to orient the extension people in this sphere. That was: Working with the most enthusiastic appearing persons as members of the organizations, under the assumption that people differed in their enthusiasm for such organizational activity. Information from the study suggests a more involved explanation of differential enthusiasm.

A tie with the extension program's organization has meaning to the farmer or, particularly, the townsman not only with respect to his increased chances of raising his level of living, but more importantly with respect to his other associational and factional commitments. A recognition of these factors in determining enthusiasm or lack of it in the membership of the committees and clubs has probably increased, and the image has undergone revision. It was realized that persons with an orientation to social recognition may produce an active-looking organization in a short time but in the long run this is not fully consistent with the goals of the

extension program. Recently, for instance, the geographical focus of extension organizations has been moved from the town into the country (from the pueblo to the paraje) where there are fewer organizational specialists but more concrete problems.

Another image which may be subject to modification is a negative one. The middleman has been viewed as grasping and shrewdly calculating--certainly not a person to be included in the extension program. Likewise political caudillos with their relationship to bitter factional strife are shunned as dangerous associates by the extension workers. This negative image is supported, in part, by the recognition of only a limited number of types of participants in the extension program. It is true that such middlemen and caudillos will not participate in the same way as a farm family and it would be disrupting if they were expected to do so. On the other hand, certain tasks, sub-tasks of the extension program, may be more efficiently carried out through using the special skills and resources of middlemen and political bosses.

It may be that modifications in images, such as these, did not take place. Maybe the investigator's personal biases allowed him to see modifications when in reality there were none. This may have been due to a biased reporting of the original image or a biased reporting of the changed image. But two months of intensive daily contact with extension activities during the end of his stay in Uruguay allowed him to attain a vivid if not accurate picture of the extension agent's assumptions, expectations or images.

During this period not one clear-cut example of the utility of

sociological knowledge of the Section was uncovered. Nevertheless, the utility of broadening the frame of attention before attacking problems, the utility of the refusal to explain everything by the "kinds" of persons involved,⁴ the usefulness of the collection of data and of the asking of questions were frequently illustrated.

Future Trends. It would be an interesting exercise to push the analysis to yield some idea of future changes in the structures studied. As a first approximation one could assume that in the future no other changes in independent variables would become important. Under this assumption then, one can look into the future of the economic structure.

Basically the farmers are quite "practical" in their economic relationships. The segmentation of the market structure was in part the result of prosperity and of the more basic orientation to independence. If the counsel of soil scientists is correct it appears likely that the land will become exhausted and the present prosperity cannot last. Even now farmers, thinking of the chemical fertilizers they should be using, would scoff at this use of the word "prosperity." But more important, the reaction against the larger middlemen is being combatted by these middlemen through adjustments in their activities. The almaceneros of San Bautista have accumulated experience in the marketing of tomatoes. As the present inefficiencies in the truckers' service for garden produce

⁴ One might be able to imagine the difficulty experienced by the people in the San Ramon office in viewing leadership as an action-reaction-etc. sequence rather than as an attribute of certain persons.

become more apparent one can expect some greater degree of coordination among them and the farmers. Traditionally such coordination has been achieved by the centralization of control in one man's (the large grain merchant's) hands. This will, at present, most certainly be resisted. One could therefore expect that the truckers themselves would become organized.

One drawback to this tendency is the fact that, at present, the lesser middlemen do not show signs of being willing to experiment with new social forms. They have avoided, to a great extent, the Institute's organizations. At present, those who are gaining experience in group decision making are the socially prominent elite. Experiences with these persons have shown that their proficiencies in task leadership do not, in general, extend to agricultural problems. Their specialities are more in associational activities.

In the field of political activities future developments are dependent upon the kinds of legislation produced. One possible future trend may be the inclusion of elements of the caudillo role in the role of local administrator of government programs. This blending of elements has already taken place in the roles of government officials in the town of San Bautista. The officials of the Junta Local, the judge, and the police chief mix rather freely the discharge of their routine responsibilities with the dispensing of services on the basis of their "personal" convictions of need.

Experimentation with the role of agrónomo regional (regional agronomist) is leading in this direction. Most government officials are somewhat resentful of the influence of "home-grown" caudillos in

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the services of their agencies. This sentiment is widespread among administrators of the State Bank (Banco de la República). The extent to which the caudillo-like actions of these administrators will be tied to the more political goal of gaining votes by increasing affiliates to certain factions is problematic. The established caudillos have already demonstrated their opposition to this tendency by finding favoritism based on political affiliation.

In the field of associational activities one can see only a continuation of the associations' sorry histories. Most of associational activities are motivated by a search for social recognition, a value peculiar to a limited number of socially prominent persons. One possibility is that the associational activities with the paraje as geographic base may increase. Associational activities with a supporting task leadership capable of balancing the leadership in dispensing interpersonal rewards seem to have greater chance of occurring in the paraje-centered organizations. It is hypothesized that such associations are more likely to lead to greater and more equal payoffs to participants than the present type.

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3. The third part of the document focuses on the importance of regular audits and reviews. It states that periodic audits are necessary to identify any discrepancies or irregularities in the records. The text suggests that organizations should conduct both internal and external audits to ensure that their records are accurate and compliant with relevant regulations and standards.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of technology in improving record-keeping and data management. It mentions that the use of digital tools and software can significantly enhance the efficiency and accuracy of record-keeping processes. The text suggests that organizations should invest in modern technology solutions to streamline their operations and reduce the risk of human error.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by emphasizing the overall importance of maintaining high standards of record-keeping and data management. It states that these practices are not only essential for operational efficiency but also for ensuring the long-term success and sustainability of the organization. The text encourages organizations to adopt a proactive approach to record-keeping and data management, rather than reacting to problems as they arise.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABULATIONS FROM THE 1951 URUGUAYAN AGRICULTURAL CENSUS

TABLE XXI

SIZE OF FARM HOLDING IN THE SECTION OF SAN BAPTISTA
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CANELONES, 1951

| Number of
hectares in
holding | San Bautista | | Canelones | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Number | Percent | Number | Percent |
| 1 - 4 | 42 | 5.7 | 1,830 | 12.3 |
| 5 - 9 | 91 | 12.4 | 3,604 | 23.5 |
| 10 - 19 | 247 | 33.7 | 5,076 | 33.1 |
| 20 - 49 | 304 | 41.5 | 3,634 | 24.0 |
| 50 or more | 49 | 6.7 | 1,078 | 7.9 |
| Totals | 733 | 100.0 | 15,322 | 99.9 |

Source: The data on San Bautista are from the Uruguayan Agricultural Census, 1951, as compiled and reported by Roy Clifford in El Area Demonstrativa de San Ramón, Montevideo, Uruguay, 1952. Those on Canelones are from Ministerio de Ganadería y Agricultura, Dirección de Agronomía, Sección Economía y Estadística Agraria, Censo General Agropecuario 1951, (Montevideo: Imprenta Nacional, 1952).

TABLE XXII

TENURE STATUS OF FARMS OF THE SECTION OF SAN BAPTISTA
AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CANELONES, 1951

| Tenure
Status | San Bautista | | Canelones | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| | Number of
Farms | Percent | Number of
Farms | Percent |
| Owner | 173 | 23.6 | 6,633 | 43.6 |
| Renter | 412 | 56.2 | 5,189 | 33.9 |
| Other* | 148 | 20.2 | 3,445 | 22.5 |
| Totals | 733 | 100.0 | 15,322 | 100.0 |

* "Other" includes the combination of owner and renter plus farming on shares (medianero) and the remaining combinations.

Source: Same as Table XXI above.

TABLE XXIII

UTILIZATION OF THE LAND IN THE SECTION OF SAN BAPTISTA
AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CANELONES
(INCLUDING THE SECTION OF
SAN BAPTISTA), 1951

| Pattern of Use | San Bautista | | Canelones | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| | Number of
Hectares | Percent | Number of
Hectares | Percent |
| Natural Grassland | 5,139 | 29.8 | 142,049 | 40.6 |
| Stubble Land | 125 | .7 | 10,095 | 2.9 |
| Natural Forests | 90 | .5 | 4,094 | 1.1 |
| (Sub total) | (5,354) | (31.0) | (156,238) | (44.6) |
| Planted Pastures | 860 | 5.0 | 31,351 | 9.0 |
| Artificial Forests | 300 | 1.7 | 13,437 | 3.8 |
| Garden Crops | 481 | 2.8 | 16,471 | 4.7 |
| Field Crops | 10,215 | 59.3 | 113,123 | 32.4 |
| Fruits and Vineyards | 36 | .2 | 19,179 | 5.5 |
| (Sub total) | (11,892) | (69.0) | (193,561) | (55.4) |
| Totals | 17,246* | 100.0 | 349,799 | 100.0 |

*In Clifford's report this total was reported as 17,046. It is not possible to determine whether the error entered in the addition or in copying the numbers in the column above the total.

Source: Same as Table XXI above.

TABLE XXIV
LAND IN GARDEN CROPS AND FIELD CROPS;
DEPARTMENT OF CAHELONES, 1951

| Crop | Number of
Hectares | Percent
of total | Percent of
Sub-total |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Corn | 76,926 | 59.4 | (68) |
| Wheat | 12,919 | 10.0 | (11) |
| Sunflower | 12,872 | 9.9 | (11) |
| Flax | 3,338 | 3.0 | (3) |
| Barley | 1,079 | .8 | (1) |
| Sugar Beets | 1,275 | .9 | (1) |
| Other Field Crops | 4,164 | 3.2 | (4) |
| Sub total - Field Crops 113,123 | | | (99) |
| Potatoes | 4,324 | 3.3 | (27) |
| Sweet Potatoes | 4,604 | 3.6 | (23) |
| Squash | 1,600 | 1.2 | (10) |
| Beans | 1,450 | 1.1 | (9) |
| Greens | 952 | .7 | (6) |
| Tomatoes | 350 | .7 | (5) |
| Carrots | 582 | .5 | (4) |
| Onions | 431 | .4 | (3) |
| Peas | 283 | .2 | (2) |
| Garlic | 265 | .2 | (2) |
| Pepper | 241 | .2 | (1) |
| Cabbage | 208 | .2 | (1) |
| Others | 626 | .5 | (4) |
| Sub total -
Garden Crops | | | (102) |
| Total | 129,594 | | |

Source: Censo General Agropecuario 1951.

There are data for the Section of San Bautista given in Clifford's report similar to those of Table XXIV. These are:

TABLE XXIV
LAND IN FIELD CROPS; SAN BAUTISTA SECTION, 1951

| Crop | Number of
Hectares
(uncorrected) | Number of
Hectares
(corrected) | Percent |
|-----------|--|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Corn | 2,535 | 5,535 | 54.2 |
| Wheat | 2,533 | 2,533 | 24.3 |
| Sunflower | 59 | 59 | .6 |
| Flax | 198 | 198 | 1.9 |
| Other | (4,390) | 1,390 | 13.5 |
| Total | 10,215 | 10,215 | 100.1 |

The number of hectares (uncorrected) in corn appears to be in error. "Other Crops" occupy an impossibly large (uncorrected) extension. It would seem that a "2" was reported rather than a "5" as was intended; that is, hectares in corn should read 5,535 rather than 2,535. The other numbers in the column were given in two places on different pages in the report thus increasing confidence in their correctness.

TABLE XXVI

ENUMERATION OF SELECTED ITEMS ON FARMS IN THE SECTION OF
SAN BAPTISTA AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CANELONES, 1951

| Item | San Bautista | | Canelones | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Number of
Items | Number of
Items per
Farm | Number of
Items | Number of
Items per
Farm |
| Brick houses | 137 | .23 | 6,213 | .41 |
| <u>Ranchos</u> | 1,245 | 1.70 | 22,042 | 1.41 |
| Other | 13 | .02 | 1,734 | .12 |
| Total Residen-
tial Buildings | 1,430 | 1.95 | 30,042 | 1.96 |
| Radios | 193 | .27 | 4,633 | .30 |
| Trucks | 14 | .019 | 1,140 | .074 |
| Tractors | 17 | .023 | 1,105 | .072 |
| Plows | 1,314 | 1.79 | 26,826 | 1.75 |
| Number of farms | 733 | | 15,322 | |

Source: Same as Table XXI above.

In order to provide further data on farm characteristics in Chapter II (p. 50) it was necessary to shift from the data of the Census of 1951 to those from the forty-one farm sample. To demonstrate that the sampled farms are not an "unusual" lot, the following two tables are provided. Comparing these with Tables XII and XXII one sees that the distributions of farm sizes and tenure status are quite similar as between the sampled farms and their parent population of three years previous.

TABLE XXVII
SIZE OF FARM HOLDING OPERATED, 41-FARM SAMPLE
SAN BAUTISTA DISTRICT, 1954

| Number of
hectares in
holding | Number of
Farms | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 0 - 4 | 3 | 7 |
| 5 - 9 | 5 | 12 |
| 10 - 14 | 6 | 15 |
| 15 - 19 | 7 | 17 |
| 20 - 24 | 7 | 17 |
| 25 - 29 | 1 | 2 |
| 30 - 34 | 2 | 5 |
| 35 - 44 | 5 | 12 |
| 45 or more | 5 | 12 |
| Totals | 41 | 99 |

TABLE XXVIII

TENURE STATUS OF FARM OPERATORS, 41-FARM SAMPLE
SAN BAPTISTA DISTRICT, 1954 and 1955

| Tenure Status | Number of Farms | Percent |
|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Owner | 11 | 27 |
| Renter | 24 | 58 |
| Other* | 6 | 15 |
| Totals | 41 | 100 |

*Includes: part renter-part owner, working on shares (medianero) and inheritance settlement not legalized (sucesión).

TABLE XXIX

TENURE STATUS BY SIZE OF FARM FOR THE 41-FARM SAMPLE
OF THE SECTION OF SAN BAPTISTA, 1953

| Number of hectares in holding | Number of Farms | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | Renters | Owners or Part Owners |
| 0 - 4 | - | 3 |
| 5 - 9 | 2 | 3 |
| 10 - 14 | 3 | 3 |
| 15 - 19 | 6 | 1 |
| 20 - 24 | 5 | 2 |
| 25 - 29 | 1 | - |
| 30 - 34 | 1 | 1 |
| 35 - 44 | 2 | 3 |
| 45 - more | 4 | 1 |
| Totals | 24 | 17 |

APPENDIX B

TYPOLOGY OF FARM - FAMILY UNIT'S WAYS OF REACTING TO NEW
TECHNOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Here it seems appropriate to explore some rather suggestive but far from definitive observations made on the "thought processes" of farmers. In a series of twenty-five interviews with farmers in the Chamizo-Fray Marcos Section (In the Department of Florida -- See Figure 1, Chapter II) farming techniques, particularly the farming practices used in corn cultivation were discussed. The express purpose of the investigation was to ask the farmer whether he had heard and what he had heard about hybrid corn so as to be able to assess the effectiveness of the Institute's corn demonstrations in this region. However, since the farmer had usually not heard about this corn in any detail the interviewer, who was an agronomy student, informed him of its properties and asked for the farmer's reaction.¹

It was found that most of these discussions could be used to classify the farmer's² thought processes into one or another of the following categories.

- A. The farmer was orientated to empirical data, his beliefs were flexible enough to accept the rather different properties of this hybrid corn (he had usually had some experience

¹Since the writer was present at very few of these interviews (two of the twenty-five) and since the field notes taken represent the work of beginners, most of the analyses carry the possible biases of retrospect and probably reflect a desire to arrive at some "neat" schema.

²Although the unit under investigation is the farm-family unit it appears easier to speak as if the unit were the farmer. Rather than try to keep in mind the influence of the mature son in the household and other such conditions it is preferable to allow this exception.

with a similar corn) and he evaluated it in terms similar to those of the agronomy student. That is, he was interested in the process of degeneration of the seed, the higher yields from more widely separated plants, the nutritive properties of the grain, etc. He asked "intelligent" questions and made comparisons from his own or others' experiences.

- B. The farmer was orientated to empirical data; he "swallowed" the description of the hybrid corn. However, his typical reactions were to say, "si, si," but then later on under indirect cross-examination he was found to have forgotten many details of the description of the hybrid corn. The description was not digested. Telling him of the properties and uses appeared to make him uncomfortable and his comments were directed almost exclusively to the more unusual features of the corn. He would repeat many times that "Yes falta luz" "we lack light".

These were the two major types. The other three are found, if at all in only a small number of cases. But their appearance was striking enough to warrant their special classification.

- C. The farmer was orientated to his own, usually special, theories of farm technology and natural science. These farmers seem to have the answer to all problems. In two cases which can be recalled easily, they had special theories about the land. One maintained that it was crazy to waste time on new seeds, the problem he said is finding

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good land and making it better. These farmers had an antagonistic attitude to the interview which may have had its causes in other than the farmer's thoughts about corn production. They were not able nor willing to assimilate new knowledge if it did not "fit". It is probably the case that many farmers (other than these extreme cases) in particular content areas have their pet theories: the "hot" and "cold" concepts do not have the prevalence which they have in Middle America but one farmer had "seen" microbes in the soil .³

- D. The farmer was orientated to traditional practices. In considering the spread of this orientation it became evident that almost all farmers, somewhere along the line, depended on having observed the practices of their parents or of their elder neighbors as the almost sole justification for some of their own. Consequently, it should not be considered a type in the same sense of the others. Perhaps it should be thought of as a variant of the "special theory" type in which the "special theories" are identified with the fathers.

3

Having elaborated this "special theory" type certain justification for its isolation was later discovered in conversation with an acopiador (grain merchant) of San Damiata. He described a series of cases of farmers who having decided to plant tomatoes and not knowing much about the appropriate practices had made a goodly number of errors, according to the acopiador. As the home-grown fund of technological knowledge grew and as these farmers' neighbors applied the advised techniques with better results, these farmers persisted in employing the original set of techniques with which they started. "Results prove them wrong but you can't tell them a thing."



E. Although this type does not, in point of theory, belong with the rest, it appears that there are cases in which the farmer was "apathetic" to farming. We were told by several farmers that they did not want to answer because their ideas weren't important. In many cases it was found, almost before we had stated the purpose of our visit, that the farm-family was moving from the farm to the town or else that the farmer had retired to make way for his son. In these cases the farmer would refuse to listen to questions or if asked what he thought about certain practices would say that everyone around here does so-and-so. The fact that at least five of these cases turned up in one-hundred interviews may suggest that this is not an unusual situation.

Now, having looked at these types (A, B, C, D, and E) it is easier to determine what it is that has been called "thought processes". The emphasis is upon the farmers' attempts to accumulate a collection of beliefs about the "real world" of agriculture, beliefs to which he may attach his label "true". These four procedures (A, B, C and D -- E is outside this typology to some extent) by which farmers accumulated their beliefs are somewhat overlapping. The first two constitute the picture of the "average" farmer. He is open to new experience but he may or may not be able to absorb a good deal of new information. The limits to an attempt to convince him by empirical arguments are set more by the existing framework of his ideas to which he can pin the new information than by his idiosyncratic or non-scientific criteria of what is true. In



the type A case the farmer has a framework of ideas which allows him to assimilate knowledge about hybrid corn whereas the farmers of type B find themselves quickly flooded by new information. Nevertheless, most farmers recognize their need for education and are quick to mention this lack.

By farmers of the types C and D "truth" is ascribed by other than empirical evidence. Probably not much use is made of "truth". Techniques are applied because they are "correct." The fact that these farmers along with all of the farmers want good yields does not invalidate the typology. It is the "correct" techniques which produce good yields not the techniques which empirically show a correlation with high yields.

It can be seen that the development of "scientific farming" has been and probably will be slow. One reason posited was the principle of the short range and fixed standards. Some other generalizations seem in order. First of all the distinction between consumption activities and those of production was foisted upon the farm-family units from outside. In the previous discussion, the input-output relationships are aspects of a production process, but obviously the same input may find a reaction as part of a consumption process. Confining the discussion to production

When looking over the field notes again, there was found a series of references in comments by middlemen that they had at one time or another tried to convince farmers about some new farming technique and had gotten into a battle. The middleman would complain, "You can't tell them a thing." Middlemen would caution outsiders to go slowly, "try to understand these farmers," etc. These instances seem to reinforce suspicion that the types C and D may be widespread, and also that they may have situational determinants; they are probably triggered by outside threats to farmers' self-esteem as good farmers.

processes has greatly simplified the analysis but does not do justice to the "inside" or farm-family's view. Probably one of the reasons that farmers have an aversion to a large capital expenditure is that if such money were available it would "have" to be used, at least in large part, on consumption. An increase in income can mean an advance along the consumption as well as the production sphere of material possessions. It must be remembered that the farm-family is at the same time a "firm" and a budgetary unit. The reaction to the above inputs may very well be strongly conditioned by the state of the budgetary unit.

It was a frequent experience that although farmers of types A and B appeared to be convinced by the argument that fertilizers would more than pay their way, they could not bring themselves to consider such an expenditure on their particular chacra. At first they said they did not have the cash outlay, but it could be explained to them that the Banco de la República (the national bank) offered credit at reasonable terms. Nevertheless, they demurred. Many farmers stated, "And if the year is bad, what then?" This was countered with the argument of the residual effect of the fertilizer, and surprisingly enough they understood this. Still, they resisted. More than once the contrast between the agronomist's (Motta) and the farmer's points of view was evident even though the farmer would agree upon the facts of the case.

It may be hypothesized, and to a certain extent this may be logical, that the farmer's utility curve drops sharply as his income moves slightly below its present level. That is, any monetary loss would be an extreme "moral" one, under which condi-

tions the farmer could be expected to wish to avoid taking chances.

Additional data which support this are the following:

1. All "new" techniques are first tried out on a small scale. Farmers expressed interest in trying out five or ten kilos of seed, a little disinfectant, a "tin can" planter, etc.
2. After once trying a new technique they frequently revert back to the previous techniques and "wait to see if it works out as well in other cases".
3. Aconiadores (grain merchants) report that farmers hold them responsible if a new seed or fertilizer works out badly and so imply that they should not be required to pay for it. This is an instance of a more general pattern to be considered as part of the farmer-aconiador relationship.
4. One farmer was found to be an exponent (while in the approving presence of other farmers) of a philosophy of farming which held that it was much more preferable to do only a little bit and to do that well than to take a chance on making a killing only to find a crop failure or a severe price drop. In fact diversification and "hedging" is the established farming pattern and seems to be tied to avoidance of a heavy loss, no matter how improbable the loss.

On the other hand one can be impressed by the farmer's stoical acceptance of serious losses. Again the contrast between the acono-

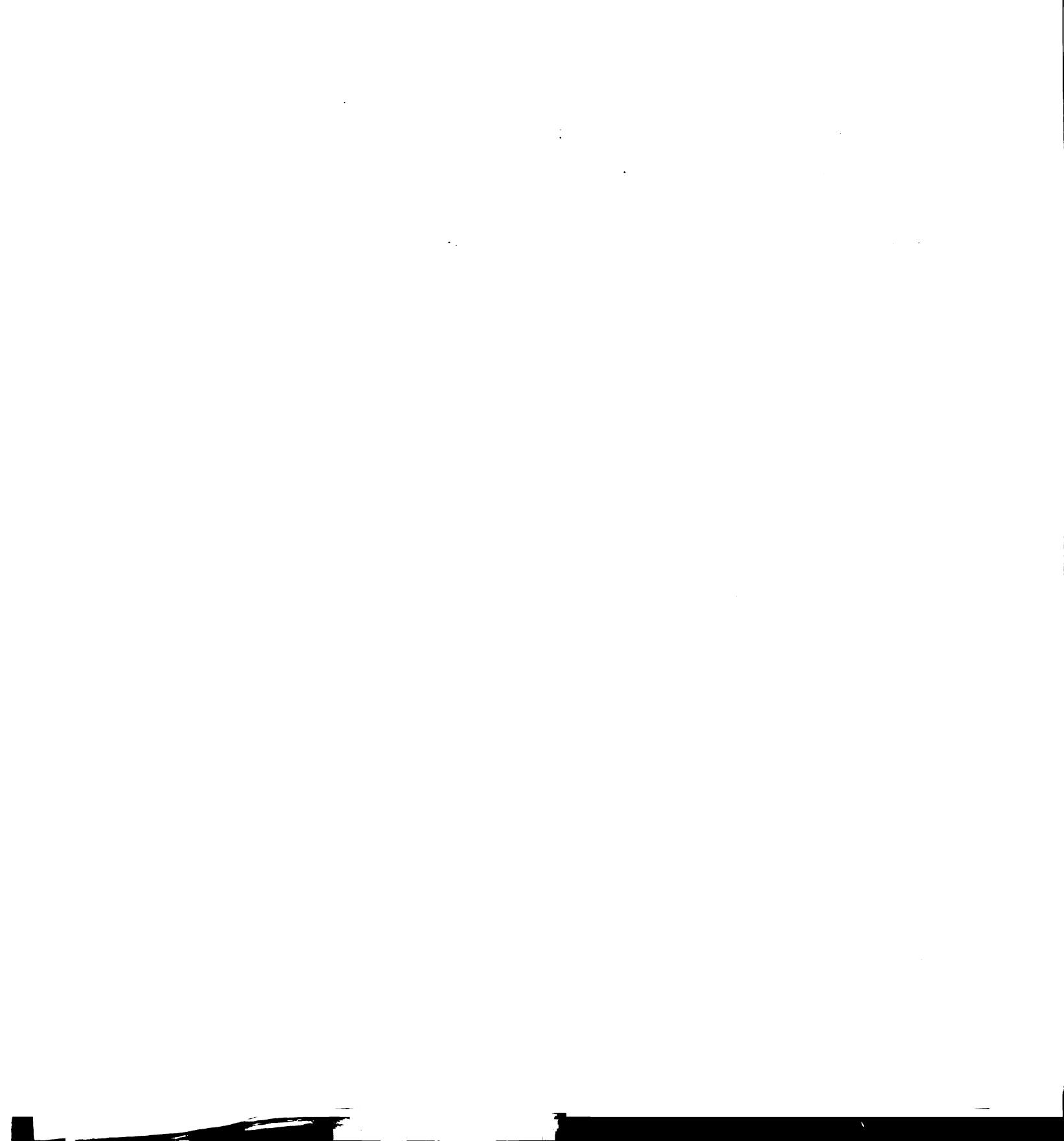
mist and the farmer was evident in their reactions to crop failure.

As the agronomist exclaimed, "disasterous!", the farmer was passive--

"Yes, the smut hit it (corn) badly." or "It (squash) just dried up

at the roots", or "You think it is the aphids!" However, this

attitude of the farmer could well have been "bluffing."



APPENDIX C

PROBABILITY MODELS SUGGESTED FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES

To gain some idea of the possible form of a probability model which would represent some of the generalizations suggested in the study a few conjectures may be in order.¹ Taking the farm-family as the focus of change one could define the states $E_1, E_2, \dots, E_k$ as "the farm-family is a client of middleman 1, 2, ..., k". Then p_{ij} could represent the probability that the farm family changes from a client of middleman i to a client of middleman j in some standard time interval a year, say. There are k^2 of these probabilities and they can be presented in the matrix,

$$P = \begin{pmatrix} p_{11} & p_{12} & \dots & p_{1k} \\ p_{21} & p_{22} & \dots & p_{2k} \\ \vdots & \vdots & & \vdots \\ p_{k1} & p_{k2} & & p_{kk} \end{pmatrix}$$

In general a p_{ii} would be larger than the p_{ij} for $j = 1, 2, \dots, k$. That is, the probability of a farm family not changing middleman would be larger than the probability of the farm family changing to

¹

Such models are treated in William Feller, An Introduction to Probability Theory and Its Applications (Vol. I, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1950) p. 307 ff; and also in Paul Lazarsfeld (Ed.), Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954) pp. 17-36 by E. S. Edgerson in a Chapter entitled "Probability Models for Analyzing Time Changes in Attitudes."

any other middleman. However, if the particular middleman were in the throes of retiring this may not be true. On the other hand if the middleman were building up his clientele then it may be that the p_{ij} 's with $i \neq j$ ($i = 1, 2, \dots, k$) would be quite large.

A simplifying (though not altogether reasonable) assumption would be that the $p_{ii} = p$ (a constant) for all $i = 1, 2, \dots, k$

and that p_{ij} for all $i \neq j$ were equal (to $\frac{1-p}{k-1}$ in this case).

Call P_0 the matrix of these probabilities. By interviewing middlemen in the presence of a list of farm families in the zone it may be possible to make estimates of P_0 . Also it would be possible to make estimates of the probabilities of the E_i at the initial stage. That is, the relative frequencies of clients per each middleman could be used as estimates.

If one were also willing to assume that the changes of state in one year were independent of those in the next and that P_0 remained constant from year to year then it would be possible to determine the probabilities that the farm family is found in any particular state at the end of n years. Regardless of the probabilities of the E_j at the initial state, if n is large enough, the probabilities of the final states would all be equal, if P_0 is used.

However, the previous study itself focused upon the apparent inadequacies of P_0 . In particular, middlemen were found to differ. We might illustrate this possibility by guessing at the numerical values of the p_{ij} 's in the case of $k = 2$. For this example let's assume that middleman 1 is going into retirement while 2 is a lesser



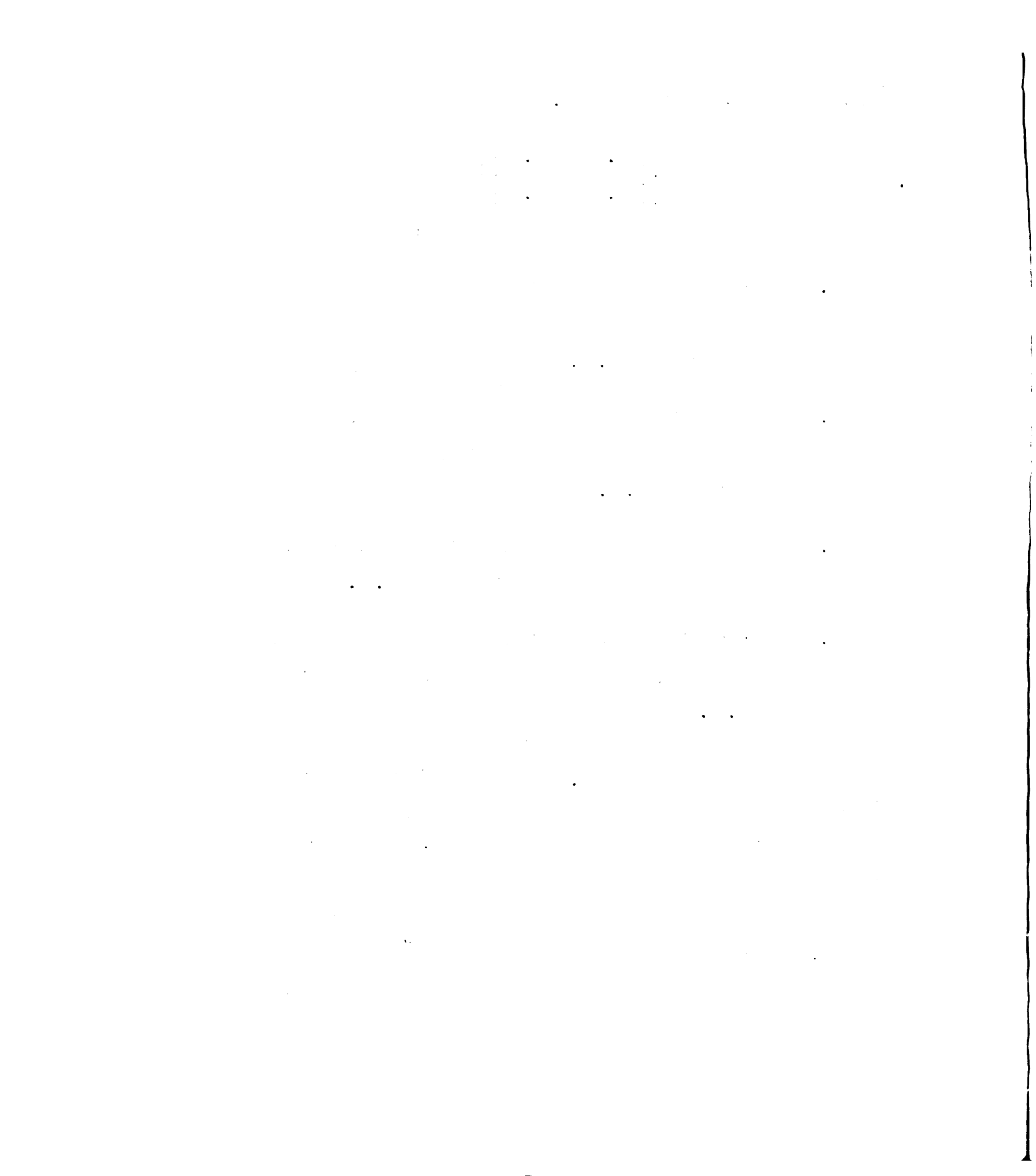
middlemen build up his clientele. The matrix P may be given by:

$$P_1 = \begin{bmatrix} .30 & .20 \\ .05 & .95 \end{bmatrix}$$

The numerical values tell the following story:

1. The probability that a farm family which is a client of middelman 1 at the start of the year is also a client of 1 at the year's end is .30.
2. The probability that a farm family which is a client of 1 at the start of the year is a client of middelman 2 at the year's end is .20.
3. The probability that a farm family which is a client of 2 at the start of the year is a client of 1 is .05.
4. The probability that a farm family which is a client of 2 at the start of the year is a client of 2 at the year's end is .95.

Reasonably we might expect P_1 to remain constant for 3 years and (perhaps less reasonably) we might assume that changes in one year were independent of changes in the next year. We further assume that middelman 1 has at present (or at the initial stage) 90% of the farmers in the zone as his clients while middelman 2 has 10%. Under these assumptions (and the additional one that all farm families are alike in their tendencies to change middlemen),



on the assumption that they are alike. Recourse can be had to showing that differences in tendency to change are related to other characteristics of the farm family (age of head, type of farming enterprise, etc.).

In general it is quite easy to hypothesize a highly specific model that would require very extensive research in order to test it against very similar but slightly less specific alternative models. Without a large effort to collect data, the incidence of accepting null hypotheses would be high. And (in accord with the investigator's personal belief, of course) this incidence would be "unjustifiably" high.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY OF SOME SPANISH WORDS
USED IN THE THESIS

Acopiador: one who buys produce from farmers for resale in markets outside the Section.

Acopiador fuerte: acopiador who operates on a large scale.

Acopiador no-patentado: acopiador without a legal permit.

Almacén: general store

Almacenero: owner of an almacén.

Alparagatas: canvass-topped shoes with jute soles.

Antropólogo: anthropologist.

Azado: beef roasted on an open fire; the occasion on which a number of people gather to eat an azado.

Barraca: warehouse, a purchaser of farm produce from a middleman.

Becado: fellowship student

Boliche: small drink dispatching store which also sells articles of daily necessity.

Bolichero: owner of a boliche.

Camionero: trucker.

Campaña: open country.

Campesino: countryman.

Cañada: creek.

Caña: "raw" rum; sugar cane.

Caudillo: political leader or political boss.

Caudillito: political leader of lesser importance than a caudillo.

Centésimo: one hundredth of a peso.

Comisión: committee or commission.

Compromiso: promise or obligation.

Consejero: councilman.

Crítica: negative criticism.

Chacra: small or medium sized farm specializing in field crops.

Charet: horse cart.

Feria: open air farmer's market.

Fideos: macaroni.

Fútbol: soccer, the national sport of Uruguay.

Galpón: barn.

Gofio: ground corn which has been toasted.

Junta Local: Town Council

Lechón: suckling pig.

Libreta: little book carried by the client in which purchases are recorded by the storekeeper. It is used to settle the client's account.

Lista: slate of candidates for offices.

Local: headquarters or meeting building for an organization.

Mercachifle: itinerant peddler.

Paraje: rural place name, corresponds to rural neighborhood.

Pariente: relative or kin.

Peso: unit of Uruguayan currency which was valued at three to the dollar during field work.

Pueblo: smaller town.

Rancho: residential building (usually in the rural area) of mud walls and thatched roof.

Sección: Section, smallest political subdivision of the nation.

Sección Policial: area of jurisdiction of a police post.

Sección Judicial: area of jurisdiction of a justice of the peace.

Siesta: nap or rest after the noon meal.

Tahona: mill for grinding corn.

Tambo: small or medium sized dairy farm.

Tardecita: late afternoon or early evening.

Tranquilidad: peacefulness.

Truco: card game.

Yerba: mate, the tea itself.

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