PERSPECTIVES FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RURAL POLITICS AND THE COLOMBIAN CASE: AN OVERVIEW

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In the study of agrarian politics in general and the history of rural Colombia in particular, four broad, interrelated perspectives are relevant to the understanding of rural politics: peasants and rebellion, the interaction of local and national politics, patron-client relations, and regionalism. Principal issues and trends within each of these areas are explored here, and an effort is made to generate specific questions for historical investigation. The present state of research on rural history and politics in Colombia is also surveyed, and observations are advanced on how new research orientations originating in these perspectives may contribute to our understanding of social and political developments in Colombia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

PEASANTS AND REBELLION

Three distinct approaches to the study of rural social movements and peasant revolt have come out of social science research in the last ten years. A concern with the causes of peasant unrest is basic to all three. Each successive vantage point, however, demonstrates a shift in the kind of questions asked, in the conceptualization of the peasant, and in attitudes toward the place of rural areas within the larger society.

The first interpretation is founded on the assumption that peasant violence arises directly out of poverty, exploitation, and injustice, that is, out of the objective conditions of peasant existence. Proponents of this interpretation most frequently have attempted to single out those characteristics of rural life which closely correlate with the occurrence of peasant revolt cross-culturally. Their work is marked by statements indicating that violence is more likely to erupt when land is unequally distributed, when land tenure is insecure, when an extended family structure is absent, etc.

This approach is exemplified in writings by Donald Hindley (1965), Arthur Stinchcombe (1966) and R. E. Soles (1972). Hindley sets out to

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define empirically the "political conflict potential" of peasants the world over which he associates with the "inequality of distribution of scarce resources" (1965:471). Stinchcombe devises a typology of rural enterprises which he correlates directly with class structure and with political attitudes or potential for revolution. Attempting to explain why Colombian land invasions in the 1960s were concentrated in the coastal departments, Soles concludes through the use of multivariate analysis that factors related to demography, land tenure, and credit access were most significant in stimulating land take-overs.[1]

The difficulties with this approach to the explanation of peasant unrest are many. Essentially, it is a static and ahistorical perspective which, in place of explanation, offers only statistical generalization. The presence or absence of a given number of variables does not indicate that revolt is bound to occur, nor does this focus clarify why revolt may take place in but one of two areas with a similar configuration of variables or at one or another point in time. As Hindley acknowledges, "conflict potential does not correspond to the actual level of rebellion" (1965:481). The approach also neglects to deal with the questions of which variables are primary and how they interrelate. Finally, proponents of this viewpoint are concerned with the preconditions for peasant revolt conceived in generic terms. They tend to lump together all manifestations of peasant unrest without regard to organization, aim, or outcome. Other researchers would argue that these are crucial questions, and that there exist significant differences within the peasantry itself and in the manifestations of peasant unrest which are important to the explanation of rural social movements.

The second approach regards peasant unrest as a direct response to the penetration of the capitalist market economy into traditional peasant society. It shifts the focus from factors inherent in the local community to peasant relations with the larger society. The interpretation is dynamic in that it asserts that change in the traditional order initiated from the outside is the motive force, the independent variable which ties together and makes sense of the myriad of disconnected factors enumerated by investigators like Hindley and Soles. It should be noted that this second approach is based on the assumption of a dichotomy between "tradiional" and "modern" societal segments, the interaction of which is presumed to generate agrarian unrest.

The British Marxist historian E. J. Hobsbawm persuasively advanced this thesis in *Primitive Rebels* (1959), a pioneering study in comparative history (see also Hobsbawm, 1967a). Hobsbawm sets out to describe for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe the forms taken by indigenous, primarily rural social movements and the conditions

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under which they arise and are supplanted. He argues that "archaic" social movements signify a process of adaptation of rural areas to penetration by the capitalist economy. Hobsbawm characterizes such "prepolitical" or "primitive" movements as reactions to profound economic and social change which, because they lack ideology and organization, are helpless to effect any real alteration in the power structure for the peasants' benefit. Thus Hobsbawm maintains that unless they are integrated into modern revolutionary organizations (such as the Communist or Socialist parties), the peasants, despite their violence, remain uncomprehending victims of the modernization process.[2]

In *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, Eric Wolf (1969), another vocal proponent of the economic modernization hypothesis, aims to document precisely how the penetration of the capitalist system into rural areas alters economic, social, and political arrangements. Wolf asserts that the extension of capitalist economic relationships produces profound dislocation in the countryside. The peasant suffers, both through an absolute decline in his living standard and through degeneration in the quality of interpersonal relationships which are reduced to the economic dimension. According to Wolf, unrest is most likely to be manifested in this transitional period: "Revolution tends to occur when the peasant can no longer rely on the accustomed institutional context, but alternative institutions are not yet fully developed" (1969:xiv).

Although clearly an improvement over static correlation, the modernization hypothesis invites criticism on several points. First, modernization tends to be facilely correlated with political radicalization and with peasant unrest without sufficient regard to the dynamics of the specific situation. This problem, which characterizes Hobsbawm's work to a degree, also mars Peter Klarén's (1973) treatment of the relation between modernization and labor unrest in the coastal sugar plantations of northern Peru. Second, the modernization hypothesis does not adequately explain the various forms in which peasant unrest is manifested and why peasant revolt should take place in one modernizing area and not another. Third, as elaborated by Hobsbawm and Wolf, this perspective perpetuates the concept of peasants as inherently traditional, passive, "acted-upon" people, a concept challenged by advocates of the newest viewpoint on peasant unrest.

While it admits that the objective conditions of peasant life and economic modernization may contribute to discontent in the countryside, the third (and most recent) approach emphasizes the significance of a political-structural focus for the understanding of peasant unrest. It maintains that the peasant acts within a given context of power relationships which necessarily shapes his potential for political mobilization.

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Thus, in seeking to explain peasant unrest, it becomes important to examine "power relationships operant in rural society, the structural patterns of the political behavior of the peasantry and their evolution over time" (Alavi, 1965:273).[3] Peasant violence must be related to "the total political system, how its elements are organized, how effective it is, and how it affords opportunities at different levels or in different areas and creates incentives over time to attack established authority" (Lewis, 1973: 2). This is a structural analysis in that it focuses on the situation of the peasantry within larger societal structures and on how such structures influence behavior. It pinpoints the origins of peasant unrest not in attributes of peasant society per se, but in the interaction between the peasant and those who exercise control over his life—the landlord, the state, etc.[4] This perspective is cogently expressed in writings by William Whyte (1970), Ralph Della Cava (1970), Paul Friedrich (1970), Giorgio Alberti (1972), Elsie Keatinge (1973), John Wilson Lewis (1973), and Charles Tilly (1974). These scholars maintain that such an analysis, applied historically, is essential to the understanding of the outbreak of peasant violence, its significance for the larger society, and variation among movements in different times and places.

Although its proponents do take into account the impact of economic change on the countryside, this third viewpoint represents a profound revision of the economic modernization hypothesis presented previously. By focusing on collective action on the part of peasants (of which violence is a special case) rather than on violence per se, it is able to relate within the same framework of analysis a broader range of peasant activity properly regarded as political—land invasions, tenure disputes conducted through legal channels, messianic movements, educational initiatives, etc. Also, the structural approach concentrates directly on peasant ties with the larger society. Although the idea of an unequal integration of the peasantry into national structures is basic to the anthropological definition of peasant (see Geertz, 1961), this aspect of rural life, particularly in its political and cultural dimensions, has been largely disregarded by previous analysts of peasant revolt.

In contrast to Hobsbawm, proponents of the political-structural approach challenge the validity of a traditional/modern dichotomy from two perspectives, both of which relate to the awareness of peasant ties with the larger society. First, they question the existence in any time or place of a homogeneous peasant society, the supposed foundation of peasant traditionalism. Rather, as Charles Tilly (1968) and G. William Skinner (1968) demonstrate, peasant neighborhoods invariably include a variety of nonpeasants in key economic and political roles who act as intermediaries with the larger system. Second, counter to the notion of

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the peasant as inherently traditional, irrevocably attached to "pre-economic" values and customs, they advance the view of peasant as decision-maker who acts for his own ends within a given political and economic context.

In this vein, a number of anthropologists associated with the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos propose an alternative view on the impact of modernization on the countryside, based on their investigations in twentieth-century Peru (Whyte, 1970 and Alberti, 1972; collaborators on related work include José Matos Mar and Julio Cotler). Opposing the concept of an absolute dichotomy between traditional and modern, they discard the notion that modernization produces the "breakdown" of traditional arrangements. Rather, they emphasize that modernization leads to a diversification of social and power structures which may open to peasants greater leverage for the satisfaction of their wants. And, far from a confused reaction of peasants against market forces on the basis of supposed traditional values, these anthropologists maintain that some peasant movements are motivated by peasant desire to take a bigger share in the profits of export growth (see Whyte, 1970; Hobsbawm, 1967b; and Hirschman, 1963 for similar arguments).

The political-structural approach opens new possibilities for the evaluation of the impact of peasant movements on both the lives of peasants and the larger society. It asserts that relatively small-scale alterations in the rules of the game, in the terms of interchange between peasant and local elites, may indicate significant modification in the structures of power impinging on the peasants' lives. On these grounds, Whyte (1970:21–26) opposes the contention implicit in Hobsbawm and much of the previous literature that without revolution on the national level, no positive change can occur in rural areas, and that therefore most peasant movements are futile.

Through concentration on the power relationships which affect rural areas and the means by which the peasant is tied into national society, the structural approach to the investigation of peasant mobilization leads to the consideration of two further topics related to the historical study of rural politics in Latin America. The first is the interrelation of local and national politics, and the second is the concept of patron-client relationships.

LOCAL-NATIONAL INTERACTION

In recent years, with new interest in structural interpretations of development, in the social and economic foundations of political behavior, and in the dynamics of political systems in developing areas, scholars have

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become increasingly aware of the need to distinguish between local and national spheres of politics and to study their interaction (e.g., Wolf, 1965 and 1974). The investigation of local-national interaction permits analysis of how forces operant at the local level modify options open to national authorities and of how national institutional structures shape local political orientations and strategies. It provides a way to probe beneath the norms of national political life, beneath laws and formal institutions, to the actual workings of the political system. It also leads the investigator to focus directly on the political bargaining process, which, Kathleen Hartford would maintain, is central to the understanding of politics in any time or place (Hartford, 1972; on the above points, see also Fagen and Tuohy, 1972). The dynamics of local-national interaction is an empirical problem which requires investigation for any given case. Our readings permit the extraction of a number of alternative approaches to the issue of local-national interplay as well as several substantive insights useful to guide further study.

One productive approach is that which focuses on the kinds of influence local politics may exert on the national system. In any country, Hartford suggests, "national politics will reflect the inputs of locality demands which engage in a bargaining process in the national field with various nonlocality (class, sectoral) demands" (1972:39). This contention is well documented in *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (Friedrich, 1970), which examines how, immediately after the Mexican Revolution, political agitation by a number of Tarascan Indian villages influenced the central government to implement the agrarian reform law in that area. Shifts in power relations on the local level may spawn political leaders who take on significant roles in the regional or even the national political systems. There exist several case studies of how power contenders have risen out of the local context on the basis of new resources generated by economic modernization and/or political reorganization. Friedrich's investigation (1968) of the career of Primo Tapia in Mexico and Della Cava's history (1970) of the emergence of Padre Cícero as a powerful *coronel* in the regional system of Ceará, Brazil, both demonstrate how in this way local politics may come to impinge on the larger system.

Local patterns of political interaction (which differ significantly from the constitutional prescription) in fact may comprise fundamental elements of national political organization. For example, Robert Gilmore (1964) shows how in nineteenth-century Venezuela, *caudillismo* (the basic unit of political aggregation through which local elites expressed their interests) functioned through and around formal governmental institutions. In a similar vein, Sidney Tarrow (1967) documents for southern Italy the permeation of national political parties by patron-client forms of

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interaction founded in local economic and social conditions. Thus, in terms of demands, leadership, and political organization, the analysis of local political forces may be essential to the larger understanding of the national political system.

A second problem, that of the influence of national structures on the local scene, can be approached through study of the impact of the national legal system and national institutions on local affairs, through examination of urban-rural dynamics, or through investigation of the processes of national integration.[5] Laws and institutions provide rules and structures within which local political activity takes place. However, in interaction with the environment, national laws often produce results on the local level at variance with their stated intentions. José Antonio Encinas's work (1918) on nineteenth-century Peruvian legislation, which proclaimed the Indians constitutionally equal to other citizens, reveals how this legislation in fact served to sanction oppression and to prevent the Indians from improving their position through horizontal organization.

Recent studies also provide numerous examples of how changes in a given legal structure may produce unforeseen shifts in power relationships in the local arena. In Colombia, for instance, a Supreme Court decision of 1926, which required that land claimants exhibit the original government titles, reinforced the peasants' position. It set off a chain of conflicts between landlords and peasants which contributed to the passage of the first Colombian agrarian reform law in 1936 (Hirschman, 1963:105–6 and Smith, 1967:103–5). In Brazil, the *política dos governadores* (which in 1902 institutionalized a decentralized political system in return for regional support of national government policies) strengthened local oligarchies and increased the political and economic rewards of municipal control. This alteration in constitutional structures thus set the preconditions for armed struggle between rival *coroneis* which was to characterize the politics of the Brazilian Northeast for twenty-five years (see Della Cava, 1970; Love, 1971; Pang, 1970).

The influence of the larger system on local politics also might be examined through empirical study of rural-urban relationships and their evolution over time. In *The Vendée*, Tilly argues that social divisions and conflicts within rural communities are profoundly affected by the nature of prevailing city-countryside relationships (1968:53, 59–61). Both Tilly and Hartford maintain that a rapid expansion of urban influence over the countryside attendant on economic modernization and state centralization may generate acrid rural/urban conflict.

Scholars also have dealt with the effect of national structures on local politics in terms of the historical processes and the structures of

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national integration. From the processual viewpoint, they question whether integration takes place through local or regional consolidation, as Gilmore (1964) documents for Venezuela in the nineteenth century and Joseph Love (1971) for Brazil in the early twentieth century, or alternatively through the penetration of the central, urban-based government into the rural hinterland by means of political parties, state extension and credit services, and so forth. J. D. Powell (1971), in his discussion of the agrarian bases of the Acción Democrática in Venezuela and Tarrow (1971) in his treatment of the various forms of political participation of the European peasantry call attention to the latter type of national integration. In order to evaluate the relative political leverage of local and regional elites, consideration of national variations in the historical process of integration is essential.

National integration also may be conceived in a structural sense, with additional implications for the local community. In the broadest terms, as Tilly says, "the nature of its involvement in the society around it profoundly influences the internal structure and by extension the political organization of a community" (1968:61). Laws explicitly define the form of integration which characterizes a given country at a given time. However, the nature of national integration also must be sought in the study of informal networks among those who occupy the key positions and between these elites and the middle and lower sectors. Tarrow (1967) maintains that Italian unification in the nineteenth century, which delegated effective control to northern elites, relegated southern Italy to a subordinate position which reinforced traditional patterns of political interaction detrimental to economic development. From the perspective of an agrarian neighborhood, David Ronfeldt (1973) demonstrates how the particular form of integration of the peasantry into the Mexican political system shaped their political activity on the local level. The contestants' relative influence with the president determined the outcome of peasant struggle against the local *hacendado*, while the necessity of gaining the support of government agencies influenced peasant strategy and tactics throughout the twenty-five-year period of Ronfeldt's study.

Analysis of the interaction of local and national spheres necessarily leads to consideration of the linkages joining them. Recently anthropologists, political scientists, and historians have begun to recognize the significance of political middlemen or brokers who simultaneously participate in the local and the national systems and mediate between them. A crucial question for investigation, then, becomes that of the relations between the national elite, the local elite, and the masses (Friedrich, 1968 and 1970). This issue becomes especially interesting when the locality

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under consideration is rural, for the political broker may be forced to deal with different political norms and kinds of demands on the local or regional and on the national levels.

PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONS

The question of linkages leads directly into the concept of patron-client relations, which aims to give insight into both the form and the content of such linkages. René Lemarchand and Keith Legg define political clientelism as "personalized, affective and reciprocal relations between actors or sets of actors commanding unequal resources and involving mutually beneficial transactions that have political ramifications beyond the immediate sphere of dyadic relations" (1972:151). The patron-client concept emerged out of social science literature of the past few years from two directions. Anthropologists concerned with the study of peasant networks of social interaction found that in seeking to satisfy their wants, peasants tend to form "dyadic contracts" with more powerful individuals rather than horizontal associations (Foster, 1961 and 1967). Anthropologists locate the prototype of the patron-client relationship in its economic, social, and political dimensions in the landlord-peasant tie. Awareness of patron-client links developed, too, out of the investigation of patronage and machine politics on the part of political scientists (Weingrod, 1968). Recently, anthropologists and political scientists have begun to realize that they are discussing different aspects of the same phenomenon and that such forms of interaction based on unequal status, reciprocity, and proximity may be much more pervasive than originally thought. Several theorists contend that the investigation of these forms of interaction may provide a key to understanding fundamental principles of political organization and mechanics of political interaction and allocation in developing countries the world over (Lemarchand, 1972; Scott, 1972).

The study of patron-client relationships provides not so much an explanatory model as a descriptive framework for analysis.[6] It focuses on vertical linkages of exchange, on the location of vital resources and channels of patronage dispensation, and on the social backgrounds and roles of intermediaries. The patron-client approach also directs attention to the economic and social bases of politics, that is, to the question of how political organization reflects environmental factors.

The patron-client perspective provides several advantages as an analytical orientation for both the social scientist and the historian. First, it furnishes a key to integrating micro- and macro-analysis, to explaining relations between the local and the national arenas. It should contribute

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to our understanding of the actual workings of politics as distinguished from the formal authority structures embodied in constitutions and laws. Second, the patron-client perspective seeks to avoid the pitfalls of ethnocentrism inherent in the imposition of theories elaborated out of U.S. and European realities on the Third World. Rather than dismissing them as undesirable manifestations of underdevelopment, the patron-client approach offers a perspective from which to explain in rational terms "patterns of political behavior such as nepotism, personalism, and favoritism and political structures such as cliques, factions, and patronage groups or followings" (Powell, 1970:412) characteristic of most developing nations. Third, the concept of patron-client relations serves further to break down the rigid traditional/modern distinction in that patron-client behavior is manifested to some degree in all political systems from the most "backward" to the most "developed." As Lemarchand writes: "The concept of clientage directs attention to the process of adjustment between traditional and modern patterns of behavior, expectations, and normative orientations to politics" (1972:69). Thus, the problem of what political change accompanies modernization becomes a much more complex question focusing on the type and extent of patron-client interactions.

The larger issues to which patron-client theorists address themselves center around two principal themes. These are, first, the effect of state centralization and market expansion on patron-client networks and, second, the effect of patron-client political organization on potentiality for development. Most scholars who have studied clientelism maintain that market expansion and state centralization result in the consolidation of vertical patron-client linkages which tie local areas into regional and national foci of power. Local elites who formerly exercised economic, social, and political domination over their subordinates are transformed into brokers between the local and the national spheres. As brokers, their power derives not so much from the actual control of resources as from their connections with people placed higher in the system who do exercise such control. With centralization, the organization of government may come to parallel the structure of patronage. Viewed from below, the process of modernization produces a proliferation of middlemen and a diversification in channels of political communication which, as will be seen, may carry implications for an increase in client/peasant bargaining power.

Scholars who have written on patron-client relations advance varying opinions concerning the impact of such forms of political organization on the development process. It is recognized that the establishment of patron-client networks extending outwards from the national government contributes to the integration of underdeveloped countries,

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particularly of rural areas previously outside the central purview. These networks, it has been suggested, may open channels of mobility through the intermediary roles and may provide a certain social and political stability during the difficult transition period (Lemarchand and Legg, 1972; Powell, 1970). Powell (1970 and 1971) presents the most positive evaluation of the patron-client type organization in his contention that clientelism is in effect a "representative system" which works to solve rural problems and which generally produces political parties that are moderate, pragmatic, and development-minded. Tarrow (1967), on the other hand, sees the centralized patron-client system as an inflexible form of political organization which restricts the range of interest aggregation and is incapable of resolving basic social conflicts. Lemarchand and Legg (1972) also note that extensive patron-client relations within a political system tend to promote factionalism. Disagreement exists over the question of whether the prevalence of clientelism in the politics of developing countries is a transitory phenomenon which, with modernization, will necessarily be supplanted or whether it becomes an enduring aspect of national politics.

In examining the nature and limits of change permitted by the patron-client form of organization, it is important to view the problem from below, from the perspective of the lower sectors. It generally is argued that while patron-client networks satisfy the basic survival needs of peasants, they impede the horizontal organization requisite for any real improvement in their situation. A number of Brazilianists contend that throughout the twentieth century, changes have occurred in the form, but not the essence of patron-client relationships which serve to keep the *campesinos* dependent and divided. They maintain that indigenous social movements (such as those which occurred in Joaseiro and in the Contestado area in the early twentieth century) and the more recent peasant *ligas* provided popular backing for emergent regional power contenders without significantly altering power relations between peasants and elites in the countryside (Della Cava, 1970; Galjart, 1964; Siegel and Sweigart, 1974. See also Pascal, 1968).

Emmanuel deKadt (1970), however, asserts that the extension of suffrage to rural areas as well as the peasants' option to choose between an increasing number of *patrones* has augmented peasant bargaining power in recent years and may contribute to a growing awareness of common interests. This perspective is shared by investigators working in Peru who show how in several areas of the Sierra, peasants used newly established ties with lawyers, mining syndicates, merchants, and government ministries to promote their desire for communal landownership against local hacendados (Hobsbawm, 1967b; Whyte, 1970; Alberti, 1972).

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It is possible that the greater extent of horizontal aggregation and manipulation of patron-client relations evidenced in the case material for Peru may be attributed to the communal tradition of peasant social organization there, which is lacking in Brazil.

However, with reference to the interpretation of the Brazilian scholars, it must be noted that much patron-client literature implicitly rejects the utility of class analysis. U.S. theorists tend to view patron-client relations as vertical networks of exchange which work to minimize the expression of ideological differences and to prevent the emergence of class consciousness among the lower sectors. Too often, such contentions are accepted a priori without sufficient empirical examination. Several studies indicate that these generalizations may not be accurate in all cases. Friedrich (1968) shows how political factions may embody ideological differences meaningful even to their lower-sector participants. Ronfeldt (1973) demonstrates that although they are tied into and politically dependent upon the state, peasants may retain a strong sense of their own separate interests, often counter to the goals of the central government. In determined situations, campesinos may be open to organization by leftist movements of urban origin that appeal to their interests. A significant question which remains to be investigated empirically is how peasant mobilization may occur within a political context described by the patron-client mode of interaction. Bruce Bagley and Matthew Edel (1976) examine this issue in their comparative study of two Colombian rural associations, Acción Comunal and ANUC. deKadt deals with the same question in *Catholic Radicals* (1970), which inquires into the influence of syndical organizations and the Catholic Movimento Educacional de Base on peasant political activity in Brazil in the 1960s.

Apart from deKadt's work, there exist relatively few case studies which deal directly with the political implications of patron-client relations. Allen Johnson's ethnography (1971) of a sugar plantation in the Northeast of Brazil, for example, provides a fine analysis of the economic, social, and cultural bases of sharecropper dependency on the landlord which completely neglects the political dimension. Chilean sociologist Andrés Pascal (1968), however, does focus on changing power relations in his description, from a dependency perspective, of changes in patron-client ties in a rural neighborhood attendant on "bureaucratization" and integration into the national market. A number of political scientists have attempted to investigate the consequences of patron-client relations for the political system in which they are manifested, especially with respect to political parties. Tarrow's book (1967) on the adaptation of the Italian Communist party to the conditions of southern Italy is a pioneering work on this subject (see also Schmidt, 1974a; Purcell and Purcell, 1975).

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Historians have been slow to make use of the analytical insights provided by the patron-client perspective. Perhaps the most innovative study, that of Stephanie Blank on kinship networks and patron-client relations in colonial Caracas (1974), applies computer analysis to an exhaustive survey of that city's notarial archives between 1595 and 1627. Latin American historians of the modern period, however, have not yet come to grips with patron-client phenomena. Recent historians of the Old Republic in Brazil come closest in their recognition of the importance of vertical patronage networks in the regionalist system of political organization, but they have yet to confront directly questions of the social and economic bases and the transformation over time of such clientelistic arrangements (Love, 1971; Pang, 1970).

REGIONALISM

As a number of scholars have begun to realize, a regional focus provides a useful mechanism through which to concretize the study of local-national interaction and of patron-client networks. In historical literature on the Third World, the persistence of regional identities generally has been regarded in negative terms, as a divisive factor which impedes national consolidation. However, in recent years, concern in Europe and the United States with problems of overcentralization and with the development of better means of resource allocation has led to a revision of ideas on the relation between regionalism and national development. Now it is recognized that a measure of regional decisional autonomy may be functional for nation-building and for economic development. This positive reevaluation of the significance of regionalism within the national context has stimulated a new interest among social scientists in the significance of regional identification for the evolution of national economic and political systems and in the utility of the regional perspective as a research tool. In Chinese studies, particularly, the regional perspective, growing out of Skinner's work on regional market systems, has opened exciting new possibilities for collaborative research in history and the social sciences (Skinner, 1964 and 1965; Center for East Asian Studies [Stanford], 1970).

For any given project, region and regionalism must be defined in terms of the problem at hand. As Love asserts: "The region may be viewed as a representative case of the problem under study, as a variant case of a problem or as a dynamic component of the whole" (1974:142–43). Several recent studies use variations on the regional perspective to get at questions of resource allocation, elite composition and behavior, the social and economic bases of regional cohesion, and local-regional-

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national (and international) interaction. A cursory examination of analytical approaches employed in these works reveals the flexibility and the usefulness of the regional vantage point.

First, several analysts have done comparative regional studies in which the regions under consideration are defined by a number of underlying economic, social, and cultural variables. Juan Linz and Amando de Miguel outline the methodology and uses of this type of study in their sociological exploration of the "Eight Spains" (1966). Tarrow (1967), Tilly (1968), and Edward Malefakis (1970) adopt this kind of regional perspective with the express aim of using intranation comparison to single out those variables crucial to the explanation of regional variations in political behavior. Tilly and Malefakis, who are concerned with the historical origins of peasant revolt, stress the importance of taking into account regional differences in economic and social structure in order to explain the differential impact of national legislation or of national processes such as "urbanization" on the local context.

A second approach is to define the regional unit by political loyalties and thus to examine directly the regional dimensions of national politics. Several recent works on the Brazilian Old Republic take this focus, most notably *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Love, 1971). Love sets out to explicate the principles and the dynamics of a political system based on regionalism, which is defined as "political behavior that accepts the existence of a larger nation state, but that seeks economic favoritism and political patronage from the larger political unit, even at the risk of jeopardizing the political system itself" (1971:109). Love and Della Cava (1970) both raise the question of the relation between regionalism, thus defined, and development. They suggest that states may provide the original impetus to economic development and social integration of the rural population into the national polity. Thus, they conclude, decentralization and modernization may be complementary.

A third perspective focuses more directly on the economics of regionalism and its political implications. It has been noted that economic development and the choices a government makes with respect to resource allocation may have differential effects on the various regions, their relations to each other, and their relative influence at the national level (see Gilbert, 1974). At the same time that the process of industrialization may augment inequalities and potential for conflict, it also promotes regional interdependence and the creation of a national bourgeoisie and national political elites.

A fourth group of scholars deals with subregional economic, social, and political dynamics within a regional framework. They seek to trace historically changes in subregional, socioeconomic structures and power

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relations attendant on the expansion of the market economy and national centralization and to examine the kinds of conflict generated out of such changes. Edward Dew's (1969) and Alberti's (1972) works on the Peruvian Sierra constitute examples of this approach.

Whatever the particular focus, concentration on the regional subunit offers an intermediate perspective, midway between the nation and the community. It emphasizes the importance of articulation of the units and levels of analysis and of the interrelationships between them. Proponents of a regional perspective maintain that it can be used as the methodological basis on which to construct a dynamic, structural interpretation of the Latin American reality which will supersede Jacques Lambert's (1971) static dual society model of underdevelopment.

DIRECTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION

Thus far, four research orientations of potential utility for the historical study of rural politics have been briefly examined. They are the structural motivations of peasant unrest, local-national interaction, patron-client relations, and regionalism. It should be evident at this point that these are not so much theories or models as perspectives which serve to open new problem areas for investigation. Although each approach involves a somewhat different focus, together they provide a complementary orientation to the study of rural politics. They are concerned with delving beneath the formal, constitutional outlines of a political system to the exploration of how it works in practice. To counter the neglect of significant variation within the national context, these approaches advocate a consciousness of units and levels of analysis and of how they fit together. They delineate an intermediate focus which seeks to sort out the primary political structures and processes through the tracing of linkages between actors within the political system. They are fundamentally concerned with the economic and social bases of politics out of which political groupings are generated, with the interrelatedness of economic, social, and political phenomena. And finally, they aim to describe change over time, the full understanding of which must be based on insight into the structures and processes which characterize a given political system and its social and economic environment.

Several questions relevant to the historical investigation of rural politics arise out of the four approaches. First, it is important to explore the socioeconomic bases of political organization on the local or regional level. As Alex Weingrod states: "We need broad studies which locate patronage within the general forms of social, economic and political stratification" (1968:400). Land tenure, marketing arrangements, and

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neighborhood social structure must be investigated in order to clarify the kind and degree of control exercised by elites over the masses and the opportunities for political expression of the lower sectors. Attention should be paid to the interrelations between leaders and followers and to the kinds of action generated out of these interrelations including peasant violence, if pertinent, in addition to other forms of collective action.

Second, the composition, resources, and networks of elites in the local, regional, and national spheres need to be explored. In order to evaluate the cohesiveness of a given elite, it is important to determine whether or not elite members on the different levels are extensions of the same families, participate in similar activities, and possess congruent interests and loyalties. One also might question the extent of integration of regional and local elites into the national structures, that is, whether local and regional elites possess independent power resources or whether they are simply brokers whose influence lies in their connections with higher-ups.

Third, the researcher might well investigate directly those factors which influence the formation of political groups and the structure of political organization. In such an investigation it would be important to explore the nature and extent of patron-client relationships as well as the relative influence of national policies and of ecological, economic, and social variables. By employing an intermediate, perhaps a regional focus, it should be possible to explain how strategies create structures and how structures create strategies within a given political system. Such an approach might throw light on the processes of factionalization and of coalition formation so important in the day-to-day politics of most Third World countries.

Fourth, our analytical perspectives point to the necessity of studying the kinds of cleavages which shape political organization and competition—rural-urban, regional, family, class, and occupational. The empirical problem of determining the relative salience of any specific type of cleavage within a given system might well be investigated through analysis of the organizational bases of the patron-client networks in that system.

Fifth, one could focus directly on the interaction between local and national (and international) spheres, on how changes on the national level channel the character of local rivalries, and how local input shapes national policy. Such an analysis might be conducted through the study of regionalism and of patronage networks viewed as intervening mechanisms.

Sixth, the researcher may concern himself with the description of change over time—in the nature of political conflict, in patron-client

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relations, in local-regional-national interaction, and in political structures and processes related to the extension of international capitalism and of state institutions of control. Through their emphasis on the interrelatedness of phenomena, our analytical perspectives together promote a more complex view of change than is typical of the modernization literature. In describing change, these perspectives stress the importance of taking into account both the impact of larger processes of economic and social evolution and the cumulative effects of individual decision-making within it.

It should be noted that these topics for empirical investigation represent not so much distinct questions as alternative vantage points on the same complicated phenomena. They provide room for productive collaboration among historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists. It should be stressed that because these topics deal with the dynamics of political evolution, a historical perspective is essential to their study. The diachronic viewpoint permits the investigator to extract principles of organization and of change within the political system.

These questions should help to reorient the historical study of rural politics—to give it an analytical depth beyond the chronological recounting of political events and to justify its investigation as a step toward the understanding of larger political processes. Our research perspectives thus provide a concept of political history which more closely resembles what social historians are trying to accomplish in their concern with the underlying forms and movements in human social interaction over time than political history as it traditionally has been written (on the new social history, see Hobsbawm, 1971).

The types of historical materials used for this kind of political history will, of course, depend on the country, the period, and the breadth of focus—whether, for example, local or regional in extent. However, in addition to the traditional materials of political history, the exploration of such sources as notarial, cadastral, judicial, and parish records and of oral history should add much to our understanding of the socioeconomic roots of local and regional politics.[7]

THE COLOMBIAN CASE

This section suggests how the analytical perspectives explored above might help to correct certain biases and gaps in Colombian agrarian studies and political historiography.[8] Analytical studies of Colombia in history and political science tend to be marked by a national-level bias. Although most scholars note in their works the importance of regionalism as an enduring force in Colombian history, few adopt a subnational

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research focus. Antioquia, however, provides an exception. Concern with the origins of Antioqueño entrepreneurship has stimulated considerable interest in that department on the part of both North American and Colombian researchers. Studies on the area tend to stress unique regional values or personality as the explanatory variable, neglecting primary research into socioeconomic conditions. Notable exceptions are Parson's seminal work (1949) and writings by Safford (1965), López Toro (1970), Ocampo (1972), Abel (1973), and Brew (1975) which, taken together, mark the beginnings of regional studies for Colombia along the lines elaborated earlier in this essay.

Like regional history, rural history for the national period has been largely ignored until recently. In contrast to Peru or Mexico, the existent material on rural Colombia is far too sketchy to allow us to form a composite picture of subnational variations in economic and social structure and in political activity. Relatively few field studies exist about rural localities, of which the majority were conceptualized and researched prior to 1965. As products of the rural sociology approach to agrarian studies advocated by T. Lynn Smith, the early Orlando Fals-Borda, and associates of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, most of these works evidence a concern with community development and with technocratic solutions (e.g., Fals-Borda, 1959 and 1962; Smith, 1967). They often neglect larger forces which affect the community, particularly the context of power relations which may limit possibilities for change. The view of peasants presented in these publications serves to reinforce images of dualism between the rural and urban or traditional and modern sectors. Peasants are seen as conservative, passive people who embrace values significantly at odds with those of their modernized compatriots. Psychological explanations frequently are emphasized over structural variables in the description of peasant behavior. Until the 1970s, publications on peasant revolt in Colombia, most of which center on La Violencia (1948–57), have taken a similar perspective.

In the last decade, neglect of rural themes on the part of Colombians has been partially rectified by a number of relevant publications. The outgrowth of increasing interest in the role of the agrarian sector in Colombian development and in possibilities for political mobilization in the countryside, these studies presage productive new directions for research. Much of this work can be grouped into four broad subject areas: (1) Surveys of Colombian agrarian history (Zuleta, 1973; Fals-Borda, 1975); (2) the evolution of government policy towards agricultural development (Mesa, 1972; OFISEL, 1975); (3) agrarian law and its relation to the socioeconomic context (OFISEL, 1975; Moncayo, 1975); and (4) attitudes and activities of government institutions, political parties, and interest

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groups which operate in rural areas (Sepulveda Niño, 1970; Gilhodes, 1974). Although they do not directly address the issues raised in this paper, these studies provide essential background for the study of local-national interaction and rural political processes.

A fifth topic which figures prominently in current writings on the agrarian sector is the impact of capitalist development on the countryside within a dependency context (Quimbaya, 1967; ANUC, 1973; Kalmanowitz, 1974; Fals-Borda, 1975; Velez, 1975). This orientation is reflective of the growing tendency among Colombian social scientists to adopt a Marxist framework of analysis. Using Marxist perspectives, these writers voice strong criticism of the concept of rural-urban dualism and of inherent peasant traditionalism. Although their studies differ in interpretation, they tend to stress links between change in the industrial and agricultural sectors and, within the rural arena, between export and subsistence forms of production. They also attempt to deal with the structural conditions which contribute to the apparent passivity of peasants on the one hand and peasant mobilization on the other.[9] Despite these encouraging analytical trends, however, the positive import of this work is marred by the authors' use of sources, generally limited to statistical data and secondary material, and by their efforts to cover all of Colombia. They are prone to schematization and abstract debates over the nature (feudal vs semifeudal vs senorial vs precapitalist vs capitalist) of the agrarian sector.[10]

There is an urgent need for empirical studies of specific problems and regions to provide a foundation for such general formulations and to lend insight into the processes rather than simply the trends of change. Except for Ocampo's study of the Manizales elites (1972) and two pioneering articles by Malcolm Deas (1973, 1976), the social bases of political power in the Colombian countryside remain virtually unexplored. There exist no good regional or local studies which analyze the rural elites and how they fit into wider elite networks, examine the impact of economic change and/or of macro-level decisions on social and political relations, or define the issues around which conflicts of interest arise in rural areas.[11]

In addition to its importance to the understanding of rural Colombia, research centered around such questions should contribute new insights into a number of fundamental problems in Colombian political historiography. Throughout the national period, the political system has been characterized by antagonism between two elite-led, multiclass parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives. Basic historical questions have to do with the definition of differences between the parties and with the persisting strength of the two-party division in the twentieth century in the face of significant economic and social changes. Another problem which needs explaining is the constant process of factionalization and

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coalition-formation which has marked both the individual parties and relations between them.

Despite the image of an isolated peasantry perpetuated until recently, Colombian peasants have had a role in national economic and political networks at least since the middle of the nineteenth century when they began to take an active part in tobacco and later coffee production for export. In contrast to the experience of other Latin American nations, the peasants were integrated into the national political parties as early as the 1850s (Hobsbawm, 1967a; Bushnell, 1971). In support of the contention that the peasantry is linked into urban and national politics, it should be noted that traditionally in Colombia, rural violence has been triggered by elections and a turnover in power at the national level. Most studies contend that family socialization is responsible for the transmission of party allegiance from generation to generation in rural areas (e.g., Fals-Borda, 1962). It appears that such loyalties are reinforced by the economic, social, and political structures which influence rural life, the content of which remains to be explored. Researchers have also neglected the implications of peasant integration for the functioning of the Colombian political system and the satisfaction of rural interests. A related problem which deserves attention is that of changes in the nature of this integration with the extension of government programs, credit facilities, and new political groups into the rural areas since the 1930s.

The patron-client perspective is important to our understanding of the above issues concerning the Colombian political structure and its roots in the countryside. The Liberals and Conservatives appear to be classic examples of parties comprised of patron-client links and bound together by the dispension of patronage as often in the form of public office as direct economic benefits (Dix, 1971; Schmidt, 1974a). Robert Dix asserts that the tenacity and the adaptability of such linkages may help to explain the maintenance of traditional political leadership patterns during rapid change in the twentieth century. Taking the patron-client form of organization as well as the competing ambitions and interests of the elites into account may contribute to the definition of those cleavages which have articulated factions and coalitions throughout Colombian history. The church, the army, and leftist parties (the CP, UNIR, ANAPO, MRL) would have to be included in any attempt to trace patron-client relations of political importance in Colombia, particularly in the rural areas.

A regional perspective also seems indispensible for a full understanding of Colombian political life. Regionalism, both culturally and politically, has been an especially resiliant force throughout Colombian history. The extreme administrative decentralization of the mid-

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nineteenth century, sanctioned by the Liberal Constitution of 1863, served to reinforce regional identification. Unlike most Latin American countries, Colombia has never been completely dominated by her capital; rather there continue to exist at least three other important cities (Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla) at the center of geographical areas which maintain strong regional identities. Several studies suggest the importance of a vantage point on Colombian political history which takes account of regional interests and inputs. Christopher Abel (1973:3) asserts that, at least until 1934, the primary role of the central government was that of "interregional conciliator." Charles Bergquist's research (1973) shows that interparty factionalism prior to and during the War of A Thousand Days (1899–1903) had a regional basis, and Dix (1971) hypothesizes that influence on the regional level may have contributed to a lack of counter-elite cohesion nationally, thus supporting the perpetuation of the Liberal-Conservative division. Turning from macro- to micro-level analysis, a regional focus should contribute to our understanding of shifts in political allegiance and orientation at the local level, of how the parties adapted to changing socioeconomic conditions, and of the dynamics of rural politics in their multiple aspects. Noting a possible relationship between regional socioeconomic structure and political tendencies in the formative period of the Colombian party system, Frank Safford (1972) stresses the need for such detailed studies.

The regional and the patron-client viewpoints also should shed new light on the genesis and meaning of La Violencia, a much debated topic.[12] The basic work on the subject, *La violencia en Colombia: estudio de un proceso social* (Guzman et al., 1962) presents a loose compilation of raw materials on rural conflict from various areas of Colombia. What little interpretation it offers focuses on the internal organization and psychology of the guerilla bands. The reader is left without a clear sense of the origins and dimensions of the violence, particularly the influence of upper-party echelons, rural-urban links, the economics of the conflict, who suffered, and who may have profited. Analytical articles on La Violencia, the majority of which are based on the above book, fall into the first two categories of explanation of peasant unrest examined at the beginning of this paper. Robert C. Williamson (1963) sees it as the product of economic, political, and social frustration combined with anomie, while Fals-Borda (1965) and Richard Weinert (1966) interpret La Violencia as a reactionary attempt by peasants to defend their traditional and "sacred" order against change.

Only recently have scholars begun to relate the evolution of the violence to larger political and economic structures (Gilhodes, 1970; Schmidt, 1974b; Pollack, 1975; and especially Maullin, 1968). A most

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significant advance in this direction is Paul Oquist's *Violence, Conflict, and Politics in Colombia*. Oquist criticizes efforts at explaining Colombian rural unrest with reference to one or two overriding variables that are valid nationwide. He instead maintains that "La Violencia must be associated with a series of different conflicts in diverse areas of the country that had in common the same structural conditioning—the partial collapse of the state due to political conflicts" (1976:3). Thus, according to Oquist, regional studies are essential for a full understanding of peasant motivations, the relative influence of political rivalries versus socioeconomic issues, and the importance of outside ties and forces in the development of La Violencia in rural areas.[13] It is through such studies that political-structural analysis of Colombian rural conflicts may prove most productive.

From a patron-client vantage point, it has been argued that agrarian violence is an instrument of social control in the hands of the elites and that such internecine conflict serves to reinforce party allegiance, thus impeding horizontal organization among peasants in their own interests (e.g., Henderson, 1972). Other researchers note, however, that rural violence in Colombia frequently has exceeded the limits of elite manipulation, assuming the character of an incipient, though anomic struggle of the poor against the rich. They also point out that such conflict may open channels for social mobility that are detrimental to established elite interests. The investigation of a specific area employing some of the perspectives raised in this essay should contribute the beginnings of an empirical formulation to the largely speculative interpretations of Colombian rural violence advanced thus far.

In view of the above issues in Colombian historiography, the early twentieth century provides a most interesting focus for research on rural politics. The period 1902–35 was in numerous ways a transitional time in Colombian history. It witnessed the tremendous growth of the export coffee crop (which transformed rural life especially in the department of Antioquia and the frontier areas of Tolima and Caldas) and nascent industrialization, which created new jobs and new social groups in the urban areas. Economic growth, foreign investment, and infrastructural developments served to increase the power and reach of the national government during the 1920s. It has been suggested that they also contributed to the consolidation of regional elites, to the merging of agrarian and industrial interests on the national level, and to a new centralization of party organization.

In the same period, some analysts maintain, traditional power relations in the countryside were strained. In the coffee zones especially, land invasions and isolated clashes between landowners and tenants

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took place in the late 20s and early 30s abetted by certain left-wing Liberals (including Jorge Eliécer Gaitán), the emergent Communist party, and newly formed rural syndicates. Viewed by some as a prelude to La Violencia fifteen years later, agrarian unrest in this period became an issue of national political importance, resulting indirectly in the first Colombian agrarian reform legislation—Law 200 of 1936. In terms of both the impact of modernization on rural life and politics and the adaption of the Colombian parties to the altered conditions of the twentieth century, these early decades present a most interesting period for investigation.[14]

To conclude, four mutually complementary research perspectives—the structural motivations of peasant unrest, local-national interaction, patron-client relations, and regionalism—have been explored in terms of the orientations they espouse, the questions they raise, and the advantages they offer for the study of rural politics in Latin America and elsewhere. It has been argued that research which makes use of these perspectives should help to fill significant gaps in Colombian agrarian and political history. This kind of investigation may shed light on such fundamental issues in Colombian historiography as rural-urban ties and power relations, the origins of La Violencia, and the socioeconomic bases and evolution of the party system over time. A number of scholars are developing new orientations for the study of Colombian agrarian themes. The empirical work, however, remains to be done.[15]

NOTES

1. In contrast to Hindley and Stinchcombe, however, Soles does stress that not merely the objective level of oppression, but change in living conditions over a relatively short period of time can be a significant factor in aggravating peasant discontent.
2. Hobsbawm also maintains that in organization and aims, social movements reflect the stage of development of the society in which they occur and that to increase their constructive impact on the larger society, protest movements themselves must become progressively modernized. This dichotomization of traditional and modern social movements also marks Aníbal Quijano's work (1967) on peasant unrest in Latin America.
3. To understand from below the forms taken by peasant unrest, it is necessary to examine indigenous patterns of political organization, especially when there exist significant cultural differences between the peasantry and the elites as in Peru or Mexico. As John Wilson Lewis (1973:2) writes: "It is important to look at pre-existing values and patterns for the interrelating of individuals and groups that antecede, mold, and channel revolt." Lola Romanucci-Ross's *Conflict, Violence, and Morality in a Mexican Village* (1973) demonstrates how forms of indigenous organization might well be investigated.
4. According to Charles Tilly: "Violence is a byproduct of interaction, rather than the direct expression of the propensities of one of the participants. . . . The interplay between mobilization, collective action, and contention for power *and* governmental extraction and repression leads to variations in the frequency, intensity, and character of collective violence" (1974:283–84). See also Alberti, (1972:329).
5. It also should be possible to approach the issue of the influence of national structures

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on the local scene through a dependency perspective either by tying in the international context or by explicitly utilizing the concept of internal colonialism. None of the case studies surveyed here attempts this, however, with the partial exception of Pascal (1968). This fact may be indicative of a bias in my reading, which concentrated on works by North American scholars. It also relates to a general lack of good case studies, especially of rural areas, employing dependency theory.

6. See Kaufman (1974) for a discussion of problems in using patron-client analysis as an explanatory theory at the macro-level.
7. These kinds of sources are employed by Stanley Stein in *Vassouras* (1957) and by Charles Tilly in *The Vendée* (1968). It is in colonial history, however, where the most innovative use has been made of such records for Latin America, e.g., Lockhart (1968).
8. See Melo (1969) for a good, short essay on Colombian historiography.
9. Current concern with the campesino as political actor is manifested in renewed interest in the Indian and peasant movements of the 1920s and 1930s. This interest has stimulated such suggestive, but essentially descriptive studies as Castrillon Arboleda (1973), Torres Giraldo (1973), and Tovar (1975). White (1971) and Sánchez (1976) provide serious insights into, respectively, the banana strike of 1928 and the 1929 uprising in El Líbano, Tolima.
10. Among Colombians who are opening new directions for research, two other young scholars, Humberto Rojas Ruiz and Marco Palacios, should be mentioned. Rojas Ruiz's thesis (1974) stresses the importance of municipal differences in land tenure, local politics, and state institutional influences in accounting for variations in the impact of capitalist development in the countryside and the evolution of peasant consciousness. Palacios' critical essay (1975) on McGreevey (1971) suggests a reorientation of the study of the Colombian coffee economy that takes social and political dimensions into consideration.
11. In addition to such classics as Rivas (1899), López (1927), and Monsalve (1927), there exist for Colombia a large number of chronicles, essays, memoires, and political biographies that might be used to provide insight into such problems. However, this literature remains virtually unexplored by professional scholars concerned with these and other issues raised earlier in this paper.
12. See Ramsey (1973) for an annotated bibliography on La Violencia.
13. At the present time, certain novels on La Violencia provide better insights into these questions than most of the social science studies. Enrique Caballero Calderón's *El Cristo de espaldas,* for example, might be compared to Mariano Azuela's novels of the Mexican Revolution (*The Underdogs*, *The Flies*).
14. The first decades of the twentieth century have been bypassed by historians and political scientists alike. Colombian historians tend to concentrate on the colonial period and U.S. historians of Colombia on the nineteenth century. Political scientists, on the other hand, usually initiate their studies with the first López regime (1934), which they regard as the beginning of the "modern" period.
15. It has come to my attention that there are in progress a number of research projects on Colombia that relate to various issues raised in this essay. They include: Bruce Bagley (Ph.D. candidate, political science, UCLA)—power and decision-making in urban and agrarian reform, 1958–72; Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (formerly CIAS)—comparative study of land tenure, social structure, and local politics in selected departments; Glenn Curry (Ph.D. candidate, history, Vanderbilt)—politics and socioeconomic impact of the dissolution of *resguardos* in Cundinamarca; Darío Fajardo (anthropologist, Ministerio de Agricultura) and María Christina Steffen—social conflicts and the transformation of agrarian structure in three Tolimense *municipios*, 1935–75; Henry Gritz (Ph.D. candidate, history, University of Florida at Gainesville)—the impact of baldío, desamortization, and antiresguardo laws on socioeconomic and political relations in Cauca, 1849–1884; James D. Henderson (Department of History, Grambling College)—a regional history of Tolima; Richard Hyland (Ph.D. candidate, history, Berkeley)—a regional view of Colombian urban

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growth and agrarian structure; the rise of Cali, 1863–1918; Michael Jimenez (Ph.D. candidate, history, Harvard)—origins of agrarian revolt in Viotá, Cundinamarca; Marco Palacios (Ph.D. candidate, political science, Oxford)—comparative study of the evolution of the coffee economy and attendant social and political aspects in Cundinamarca and Antioquia; Gonzalo Sánchez (Ph.D. candidate, political science, Essex)—empirical work on La Violencia; and Jorge Villegas (Professor of History, Universidad de Medellín)—the evolution of land tenure in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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