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REPORT OF THE REGIONAL SEMINAR ON AGRARIAN POLICIES AND PEASANT SURVIVAL IN HIGH-ALTITUDE ECOSYSTEMS

(Quito, Ecuador, 23-26 March 1982)

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/Preface

Preface

This report contains the conclusions and recommendations of the Regional Seminar on Agrarian Policies and Peasant Survival in High-Altitude Ecosystems held at Quito, Ecuador, from 23 to 26 March 1982.

This Seminar was the culmination of a joint analysis of:

(a) The CEPAL/UNEP Project on Horizontal Co-operation in Latin America Relating to Styles of Development and Environment (assigned to the CEPAL/UNEP Development and Environment Unit) with regard to the study of one of the four processes analysed in this project. The other three processes are: environmental management in large-scale water projects, expansion of the agricultural frontier and environment and metropolitanization and environment.

(b) The Netherlands Government/CEPAL project on peasant agriculture in the development of the Andean countries (assigned to the CEPAL/FAO Joint Agriculture Division).

The Seminar was organized jointly by the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Integral Rural Development Secretariat of the Office of the President of the Republic of Ecuador, in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock of that country.

The objective of the Seminar was to analyse the problems of the Andean peasantry in high-altitude ecosystems as they related to the prevailing style of development in Latin America, focusing on the complex reciprocal interchanges between the resources available in the environment, the peculiarities of the different ecological strata, the forms and systems of social organization and changes in trends in the environmental situation for the purpose of recommending development policies which would be viable options in the effort to alleviate and resolve the serious problems faced by the peasants in those areas.

In order to achieve these objectives, 16 studies were prepared, of which 7 were CEPAL/UNEP/CELADE studies; 5, Peruvian studies; 3, Ecuadorian studies and 1 was a Bolivian study. Six of these nine country studies were case studies of specific areas.

I. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Place and date

1. The Regional Seminar on Agrarian Policies and Peasant Survival in High-Altitude Ecosystems was held in the Salesian retreat house at Cumbayá in the vicinity of Quito, from 23 to 26 March 1982.

Attendance

2. The meeting was attended by 36 experts from governmental and non-governmental institutions in the region, who participated in their private capacity along with experts attached to the CEPAL system and to the joint CEPAL/FAO and CEPAL/UNEP projects.1/

1/ See the list of participants contained in annex 1.

/Opening and

Opening and closing meetings

3. The opening meeting was attended by Mr. Carlos Vallejos, the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock of Ecuador; Mr. Fausto Jordán, Secretary of Integral Rural Development of Ecuador; Mr. Aldo Solari, United Nations Resident Representative in Ecuador, and Mr. Juan Galecio, the FAO representative in that country. Statements were made by the Secretary of Integral Rural Development, the Director of the CEPAL/FAO Joint Agriculture Division and the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock.

4. The meeting was closed on 25 March prior to the field trip. After having read out the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar, Mr. Rafael Morales spoke on behalf of the participants from the provinces of Ecuador and Mr. Pablo Sánchez, on behalf of the participants from other countries; closing remarks were made by Mr. Fausto Jordán, Secretary of Integral Rural Development of Ecuador.

Agenda

5. The Seminar adopted the following agenda:
   1. Opening meeting
   2. Presentation of the studies
   3. Conclusions and recommendations and closing meeting
   4. Field trip to the Pilahuín area.

Officers

6. During the three days of the debate, the meeting was chaired by Mr. Fausto Jordán, while Mr. Emiliano Ortega of CEPAL/FAO and Mr. Nicolo Gligo of CEPAL/UNEP acted as co-ordinators.

Summary of the debate

7. The debate was opened with a statement of the study on the prevailing styles of development in Latin America and the Andean environment made by the Co-ordinator of the Joint CEPAL/UNEP Development and Environment Unit. Presentation of the 16 studies submitted to the Seminar followed.2/

II. CONCLUSIONS

8. The high-altitude ecosystems of the Andean area are exceedingly fragile environments which are vulnerable to anthropic action. They have very limited resources of matter and energy, which it has been possible to use intensively only by resorting to a complex and coherent system of social organization.

9. The penetration and extension of the style of development characteristic of the present phase of Latin American life tend to change and, sometimes, to deteriorate the peasant economies.

10. The identification of viable alternatives for dealing with the problems of peasant development in the high-altitude ecosystems of the Andes cannot be postponed. The absence of public strategies and policies aimed at peasant development while the present trends are evolving may have severe social, economic, cultural and ecological consequences.

2/ See the list of documents submitted to the Seminar contained in annex 2.

/The peasant

The peasant economy concept:

11. In describing or defining the peasantry and the peasant economy, it must be borne in mind that:

(a) The peasantry is not a single entity, nor is the peasant question a single problem. What we have is a rural society which is clearly differentiated in that simultaneous and opposed processes of proletarianization and the formation of new peasant groups are in motion.

(b) The Andean peasant economy is so special that it must be defined as an analytical category which will help to extend and explain this reality. Such a definition cannot be obtained only by applying a theoretical process of deduction; it must be based on an appropriate balance between theoretical planning and practical experience.

12. The peasant economy concept seems useful both for studying the internal operation of this kind of production and for relating it to other structures within the society. It does, however, involve two dangers which would have to be taken into account:

(a) When emphasis is placed on the independence and isolation of this kind of economy or on the search for its peculiarities, it is possible to come up with a concept which is not rooted in history and has no bearing on social relations. By focusing too much on the peculiarities of the peasant economy and by trying to isolate its components in the productive agricultural process, there is the danger of overlooking the way in which this economy interrelates with other processes and factors of the social life of which it is a part.

(b) Sometimes the peasant economy concept suffers from a pronounced economic bias which makes it difficult to analyse all the factors involved in its operation and its survival strategy (technologies, knowledge, traditions and values).

Environmental management in the culture and social organization:

13. In the Andean peasant environment there are ways of organizing agrarian systems which are based on secular traditions and primarily on the communities. In broad areas of the Andean region, the rural society is predominant and is integrated with regional economies in which the urban nuclei act as mercantile centres.

14. The culture, the kinship system and the institutions of the Andean community constitute a valuable resource and a structural framework which promotes the kind of integral development the environment can sustain in the long term. The organization of production based on principles of reciprocity and the communal institutions created for the utilization of the natural resources promote national management of the ecosystem and make the united use of the available resources possible both within the local group and bearing future generations in mind.

15. The way in which the peasantry, and the indigenous peasantry in particular, views nature and society explains its ability to maintain community elements. The recognition of the ethnic entity makes it possible ro reproduce that community model.

16. Far from being restricted by its traditions, the Andean peasantry is able to change its behaviour and attitudes in a continual process of adjusting to modernizing influences, the growth of the population and State action. It must constantly test its survival strategies against the strategies used by the dominant social groups to appropriate its surplus production.

/Technological change

Technological change as an instrument for generating surplus goods:

17. The processes of technological change are part of larger processes of social and economic change. The technological process must be interpreted and evaluated within a context of change and differentiation in which the peasant units tend to change their traditional characteristics, either through capitalization or because of a deterioration in their productive capacity.

18. Three basic strategies on which the development of the peasant sector may be based emerge from technical change:

(a) Adoption of technologies which are already available in an attempt to modify the socio-economic climate through public policies which make it possible to maintain the minimum level of capitalization needed for the adoption of such technologies.

(b) Generation and adoption of technologies which are adapted to the prevailing social and ecological conditions -a strategy which should be reflected in the research programmes and programmes for the dissemination of agricultural technology in peasant production systems. In the adoption of technology, provision must be made for the recognition and development of the traditional technologies mentioned above.

(c) A combination of these two strategies, i.e., some changes in the socio-economic relations which are beneficial to the peasant economy together with the development of technologies which are appropriate in the new socio-economic situation.

Problems are encountered in the application of all these strategies. The first one requires the other social sectors to make sacrifices which are frequently not accepted at the political level. The second amounts to a costly reorganization of research and a consequent loss of the support provided by the commercial producers' sector. In addition, in an unfavourable socio-economic climate, there are no guarantees that the peasants can capture the gains resulting from the technological progress achieved. The third strategy can be held back both by the difficulties in achieving the necessary institutional and economic changes and by the restrictions inherent in a limited supply of technologies.

Peasant community strategies and rural development policies:

19. Both the incentives to individual entrepreneurial action and the survival strategy of the nuclear peasant family frequently result in the social differentiation of the Andean peasant communities in different strata. This hinders community management of local resources and leads to the concentration of the product and its transfer to other social sectors.

20. Consequently, rural development policies must use endogenous institutions to create appropriate conditions for strengthening the social management of resources and achieving more participation in commercial relations.

21. Rural development policies must aim at protecting the peasantry from new extractive machinery, promoting communal articulation as a possible strategy for peasant mobilization and participation.

22. In some areas, the strengthening of the community model constitutes an effective way of meeting local needs. This kind of model may recover its value for groups which are abandoning that approach to organization. It is necessary to recognize the organization of local power so that each region can be mobilized in such a way as to bring about a favourable change in the relationships of power.

/23. Two

23. Two factors must be seriously considered in both the diagnostic study and the peasant development strategies in high-altitude ecosystems:

(a) The important role played by the Andean peasant woman, who must be viewed in her true dimension so that when peasant development programmes are established, the role she should play is recognized and she is not left out of the training efforts.

(b) The magnitude and importance of artisan activities in the production of goods for home consumption and for the market, as a complement of agricultural activity, as an activity requiring manpower and as a device for protecting the cultural inheritance of the peasant communities.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. General recommendations

24. At the general level, the Seminar recommended:

(a) The promotion of macro-economic studies on the Andean areas with the objective of defining their participation in the national economies and their potential and tendencies.

(b) The formulation of projects and programmes for the integral and intersectoral development of the Andean peasant, by taking advantage of the special nature of the natural ecosystem and the prevailing social organization and by using, where possible, criteria for the management of watersheds.

(c) The assignment of priority to the following lines of action to be taken by peasant families, communities, microregions and regions:

(i) At family level, the strengthening of family life allowing for strategies which facilitate the survival and the raison d'être of family-based economy and agriculture. The protection of and respect for the rural culture and society, the adaptation of educational and health programmes to the requirements of the rural environment and the removal of structural factors which impede the progress of the peasantry are important factors of peasant home life;

(ii) At communal level, it is recommended that changes be introduced which will help to improve the productive structure and the productivity of the land, using styles of work and production suitable for peasants, i.e.:

- Recovery and development of crops grown in the past, such as Tarwi (*Lupinus sp*), Quinua (*Chenopodium quinoa W*), Kañiwa (*Chenopodium palidacaula A*).
- Gradual introduction of permanent crops such as fruit trees.
- Sanitary and zootechnical improvement in stockbreeding.
- Diffusion and promotion of camelidae.
- Introduction and improvement of fodder resources.
- Development of forestry resources.
- Rationalization of the use of water resources.
- Improvement of working tools.

(iii) At microregional level, it is becoming necessary to build bigger inventories and also to gain greater control over marketing by:

- Use of the labour force in activities related to management and environmental conservation, the development of new economic activities or the improvement of the microregional infrastructure.
- Formation of municipal banks or peasant banks which capture some of the savings generated in the microregion and serve as an investment fund for projects within the same microregion.

/- Formation

- Formation of co-operatives for commercial and technical services which give the inhabitants of a community a certain amount of control over some of the commercial surplus and make technical assistance permanently available.

(iv) At regional level, definitions are needed so that the balance of trade between the region and the rest of the country is at least not negative and, in so far as possible, positive. For this purpose selective price and subsidy policies are needed especially with regard to:

- Preferential policy for agro-industrial products which are basic consumer goods of the peasantry with the objective of encouraging joint agricultural production and reducing the cost of the basic consumer basket.
- Creation of job opportunities and establishment of adequate wages for seasonal workers in the rural sector.

(d) Promotion of peasant participation in microregional and regional development agencies as a prerequisite for ensuring a real rise in the standards of living of the inhabitants of communities.

(e) Execution of support policies needed at all four levels, for which purpose a regionalized and decentralized planning system is a definite requirement.

(f) The establishment of explicit food and nutrition policies, in which the following lines of action, among others, are spelled out:

(i) Promotion and expansion of Andean crops characteristic of each country, with full economic and institutional support provided in respect of agricultural extension and research activities and for the basic processes of industrialization;

(ii) The organization and establishment of the mechanisms for marketing commodities in such a way that producers and consumers are benefited and surpluses are returned to the producers;

(iii) Promotion and diffusion of technological research on food, leading in the medium and long term, to the gradual substitution of imports by Andean products;

(iv) The establishment of policies regulating food imports to help to promote alternative Andean crops;

(v) More food research in universities with emphasis laid on the Andean alternative.

(g) Provision of training programmes aimed at Andean peasants as a way of strengthening their social, economic and cultural role. In this training particular importance must be given to new approaches to organization with regard both to direct exploitation and to the processes by which they market their output.

(h) Devolution of water resources control and management to the Andean population, which has historically been capable of managing their social and technological aspects in a difficult environment. Water policies must be included in the integral development strategies and must be closely co-ordinated with the training provided and with the local institutional organization.

(i) Regional, subregional and microregional study of the high-altitude ecosystems in which peasants live with the objective of making it possible to determine which energy resources available in the environment have been neglected owing to the deterioration of the ecosystems and to identify possible ways of making use of these resources by restoring those systems.

(j) Promotion of the development of the South American camelidae in view of their productiveness in high-altitude Andean ecosystems in the provision of fibres, meat or energy for transportation. With a view to encouraging this kind of stockbreeding, it is necessary to enlarge the research programmes aimed at raising productivity through animal health measures, management of herds and pasture land and

/genetic improvement,

genetic improvement, in addition to taking advantage of the practical knowledge possessed by mountain shepherds. Promotion policies in the mountains must take into account the possibilities offered by the vicuña, which can increase the space utilized by the inhabitants of the Andes.

(k) Formulation of technological policies to promote the integral development of the Andean peasant sectors, in which priority must be given to the following:

(i) Techniques for the integral management of the ecosystems in the light of the multiple objectives of the peasant communities.

(ii) Putting the resources available in the environment to good use, especially where energy, water and the climate are concerned.

(iii) Technologies for the development of the Andean crop-raising and stockbreeding.

(iv) Restoration of pre-Colombian systems for harnessing water.

(v) Obtaining energy from renewable sources of energy by having recourse to the biomass, biogas and wind energy.

(l) Recommending to governments that they devise and implement new approaches to the work of Andean rural development organizations, which, on the basis of a diagnostic study of the management and the social and productive organization of resources in peasant communities, can promote the increase of their resources and the responsible and equitable management of the microregional ecosystems through a communal and intercommunity arrangement for popular participation in rural development programmes. For this purpose, it is recommended that international agencies be asked to second experts to Andean governments to help in elaborating suitable styles and also to devise and orientate training courses for the Andean area.

(m) Recommending to governments that they change university curricula or make them more specialized with the objective of training agrarian scientists specialized in Andean problems. In this specialization, priority must be given to approaches which make use of the resources available in the environment (both energy and water resources), to the management of indigenous Andean systems of cultivation and to the policies and technologies which keep the ecosystems from deteriorating or restore them.

(n) In view of the need for a specific strategy for the generation and transfer of technology for Andean peasant agriculture and the difficulties encountered in its development within the existing institutional set-up, it makes sense for the governments to think about and examine the possibility of developing an "institution" or a far-reaching programme aimed specifically at meeting peasant development requirements, especially with regard to technology.

B. Specific recommendations

25. The participants made the following specific recommendations:

(a) That CEPAL should contribute to the establishment of a horizontal co-operation network among institutions working with policies regarding peasant survival in high-altitude ecosystems, which would provide for the exchange of documentation and the organization of inspection tours with a view, in particular, to the application of experiences designed to develop the peasant community on the basis of positive environmental management which can be sustained in the long term.

(b) That CEPAL promote the appraisal of the support given to high-altitude ecosystems by national economies, with priority given to the food problem, food import substitution and the analysis of the use of the labour force; that a seminar be held at Cuzco, to which studies on Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia would be submitted.

/(c) That

(c) That the governments promote appropriate utilization of the information contained in the 1980 censuses in order to learn the size and spatial location of the peasant population, some of its economic and social characteristics and its structure and demographic dynamic. That at the same time machinery also be devised and applied for the purpose of making an ongoing assessment of the social and demographic consequences of the implementation of integral rural development programmes.

(d) That FAO be requested, through its representative in Ecuador, to sponsor the holding, at national or Andean level, of a seminar to investigate systems of agricultural production in peasant economies. This seminar will have the objective of considering in detail the progress made in the research which has been carried out and proposing optional strategies concerning the approach to take in this connexion in future.

(e) That FAO, the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Sciences (IIAS) and CEPAL facilitate an analysis of the possibilities of restoring the irrigation systems which have been abandoned in Andean valleys.

(f) That CEPAL and other bodies investigate the energy levels of the Andean ecosystems, establishing a methodology by which periodic updating could be effected. In particular, it is recommended that CEPAL make a comparative analysis of experiments such as those conducted through the National Technical University in Cajamarca, Peru.

(g) That CEPAL, UNEP and FAO study the outlook for enlarging national livestock ventures engaged in breeding camelidae. That, in addition, support be provided for the national programmes which have been embarked upon in this regard or that co-operation be extended in the establishment of new programmes aimed at the utilization of the knowledge achieved so far and furthering research into the raising of these animals.

(h) That CEPAL organize a project encouraging the Andean countries in the analysis of Andean peasant communities; that a study be made of their magnitude and socio-economic and environmental significance. In addition to making inventories of the communities and their population and resources, it is necessary to encourage or strengthen the analysis of their dynamic and of the changes and adaptations with which they are experimenting. The lack of more general knowledge concerning the situation or scope of the peasant communities makes it difficult to define strategies, programmes and policies geared primarily to the Andean peasantry, for which reason it is recommended that these topics be explored in greater depth.

(i) That an effort be made to ensure that projects such as that which has made this Seminar possible are not interrupted and that research be continued into factors related to the integral development of the peasantry, its economic role and, in particular, food production, the operation of the markets and the food policies in the Andean countries. The fate of the peasant economies will depend on the food markets. It is advisable to continue holding meetings along the lines of this Seminar to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to.

/Annex 1

Annex 1

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Annex 2

DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED TO THE SEMINAR

Symbol 1/	Author	Body 2/	Title
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.33	Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agrícolas (CESA)	Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agrícolas (CESA)	Políticas y economías campesinas en ecosistemas de altura: Caso Pilahuín, zona interandina. Ecuador
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.34	Jorge Flores Ochoa	National University of Cuzco *	El ecosistema del pastoreo andino en las tierras altas de los Andes Centrales
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.35	Mario E. Tapia N.	IIAS Research Project on Andean Agricultural Systems/Universities of Cuzco, Puno and Arequipa *	Los cultivos andinos, su papel en las economías campesinas
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.36	Rómulo Solís		La investigación con enfoque de sistemas en la agricultura campesina ecuatoriana
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.37	National Technical University at Cajamarca (UNTC)	National Technical University at Cajamarca	Experiencias del Programa de Desarrollo Rural Integrado Silvo-Agropecuario de Cajamarca, Peru
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.38	Manuel Pacheco	Ministry of Planning of Bolivia	El Area Andina de Chuquisaca: un enfoque alimentario y nutricional de la población campesina

1/ All the documents for this Seminar are restricted.

2/ * indicates body where the author is employed, it being understood that the study is strictly his own personal responsibility.

Symbol 1/	Author	Body 2/	Title
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.39	Martín Piñero, J. Chapman and E. Trigo	IIAS-OAS	Temas sobre el desarrollo de tecnologías para pequeños productores campesinos
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.40	Alejandro Colomés	CEPAL/UNEP *	Producción pecuaria de fauna y desarrollo de la ganadería de vicuña en la ecorregión andina
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.41	Medardo Molina and Axel Dourojeanni	CEPAL *	El poblador rural, el manejo del agua en las cuencas Alto Andinas y el rol del Estado
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.42	John Durston	CEPAL *	Gestión de recursos y diferenciación social en la comunidad andina de altura: implicaciones para el desarrollo rural
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.43	Nicolo Gligo	CEPAL/UNEP *	Modelo tecnológico y oferta energética ambiental en la agricultura latinoamericana
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.44	Klaus Heynig	CEPAL/FAO *	Principales enfoques sobre la economía campesina

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Symbol 1/	Author	Body 2/	Title
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.45	Emiliano Ortega	CEPAL/FAO *	La experiencia latinoamericana y el desafío campesino
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.46	Efraín González de Olarte	Institute of Peruvian Studies	Economías campesinas y economía regional
E/CEPAL/ PROY.6/R.47	Galo Ramón Valarezo	Centre of Art and Popular Action (CAAP), Ecuador	Economías y comunidades andinas ecuatorianas: enfoques conceptuales

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