

PLANNING EDUCATION

THE COLOMBIAN CASE

A Proposal for the Creation of  
a Graduate Program in  
Environmental and Planning Studies  
at the Inter-Institutional level

by

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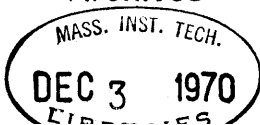
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By

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and  
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fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
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### ABSTRACT.

The present study tries to substantiate the hypothesis that no development is possible in an underdeveloped country - in this case Colombia - unless an important sector of the Public Opinion is mobilized and becomes a key element of the over-all system.

The notion that quality is as important as quantity is insisted upon; in order to have a balanced growth having the two in mind and in the context of freedom and justice, democracy is the most rational political system.

Public Opinion and a general awareness of problems are important ingredients of democracy; these in turn are products of a system of education where initiative, individual discovery, deliberation, and inquiry are fostered as parts of a new system of values.

The first chapter of this work deals with the physical, social, political, religious, and economic environment, considered fundamental for an understanding of the country, its institutions, and its people.

The second chapter is devoted to the Educational Issue in its totality as it has been considered that the failure of the lack of a Public Opinion in Colombia can be traced to its system of education.

A drastic reform of the educational system is therefore suggested, and the university, as the most effective institution where scarce resources can be concentrated, as the place where such reform can be started most successfully.

The final chapter deals with the proposal for the creation of a Graduate Program for Environmental and Planning Studies as an inter-institutional and inter-disciplinary information center for the universities.

Being a place where key people from various disciplines working towards the development of the country would gather, it is expected that, properly guided, its influence would transcend its main purpose of educating Planners, and become

a basic element where creation of awareness would cause a change in the system, fundamental for dealing with inevitable progress.

Thesis Advisor : Ralph Gakenheimer  
Title : Associate Professor of Urban Studies

"Dr. Pell was wont to say  
that in the Solution of Questions,  
the Maine Matter was the well-stating  
of them; W<sup>ch</sup> requires mother-witt,  
& Logick...; for let the question  
be but well-stated, it will worke  
almost of itselife."

John Aubrey  
1626-1697

(Robert K.Merton in "Sociology Today")

# I

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many members of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Faculty, who made this work possible: to Donald Schon for helping me to visualize in a better way what change is; to Ralph Gukenheimer for his frank but useful descriptions of the constraints I have had to deal with; to Jack T. Howard who taught me at this late age to be more analytical; and to Liza Peattie and John Turner, whose deep understanding of my people made me more aware of their problems.

No account of the persons to whom I am indebted for this study would be complete without mentioning Father Alfonso Borrero, S.J. of the University Javeriana. It is through his understanding and encouragement that my dedication to this problem has been possible.

My gratitude to Mrs. Marcia Kola who helped me in clarifying ideas through their correct statement in English, and to Nancy Fleming for typing the manuscript.

Finally, a word about my wife: only the best of all Latin American virtues in her made possible our two years stay in this country, plus the constant care of our seven children. If one adds learning how to type at the same time in order to help me, it is easy to understand how far my love and gratitude are for her.

## II

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## INTRODUCTION.

The present study deals with the creation of an intelligence mechanism, a Graduate Program for Environmental and Planning Studies, capable of developing an awareness about the problems that a Latin American country, Colombia, contemplates in facing inevitable progress.

I have chosen the field of Education and, more specifically the University, as the place where such mechanism is to be located in order to produce changes that I consider fundamental for future development. Here the ills of the country will be diagnosed through deliberation and inquiry in and about its unique environment. After all, it is at the university where leaders are educated and, provided that change comes, where Public Opinion -the main ingredient of Democracy- will be generated.

For the design of this Thesis I am indebted to Professor Lloyd Rodwin's definition of the Planning Process:

"A systematized process, sequential, problem solving, by actors and organizations in a particular environment. It involves the use of strategies to produce specified outcomes; these are devised mechanisms capable of diagnosing and learning within the subject's constraints."

Accordingly, the first two chapters will be devoted to a description of Colombia's environment and a parallel

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diagnosis of ills and constraints. I am quite sure that my personal values, which will determine the specified outcomes in the last chapter, will be evident to the reader as he progresses through this work.

Just one word of warning, specially to my fellow countrymen: the description of the country will not be compassionate and my judgements will probably sound too harsh. But in trying to diagnose an environment one cannot be kind. Backwardness is always looking for an excuse, and this is no time for justifying Colombia's defects. I can only say that if I am too critical now, this will only be a product of the deep love I have for my country and its people.



V  
MAP 1



CARTOGRAPHIC DIVISION  
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

0 50 100 150 200  
STATUTE MILES

Roads ——— Railroads ———  
Airfields + Elevations in Feet  
Oil Pipelines ———

## CHAPTER I

### THE ENVIRONMENT

#### A. General Considerations

Colombia, with 21 million inhabitants and a density of 45 persons per square mile, is, after Brazil and Argentina, the most populated country in South America; it is also the one with the highest density. The fact that most of its territory to the east consists of uninhabited arid plains and tropical jungles, makes the density factor much greater. More than half of its population is consequently concentrated in small, medium and large urban centers to be found scattered along its three extremely rugged Andean mountain ranges, while a great percentage of its rural people work on their own "minifundia".

A tropical country, rich in mineral and agricultural wealth and originally populated by a poor, backwards, and submissive Indian population, Colombia offered the ideal conditions for becoming an "exploitation colony".<sup>1</sup> As in many other countries with similar latitude, the early settlers were driven to colonization by the economic impulse; commodities not easily obtainable in Europe could be produced cheaply by the natives, and foreign domination thus became from the very beginning the tool for acquisition of wealth by an educated minority.

The Spaniards however, being a rather promiscuous people by English standards, soon mixed with the local population, and later on with negro slaves brought from Africa. This intermarriage gave birth to the "Mestizo" and Mulatto races, presently the main racial components of the Colombian people.

Spurred by the French Revolution ideals and taking advantage of the Napoleonic-Spanish war, the white local population, or "Criollos" as they were known, secured independence from Spain in 1819, under the leadership of Simon Bolivar. The former territory of New Granada, which included Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama, and Colombia, became the new Republic of Greater Colombia. In 1830 Greater Colombia broke up and, with the subsequent independence of Panama in 1903, achieved with the United States of America support, the country became what is now known as the Republic of Colombia.

Despite a long period of internal warfare and guerrilla activity, plus a short but viscious military dictatorship during the 50's, the country has survived the difficulties of maintaining freedom in the face of internal threats. If Colombia can be considered today the largest working democracy in Latin America, the pains of making such a system work among ancestral poverty and mounting but unfulfilled expectations, have been many. Alarming symptoms are to be noticed in every field: illiteracy runs as high as 30%, political

participation is small, and a static social structure prevades. Moreover, a doubtful \$300.00 income per capita and an almost complete economic dependence on the whims of the international coffee market, account for an uncertain future.

The country, however, is potentially rich and its people, specially, are it's main asset. The masses, rather skeptic and distrustful are nevertheless patient, honest, hardworking, freedom loving, and ready to embrace the good things that civilization has to offer. Upper classes, on the other hand, even if reputed for their highly entrepreneurial spirit, are well meaning although traditionally indifferent and unaware of the problems hidden behind their seemingly comfortable abundance.

These first lines provide a glimpse at some of the many Colombian problems. It is the purpose of this chapter to give a more detailed account of the physical, socio-political, and economic environment of the country which I consider necessary for the objectives of this study.

Through an analysis of existing conditions we will hopefully raise new questions concerning the future, and by diagnosing present ills it will be easier to pinpoint the main issues relevant to the development of the country. These questions and issues will serve as the basis for strategies to be followed in order to

achieve what we think are the most urgent and desired objectives of the planning process under consideration.

#### B. Physical Environment

In 1949 the World Bank sent its first economic mission to a foreign country, and that country was Colombia. The first reaction of Lauchlin Currie, who was heading it, came as a surprise to most Colombians; he was puzzled by the fact that most of the people lived on the mountains where life was so difficult, while he could only see desolation and poverty on the fertile plains. Although his question was rational, and in a way prophetic of new trends of migration to come later on, the answers were easy; at a time when man could not control disease and climate as he does now, the humid, hot, and unhealthy tropical climate of the low lands of Colombia was not coveted. The two long rivers running between the three mountain ranges were the natural paths for penetration of the early Spanish "conquistadores" and, as they traveled from the ocean towards the interior of the country - maybe looking for the never found El Dorado or just in search of adventure - they were attracted by the cooler and healthier mountains. Thus, hot and humid river valleys were abandoned in favor of the adjacent high lands. (See Map 1).

The tendency of early settlers to locate in hospitable climates is not particular to Colombia. In fact, most of the important out-posts that the Spaniards established in the tropical zone of Latin America were located at high altitudes; Bogota, Mexico City, Quito, La Paz, and Cuzco are all on mountains where the modern traveller is afraid to venture. It is no wonder that for almost 300 years these cities remained practically unchanged and led an independent life, not only from the rest of the world but from one another. Their existence was closely bound to their static economy.

Colombia, from its colonial era to the first quarter of the 20th century, has had a typical export economy. The external demand of whatever product has been exported has been the main determinant of the national level of income and the economic activity within the country. In general the economy has depended upon the sales abroad of a single commodity, whether it was gold and tobacco in the past or coffee at present. By the middle of the 19th century the coffee fever invaded the country and, with it, cities located on suitable mountainous climates, where the product is cultivated, started to grow up while other cities which could not cash in on the coffee boom, declined. The phenomenon can be of course associated with the tendency of the population to split when a particular raw material, in this case coffee, becomes so important in relation to economical location.

It was thus that the early Spanish random pattern of settlements and later a coffee economy were to determine a town distribution quite unusual for a Latin American colonial country. As a result Colombia has been aptly described as a federation of city states separated by a poor system of communications.<sup>3</sup>

With the advent of industrialization and all its related products, Colombian cities started to experience a tremendous growth, fed by advances made in the fields of medicine, communications, and all the rest of the inventions that we associate with progress. During the first quarter of this century, cities like Bogota, Medellin, Cali, and Barranquilla, more than doubled the population they had had for three centuries; and after 1930, when industrialization began to produce a greater impact on the economy, most of the big urban centers' population increased four-fold in 20 years. (See Tables 1, 2, and 3).

It is interesting to notice, specially through the analysis of Table 3, how periodic changes in the economy and transportation systems are reflected in city growth. The high growth of Barranquilla, for example, during the 1918-38 period, shows the importance of fluvial transportation as the only means of moving coffee to the external markets, while Buenaventura, a competing port on the Pacific, only started to grow significantly after the Pacific Railroad displaced the Magdalena

River as the main transportation artery. Likewise, from 1938 to 1951, new irrigation programs and the consequent growth of rice and cotton in the State of Tolima, made Ibague the fastest growing state capital of the period; at the same time, Bello, the industrial satellite of Medellin, followed Ibague's growth pattern, reflecting the importance of its textile factories and the gains made by industry during World War II. The two other industrial suburbs of Medellin, Itagui and Envigado, were in a similar position at a later period (1951-64) when industrial growth continued, spurred by higher coffee prices and by the famous "Antioqueno" entrepreneurial spirit.

City growth, however, is specially showing alarming figures in the four largest cities of the country; and it seems that high population figures are the easiest way for people to become aware of mounting problems. If we consider that 25% of the Colombian population and most of its upper and influential classes live in these four cities, it is not surprising to realize why the issue of urban growth is in full swing.

The Department of National Planning, which only until recently started to show a marked interest in urban problems, is already devising new policies based on the relation of regions and cities. Variables like population, migration influx, industry and banking, number of hospitals and schools, etc., have been used



to determine the six main regions of the country, along with six cities, not surprisingly the largest ones, which will act as growth poles. (See map 2). Further application of Professor Francois Perroux theory of "Development Poles"<sup>4</sup> has also determined different ranks for other Colombian cities (See map 3). This new distribution pattern will dictate future policies for resource allocation, migration control, transportation routes, etc. This strategy, based on promoting controlled growth in the central metropolis along with secondary cities, will hopefully regulate the excessive growth of the Capital and disperse migration to lower rank urban centers.

The new policies will surely please advocates of the city who think of it as "the indispensable crucible for change and economic progress",<sup>5</sup> but it should also warn us that "much of the success of this policy... depends in the proper selection of urban growth centers".<sup>6</sup> The selection will indeed be risky in Colombia, where the future of external markets which determine its economy, and consequently its city growth, is so difficult to predict.

To these dangers we have to add our uncertainty about changing resources, the speed at which industry will grow, and, above all, the rate of the rural migration which is turning Colombia, a typical agricultural country until a few years ago, into an urban

country. A careful analysis of past city growth and future prospects will probably show that, even with the implementation of present growth policies, unforeseen changes in urban and regional structure might occur.

These, and other determinants to which I will refer in the following lines, will be issues of concern for research and study in the education of future planners.

### C. Social Environment

In Colombia, more than in any of the other Latin American countries, the native Indian population and the slaves brought from Africa mixed rapidly and extensively with the white conquering Europeans. Although figures given for the country's racial composition are quite contradictory, (See Table 4), from all different sources we can deduce that presently the bulk of the population is, by and large, either mulatto or "mestizo". The first racial group is to be found, together with the pure Negro population, along the Caribbean and Pacific coasts. Whites and mestizos preferably inhabit the cooler mountains.

If some anthropologists maintain that races are characterized by special qualities and defects, Colombia would be the place to find them all. Moreover, if one takes into account previous mixtures in the Spanish blood prior to the New World discovery, one would be at a loss trying to trace the country's race and whatever peculiarities it may have.

The insistence of foreign observers to identify mulattos, mestizos and negroes with poverty and ignorance and the white minority with the social and economic elite makes it necessary to clarify the preconception that foreign experts may have.

True, a large percentage of the upper classes are white, while mixed racial groups, being in the majority, are the main components of the lower and no-income-at-all population brackets. But taking race as the determinant for social status would be misleading.

In fact, the early process of racial intermingling and more recently the process of development experienced by Colombian cities during the last 40 years, has been accompanied by a radical change in their social structure. Although during the first two decades of this century these cities experienced a rather large growth in urban population, mostly fed by internal migrations,<sup>7</sup> and a corresponding change in their social composition, it was not until the late 1920's when Western technology began to make a greater impact in their development. Their traditional social structure and balance changed radically. Three important phenomena begin to take place during these years; a disproportionate growth of the poor sector, the emergence of a middle sector as an influential force in the political and economic structure of the country, and a parallel decline of the traditional elite.

By and large, most of the people belonging to the poor sector group or at least their parents, have migrated to the city from rural villages and countryside. Perhaps this is the most dramatic factor in the demographic growth of most urban centers of Latin America; the increase of the marginal classes originating mainly from rural migration.

If figures for natural growth of population in most Colombian large urban centers are subtracted from their yearly over-all growth, which has been estimated at between 6 and 7%, we can conclude that 4% of their present growth results from the immigrant population. The last percentage corresponds to data given by ASCOFAME in a recent publication about rural migration.<sup>8</sup>

According to my calculations, at this rate of growth of the immigrating peasant population, a city like Bogota will have by the year two thousand, 7,280,000 people who have come from rural areas. Give or take one or two million, the prospect clearly indicates the "peasantization"<sup>9</sup> of Colombian large cities.

The immigration of peasants to cities is contributing to the enlargement of the lower income sectors, or the marginal and popular classes as they are sometimes called. But to consider the rural immigrant population as the constituent of a homogenous social group would be a gross mistake. Different age groups, degrees of skill, opportunities for work, number of

children, social and political participation in local institutions and organizations, etc., make their needs, means, and expectations vary considerably. Indeed, their economic and social differences can be vividly observed in the squatter settlements of any Latin American City, or in the lack of common traits of the occupants of tenement houses.

Being heterogeneity one of the characteristics of this group, their social categorization, as lower class is quite misleading because their degree of mobility is not taken into account.

A similar phenomenon is to be noticed in the middle income sectors, categorized by sociologists as the middle class. It is not until recently that studies about the middle classes in Latin America have started to appear.<sup>10</sup> The majority of sociological research that has been done in the past has had an emphasis on the elite-masses dichotomy. These new studies of the middle class, however, have not been able to identify this group as a cohesive and homogenous social entity within society. Moreover, it has been rightly suggested that, notwithstanding the contribution of the middle sector towards technological change and industrialization, the expansion of education, the promotion of urban growth, etc., once this sector consolidated its initial demands, it ended up by merging with the traditional system.

This last interpretation of the role of middle classes in the process of development might explain the fact mentioned by Hoselitz<sup>11</sup> that the existence of a large middle class in some countries may in fact inhibit their economic development. This concept is supported by Luis Ratinoff, who writes about this suggestion as follows:

"...the existence of a middle class in cities not yet industrialized is in no way incompatible with the fact that its conduct conforms to certain traditional types. The middle class may thus, in some circumstances, represent a force committed to maintaining the traditional social system, despite the fact that they appear to favor the introduction of various symbols of modernity."<sup>12</sup>

This alliance of middle classes with upper sectors of society make their strict categorization difficult and is further complicated by the concept of status deeply ingrained in middle classes. Yale's Sociologist Anthony P. Maingot has best described this typical Colombian phenomenon in the following words:

"The words, or better concepts, of hidalguia (literally "Proper to the son of somebody") and pundonor, "point of honor," perhaps best embody the multiple facets of the phenomenon. Related to this concept of honor is that of decorum, which is more than the literal translation "decorum"; it implies dignity and honor-keeping up the necessary appearances and behavior of one's status; thus, adherence to the conventional rules that embody a status groups' style of life. Hidalguia, pundonor, decoro all convey the importance of an honorable mode of comportment and presentation of self in the evaluation of status. Whether it is the constant striving against what the Mexicans call chingado, "violated or humiliated, made a fool of", or whether it is wearing a necktie, not as decoration, but as a "badge of freedom from the social stigma of manual labor", the attitude is one and the same".<sup>13</sup>

As is true with lower classes, heterogeneity, differences in income, social status, and above all, the various degrees of mobility that characterize every family unit in middle sectors, make the use of the term middle class within any categorization system extremely difficult for any practical purposes.

Parallel with the emergence of a middle class, the traditional occupants of "those positions in society which are the summits of key social structures"<sup>14</sup> started to experience their decline.

Eduardo Santos, one of the Colombian presidents during the reform period of the 30's, describes this decline in a rather succinct but dramatic way:

"...a country (Colombia) of the middle class, in which the aristocrats are tumbling from their exalted positions to very modest posts. Everyone recalls the grand families of a century ago whose descendants today are in the lowest positions in the bureaucratic scale. Those who dominated the Savanna (Bogota's surrounding region) with immense latifundia, and possessed enormous landed states, presently earn 80 pesos a month in an office of secondary importance."<sup>15</sup>

Rather than its complete decline, the elite experienced a change in its composition. A new kind of entrepreneur who considered wealth more in terms of salaries, higher income, and industrial investments, appears in the scene. A dynamic change in elite composition that altered the old image of the latifundista to a more up to date concept of the new businessman, intellectual and politician, thus took place.

In fact, a trend towards the replacement of prestige based on family wealth, land ownership, and tradition, for a system based on merit, has been gradually taking place during the last 40 years. As it is the case with the middle class, the use of the word elite as representing a homogenous group, contributes to perpetuate a no longer valid image of Latin American social structure.

Although mobility within the elite group has been more restricted than among members of the middle sector groups, its present composition of some traditional elements mixed with entrepreneurs and new style leaders, raises strong doubts about the homogeneity of the so called upper classes.<sup>16</sup>

The degree of dissatisfaction of social groups, families and individuals, as I have tried to show somewhere else,<sup>17</sup> depends very much on the opportunities for improving or maintaining their position in the local scale. As development takes place and the patterns of production and job-opportunities change according to different stages of industrialization, institutions have to be changed accordingly if their role in fulfilling functional needs is to be kept.

Normative institutions in general and Education in particular, as one of the main tools for social development and mobility, are therefore bound to change. It would be absurd in fact, to maintain traditional systems of education, as it is the case in all Latin



America where secondary schools are designed following the French Baccalaureate system when the markets in every context are demanding a new type of education.<sup>18</sup>

Every kind of analysis, superficial as it may be, of these and other kind of institutions, specially in the field of housing and health, leads us to think that the problem is not just how many people have access to them, but what kind of reforms should be introduced in these institutions to adapt them to the demands, conditions and needs of the people.

Only societies that know themselves are capable of changing, and if there are many limits to past interpretations of social classes, which account for such inconsistencies as the assumption that economic development goes hand in hand with social and political development - which evidently is not the Colombian case - a new frame of reference for social categorization as a guide for policy making, is of the utmost urgency.

Where heterogeneity is a characteristic of social groups and social mobility involves more factors than economic development, there is the need for a dynamic model to interpret what the needs and means of demand are and what the benefits and costs of the corresponding supply would be in all social policy areas.

Such a dynamic picture has been previously suggested by Ratinoff in reference to his study of the Latin

American middle classes. Past social interpretations, he points out, have been based on the presumption that classes constitute hard-and-fast groups. The same concept, as I have tried to show here, can be applied to all social groups.

Variables involved in such a model of social mobility however, would sometimes be too difficult to quantify. Whereas income, size of family, level of education, geographical mobility, etc., are factors easily measurable, the concept of social status, style of life, network of extended family and patronage system, and above all the expectations of any family or individual in the context of development, are impossible to determine, more so to predict. Moreover, the cost, lack of information, and finally the implementation of policies guided by individual assessments of mobility, would be, if not utopian, at least unrealistic.

Efforts towards designing such a paradigm however, would provide us with a truer perspective of the situation, and as a tool in our learning process it would be one of the elements in the creation of social, political and economic awareness, so much lacking in developing countries.

Finally, the formulation of a dynamic model could not only be used, as Ratinoff reminds us, to interpret the role played by social groups in the process of

development and modernization, but, what is more important, it would be a first step to a better understanding of individuals not only as part of a social community but as dignified and identifiable human beings.

To this task the efforts of a Program in Planning education should be directed.

#### D. Political Environment

Calling Colombia the largest working democracy, may be too generous a word for qualifying the country's political power structure and participation of the people in what is commonly accepted as a democratic system.

The Colombian political organization is highly centralized. The President of the Republic, publicly elected every four years, appoints the governors of the twenty Departments into which the country is subdivided. The Departments, in turn, are divided into 920 Municipalities, each one having Mayors appointed by the Governor. These Mayors administer their Municipalities from Municipal Centers with Secretaries of Health, Public Works, Education, Finance, and Government whom the Mayor appoints. The City Councils, bodies consisting of "Ad-honorem" and publicly elected officials, ratify the Mayors' bills.

The political system is highly controlled by the President and his Ministers. During the last Liberal regimes, the tendency has been towards more centralization.

The Constitution provides for a Senate and a House of Representatives elected among the members of the existing political parties, presently the Conservatives and the Liberals. These candidates represent the Departments but their nomination is controlled by a political machinery based in the Capitals of the twenty Departments; their rapport with the people, specially in rural areas, is therefore minimal. House Members and Senators are only accountable to political direct- orates, which means that whatever political participation there may be in the Democratic process, it is circumscribed to a close political clique where advancement is made exclusively through personal political relationships.

Although strong political party identification "has the character of a polarization of opinion in preparation for combat rather than for the peaceful competition for the allegiance of the center of the political spectrum characteristic of two-party systems in developed countries",<sup>19</sup> the highly centralized form of government in Colombia, controlled by an exclusive and static political machinery, has been possible in the absence of Public Opinion.

Political development, as long as we define it within the democratic context,<sup>20</sup> has to come with popular participation in shaping the structure of power, which evidently has not been the case in Colombia. The people, lacking an educational system that can foster initiative, continue to accept paternalism as a substitute for public opinion.

The system described, which was devised for a country where information was the prerogative of the urban citizen, is beginning to show its seams in facing the recent changes brought about by industrialization and technology. Conservatives and liberals are beginning to give way to a third force which has taken advantage of frustration, discontent, and what has been termed as the unfulfillment of rising expectations.

A short account of Colombia's recent political events should illustrate the change which environment is going through and give us a frame of reference for predicting a possible future of political institutions. In 1948 the liberal leader of the left wing sector of his party was mysteriously assassinated. Chaos and revolt followed the event and started a long period of violence in which more than 200,000 people lost their lives. It was not until 1958 that peace arrived as a compromise of the two political parties which ended internal strife and military dictatorship. Under this arrangement, a political coalition would run the country

for 16 years alternating presidential power every four years between conservatives and liberals. In this way it was expected that violence and hatred would give way to political peace.

The experiment has succeeded and it is entering the last four year term as stipulated by the 1958 constitutional amendment, which was introduced by a plebiscite. In the mean time, the "Frente Nacional" (i.e. the title of the coalition) has lost its original appeal, confirming, perhaps, that political competition and strife is necessary for maintaining values and keeping democratic institutions alive. With the issues of violence and dictatorship forgotten, all there is left in the alliance platform is the idea of Development, an idea which, even amidst unprecedented prosperity, does not find wide response from a vast percentage of the population that has not benefited from economic gains.

It is not surprising then, that a strong third current has appeared in the recent political landscape. Its leaders, taking advantage of frustration and discontent among the socially immobile, were able to mobilize 40% of the voting population and, with the old conservative dictator Rojas Pinilla as a symbol, almost win the last presidential elections.

It is clear now, after analysing these recent events, that unless the two old parties take the alienated voter into account<sup>21</sup> by welcoming him in

their party organizations, a new political order can safely be predicted after the next presidential elections.

Advocates of peaceful change should also be concerned about giving the popular sector access to public and private institutions outside the political arena. To this end, many kinds of institutional reforms would be necessary.

Institutional change is therefore considered here as one of the main issues to be analysed by the academic community in the hope that new models will give norms and guidelines for future politicians.

#### E. The Church and Politics

The Catholic Church in Colombia will undoubtedly play an important role in the process of political and social development. Even though it has been called the most conservative institution in Latin America, it is also the strongest, its influence pervading almost every aspect of Colombian life.

As it was suggested, it is high time for the Church, like most of the other traditional institutions, to adapt to change, otherwise losing all the appeal it may have had in the past. Young members of the Colombian Roman Catholic hierarchy however, are committing themselves to this change, following the lead of their counterparts in other Latin American countries. Still,

strong doubts remain within The Church organization itself as to its objectives in society. Whether the Church is a tool for spiritual guidance or an institution through which social and economic justice can be achieved, is an unsettled question. But the fact that cannot be forgotten is that for centuries the Colombian Church has been the only instrument, specially in rural areas, for whatever social intercourse there is in the community; and that priests, serving as a link between public authorities and many people, are under strong pressure which demands from the church a strong stand in public affairs. These people do remember, in times of past political crisis, how the Church has taken definitive positions; in fact, it was the Church who together with industrialists, bankers, and students, toppled the Rojas' Dictatorship in 1957. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the Church takes a stronger stand towards deliberate change.

The timing would certainly be propitious, and She could easily capitalize on the popular frustration and discontent.

No matter how clear Christian values of justice and charity are stated by the Church and how She can use different strategies towards achieving a more equalitarian society, a particular kind of political order or system is still very fuzzy in the minds of Catholic reformers. As the Rockefeller mission to Latin America stated:



"Modern communications and increasing education have brought about a stirring among the people that has had a tremendous impact on the Church<sup>22</sup> making it a force dedicated to change - revolutionary change if necessary. Actually, the Church may be somewhat in the same situation as the young - with a profound idealism, but as a result, in some cases, vulnerable to subversive penetration; ready to undertake a revolution if necessary to end injustice, but not clear either as to the ultimate nature of the revolution itself or as to the governmental system by which this justice it seeks can be realized."<sup>23</sup>

The Church is in an advantageous position to manipulate events. Religious obedience has been a strong trait of the Colombian people: so have been close family ties, respect for traditional institutions, political platforms based on religious values, distrust of public authorities, acceptance of the limitations of human reason, the preponderance of hierarchical structure in all organizations, respect for private property, and a deep attachment to individual freedom. All these values have made Colombia a conservative stronghold - including its Liberal Party.

Development and "revolution of expectations", however, is making the two traditional parties' platforms obsolete. How the Church will react to a new political reality is difficult to predict, nor can anyone say how much of its attention will be given "to God or to the Ceasar". As Ivan Illich put it in Cuernavaca, Mexico: a difference has to be made between "the Church-as-She" and the Church-as-it".<sup>24</sup> The importance of the latter as a key element in Colombia's

development has to be taken into account and the matter of its reform as a temporal institution would be a task for their planners to be concerned with.

#### F. The Economic Environment

For more than 100 years Colombia's economy has been closely subjected to a continuously fluctuating and whimsical coffee market. Internal boom-or-bust conditions have been consequently an unpredictable feature of how the economy behaves. As it was the case with other products in previous years, the external demand for coffee has been the main determinant of the level of income and economic activity within the country.

But the shackles of the present monoculture economy have been difficult to break: Colombian mountains are the place to grow the best coffee in the world. The product is easy to cultivate, cheap to gather, and, when the world markets are favorable, highly profitable.

The problem of monoculture had no importance in the past. Due in part to a comfortable position in world trade and a favorable balance of payments capable of satisfying the needs of a small group of potential consumers, the country woke up late to the calls of Western industrialization.<sup>25</sup>

It was not until the early 30's, when middle class extraction entrepreneurs appeared and when the country faced a crisis of import shortages brought about by

World War II, that the country entered into a period of significant, although not always well planned, industrialization.

Later on, mid century world wide progress, made its impact on what was previously a slow process of development. With it, population growth rates started to increase and urbanization in a large scale appeared. Simultaneously the expectations of a by-and-large poor population were increased by the example of the ever growing middle sector's new style of life.

In a short period of 10 years, therefore, a static economy which had relied mainly on easy strategies of "comparative advantages", had to be turned over into an improvised emergency "growth economy" which produced all the familiar traumas characteristic of an abnormal process of development.

Diagnosing Colombia's economic sickness is difficult. As Lauchlin Currie wrote, "...the many and various diagnosis most of them implicit, remind one of nothing so much as the famous descriptions of an elephant by a group of blind men."<sup>26</sup> As our purpose here is to describe an economic environment and point out some critical areas that education and research could explore, I will try not to draw the elephant but rather to concentrate on two aspects of agriculture and industry, namely: land reform and unemployment, which by the virtue of their importance are presently the barometers of the people's wellbeing.

## 1. Agriculture and Land Reform

The problem of agriculture is today closely bound to the rural land reform that has been taking place in Colombia during the last 12 years. Because of its impact on migration, city growth, and unemployment, it would seem that land reform, as originally conceived and implemented, has produced consequences greatly under-estimated by social reformers and politicians.

There were three main objectives of the Colombian Land Reform Law; to distribute the land more equitably among peasant workers, to achieve a more efficient agricultural production, and to contain rural migration to the cities. On top of these goals there was of course the commitment to the U.S. Government, made explicit by the "Punta del Este" Document, to initiate land reform measures as a condition for Latin American countries to participate in the Alliance for Progress loan program.

As a consequence of Land Reform there is no doubt that agricultural production has increased and that more efficiency has been achieved. (See Table 5). But other consequences such as the displacement of a rural labor force, and the victimization of unparticipating peasants would have to be justified as the price paid for efficiency.

The problem was stated by Lauchlin Currie in the following words:

"If we try to settle a significant number of colonial-type farmers on economic-sized units, providing them with capital and modern techniques, the increase in the production will far outrun the demand. If we seek to escape this outcome by settling many on small holdings without modern techniques or capital, they cannot compete with the economic-sized commercial farm. By no amount of juggling with words can this dilemma be escaped or solved. Agricultural production in commercial farming is increasing rapidly enough to meet the current growth in demand. There are now many too many people trying to make a living off the soil. Any measure that will increase production faster or hinder the provision of alternative employment will only intensify the present difficult position of most countrymen. The Agrarian Reform, by itself, cannot be the solution of the agrarian problem or of the national economic problem."<sup>27</sup>

How then, does one reconcile stability in prices for the disadvantaged farmer when the growth of production surpasses demand? An obvious answer would be that a corresponding growth in non-agricultural production, which means more jobs for displaced farmers, has to accompany agrarian reform and rural mechanization. This would naturally imply greater mobility of labor and capital so difficult to achieve during the early stages of growth. It is a well known fact that land reform, when successful, needs high investments in technology and infrastructure in the rural areas. Lacking these, it becomes at best, a simple redistribution of land titles and at worst, a tool for demagogues.

In addition to having created an unfair market for rural workers who are not participating in the Land Reform Programs, the Agrarian Reform is also changing

the mini-fundia" pattern of land ownership<sup>28</sup> and taking the land away from small farmers. These two factors are contributing towards large scale migration to urban areas.

It is paradoxical that a policy aimed at solving problems of social equality, productivity, and excessive city growth, has been self-defeating and has created the conditions which it mainly tried to overcome in the first place.

Urbanites have the notion that their intrusion in rural life with agricultural experts, machines, skills, and land reform, can be called progress. But he regards the consequential peasant migration to the urban areas as a scourge and a cancer for "his own city". The two factors however, go hand in hand. Therefore, as long as agricultural production and land reform policies continue to be guided by the same objectives they had in their original formulation, problems in those areas will persist and, what is worst, problems in the city will increase.

As these issues of rural and urban areas are so interrelated, it would seem that Urban Land Reform is a necessary complement of Agrarian Reform. This proposal, which is presently being discussed in the Colombian Senate, would have to be the subject of intensive research and study if it is to become a rational piece of legislation instead of the absurd bill which is being considered.<sup>28A</sup>

## 2. Industry and Unemployment

The large migration to the cities, plus rural overpopulation and the lack of jobs in an incipient industry, have created one of the most serious problems in the Colombian economy: unemployment.

Available data shows that in 1962 factory unemployment provided jobs for less than 6% of the working force (312,000 out of 5,434,000).<sup>29</sup> In a country with more than 50% of the population living in urban areas this means that a large part of the urban working force was at the time either employed in tertiary sectors of the economy or simply out of work.

In rural areas the situation seems to be much worse. Although estimates of disguised and hidden underemployment are difficult to make, Lauchlin Currie calculated that in 1961 out of 2,550,000 people engaged in agricultural work, only 660,000 were really necessary, leaving 1,890,000 of them in a "displacable" category.<sup>30</sup> As economists tell us, increases in open and disguised unemployment as a percentage of the labor force are not signs of successful development.

The causes of this increase in Colombia, however, are not so difficult to locate. Underemployment does not arise in developing countries out of ineffective demand but rather because of insufficiencies in the supply of the means of production. Hidden underemployment continuously nourishes what has been called

"the underemployment of expansion"<sup>31</sup> in secondary and tertiary activities because of the failure of capital to produce an increase in jobs parallel to the ever growing amount of population growth in cities.

Another factor, quite often overlooked by economic analysts, is the impact of Western technology and innovation on the undeveloped countries. Historians and social scientists have called out attention to the close correspondence between technological innovation and the social, political, and economic conditions which have made the process of invention and its subsequent diffusion possible in the western world.<sup>32</sup>

Modern technology, however, has not been circumscribed to rich countries, as Jacques Ellul reminds us:

"From the geographic point of view, it is easy to see that technique is constantly gaining ground, country by country, and that its area of action is the whole world. In all countries, whatever their degree of "civilization," there is the tendency to apply the same technical procedures. Even when the population of a given country is not completely assimilated technically, it is nevertheless able to use the instruments which technique puts into its hands. The people of these countries have no need to be Westernized. Technique, to be used, does not require a "civilized" man. Technique, whatever hand uses it, produces its effect more or less totally, in proportion to the individual's more or less total absorption in it".<sup>33</sup>

This advanced Western technology, on which most hopes rest in undeveloped countries, has been a response to a rational relation of their needs and means or, as Donal Schon would say, to the "oscillation



between need and technology that characterizes the process of invention".<sup>34</sup>

As we all know, Western technology developed under conditions of a relative scarcity of labor and an abundance of capital. In the case of underdeveloped countries this has been the reverse; labor is super-abundant, capital is scarce, and there is a shortage of skilled labor and management. Moreover, the lack of an appropriate infrastructure for technological diffusion in these countries makes their desire to establish sophisticated industries rather silly.

Lacking an industry which can adapt modern methods to the special conditions of undevelopment, poor countries "import" the latest and most advanced industrial techniques without having the capital and trained personnel to make them successful and, even worse, fail to increase the market for labor which could utilize the surplus of unemployed and unskilled workers.

Efforts towards the creation of suitable types of industries, taking labor as the main means of production, have been scarce in Colombia. To this end, it would be necessary for industries, as well as for other private and public institutions, to engage in research work that could lead to a better understanding of local conditions as determinants of industrial growth. They should have in mind though,

that success in this field depends on how much a local technical innovation would profit from the country's valuable cultural, economic, and artistic roots.

Another factor contributing to underemployment is the attitude that some sectors of the Colombian industry have taken as a result of imperfect competition. The main industries in Colombia are concentrated in a small number of companies; such is the case of tobacco, beer, textiles, and a few other industries that account for a large percentage of total production. Financial resources are also controlled by a few large banks.

"Workers and employees of these entities are organized, and secure a host of fringe benefits in excess of those provided by the voluminous and complex Labor Code".<sup>35</sup> Labor Unions are indeed powerful in Colombia and, in the absence of Public Opinion, it has been a policy for the government and for industrial management to accept organized-labor's demands which, by passing along increases incost to the consumer, are raising the per-unit price of production. This attitude has reduced demand, contributed to slow up industrialization and, consequently, increase unemployment.

### 3. Economic Policies

A policy of import substitution as the basis for industrial growth, followed by the government during recent years, also retarded industrial development and could be pointed out as another cause of unemployment.

It has been remarked that the trouble with an import substitution policy, as a guideline for shaping industrial production, is not pushing it too fast, but conforming it in such a way as to increase dependence on imported raw materials and equipment which then eats up so much foreign exchange for current production that a reasonable amount of capital goods becomes impossible.<sup>36</sup>

This import substitution policy leads us to the problem of the Balance of Payments and terms of trade. To deal with these a little history is necessary.

In general, Colombian industry after 1930 was developing at a fairly high rate under the stimulus of restrictions on foreign trade, mainly on imports. It was not until the Second World War period that Colombia first expressly formulated an industrial policy based on substitution industries, such as steel, caustic soda, and chemicals in general.

Later on, during the 1949-54 period, Colombia, as the other coffee producing countries, enjoyed a boom in its chief export commodity; prices rose 300%

in a six year period. Price quotations went up from 27 to 72 cents per pound of coffee, which meant for the country a rise in exports from about 321 million to 657 million dollars during the most favorable year.<sup>37</sup>

In 1954, when coffee prices started to decline, the period of economic expansion came to an end; this was specially noticeable in the failure of industrial production to keep its previous pace. (See Tables 6 and 7).

It was at this time when economists became seriously concerned with the dangers of an almost exclusive dependence on the external price of a single product and, after a period of political disturbances and the decline of the Rojas Dictatorship, the economists applied serious policies of stabilization for the first time.

These policies were based on the Government's efforts to establish restrictions on imports and on the insistence of economic expansion by diversifying internal production. The main objective, to which all others were subordinated, was to end the imbalances in foreign trade.

The problem of foreign trade in Colombia seems to be, as in every undeveloped country, the crux of all the economic problems. In fact, it may be the cause of all other problems.

Backwardness has been traced by some as the result of social inequality and corrupt administrations.

Others will blame high birth rates, lack of education, and poor health for it. But the fact, for all to be seen, is that all backwards and "peripheral" countries are at the same time the producers of raw materials for the "center" nations of the world.

In latin America, as it happened in Asia and Africa, the economic destiny was sealed for a long time to come when its economy was subjected to exploitation by the Colonial Powers. It is no coincidence, therefore, that no highly developed country is to be found between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, and that Colonial Powers have controlled the market of this zone's products.

At a time when technology is a world-wide spread phenomenon and progress cannot be the monopoly of developed countries, the problem has become critical. It could be defined as the instability and decline in the price of raw materials produced by poor nations amidst the affluence and prosperity of rich ones. (See Table 8).

Price fluctuation are no longer affecting an already disappearing elite in economic colonies, as it might have been true some years ago, but are now determining the well-being of all the people who have already embarked in development plans which can only be altered or stopped at the risk of a catastrophe for their economies.

Center countries are well aware of this fact and clear statements have been made to the effect:

"Economic development and social progress should be the common concern of the whole international community... Accordingly, all countries pledge themselves to pursue internal and external economic policies designed to accelerate economic growth throughout the world, and in particular to help promote, in developing countries, a rate of growth consistent with the need to bring about a substantial and steady increase in average income..."<sup>38</sup>

Developed countries also know that there are two alternatives when shaping their own economic policies: either they can draw the less developed countries into a world economy to capture the full gains from bigger markets and trade, or force those countries into endless poverty. Rationally speaking, the first alternative seems more likely at a time when economic growth is reaching the upper limits and markets have to be expanded.

Reality is not always rational, however, and rich nations insist on maintaining trade barriers either through high tariffs or down-right import quotas. It is a paradox, indeed, that the underdeveloped nations of the world are being told by richer governments to diversify and intensify their industrial production, and moreover they are doing it with their loans, while at the same time the developed nations are adopting a negative posture when it comes to buying manufactured or processed imports.<sup>39</sup>

Instability resulting from changes in terms of trade has been partly offset by international mechanisms created for this purpose. The International Monetary Fund offers special drawing rights to countries whose export earnings fall below trend. But these drawings must be repaid within a few years and, actually, become short term aid. Moreover, they are usually tied up with demands for devaluation measures (to which I will refer later), that in times of crisis become a useless and politically unpopular factor as a cause of inflation.

Similarly, Colombia has received foreign aid on several occasions,<sup>40</sup> but aid in this case is a rather ambiguous word, as with each new loan the country reaches a limit in its debt service obligations to foreign governments, the World Bank, and private commercial banks.

Even if Colombia has been considered as the country with better perspectives for foreign private investments in Latin America,<sup>41</sup> private investors are not always confident of the ability of the country to repay and do not like exchange controls anyway.

It would seem that so far trade and aid have been tools for perpetuating poverty in tropical countries. Their people, with good reason, are associating their dependence on raw material's prices with exploitation by richer countries and they are following Alexander Hamilton's old advice:

"...the foreign demand for the products of agricultural countries, is in a great degree, rather casual and occasional, than certain or constant...there are natural causes tending to render the external demand for the surplus of agricultural nations a precarious reliance...

Considering how fast and how much the progress of new settlements in the United States must increase the surplus produce of the soil... there appear strong reasons to regard the foreign demand for that surplus as too uncertain a reliance, and to desire a substitute for it, in an extensive domestic market. To secure such a market, there is no other expedient, than to promote manufacturing establishments."<sup>42</sup>

Policies of the Colombian Government for ending the embalances in foreign trade have been coupled frequently with devaluations of currency.

Serious doubts have been raised as to the advisability of currency devaluation in undeveloped countries, especially when effected during emergencies in their economy. In this respect it is interesting to note the opinion of John Sheahan who, after examining the Colombian case, has this to say:

"The analysis of exchange policies for developing countries such as Colombia in conditions of continuing inflation leads to conclusions diametrically opposed to the 'traditional' devaluation-stabilization approach.... The adoption of the traditional approach has been greatly influenced by the attitude of the international agencies, particularly the tying of aid to acceptance of IMF proposals. The developing countries may, and often do, have genuine doubts about the validity of the proposals. Yet under the pressure of vanished reserves, the proposals are accepted because of the sugar coating of aid."<sup>44</sup>



In 1967 these conclusions lead Carlos Lleras, the economist who at the time was also President of Colombia, to resist pressure of the IMF to further devalue the Colombian Peso as a condition for getting future international aid. Although the Colombian Government negative reply led the IMF to cut all foreign loans for one year, subsequent success of Lleras stubbornness made the Fund change its mind and give the green light to monetary aid.

The policies of restricting imports, expanding and diversifying internal production, and devaluation were only a transitory step useful in restoring the balance of payments. Once this was accomplished the stage was set for a more rational statement of policies through the rise of newly created mechanisms.<sup>45</sup>

Definitely the dividends have been higher and the economic development of the country has been more consistent of late.

#### G. Public Administration, Private Enterprise, and Values

Recent progress in the Colombian economy has not been so easy, among other things because of the gross deficiencies in the Public Administration apparatus and the mutual distrust between public bureaucracy and private enterprise.

In the area of Public Administration no improvements have come about recently. The situation now

seems to be very similar to the conditions that Lauchlin Currie reported in 1951 when he pointed out "the unbelievable proliferation of government functions in numberless agencies (that have made) executive direction and responsibility impossible."<sup>46</sup>

This situation has become more confusing if we consider that, with the establishment of new planning mechanisms in many government agencies, a new bureaucracy has been superimposed on an antiquated machinery that is, as a rule, unsuitable for the implementation of development policies. This is particularly noticeable in agencies for housing, education, public health, and other "service" functions, where traditional professionals and decision makers are confronting, and being confused by, dual policies of quantitative growth and high standards versus general welfare and social justice. The professionals in question, tied up with very specific disciplines and jealous about their own fields of knowledge, have not taken an interdisciplinary attitude that could clarify issues. Confusion in values naturally brings about a fuzzy statement of objectives and policies, making the setting of priorities and the allocation of resources extremely difficult.

The private sector distrust of Public Administration is, to say the least, well founded. Bureaucracy, specially in its medium and lower echelons, has been

traditionally the haven of badly remunerated and inept individuals who usually occupy their positions because of personal, family, or political favors. Their natural reaction to frustration is translated into despotism, which in turn deepens the gap between public and private citizens.

On the other hand, private citizens, when appointed to high positions in Public Administration, adopt an olympic attitude towards the private entrepreneurial sector from which they have been recruited. In a way, and sometimes with good reason, they become the defenders of "the people" and, while their job lasts, the enemies of private enterprise.

Actually, this situation has developed to a point where "private profit" is equated with robbery by public officials, and Public Administration is synonymous with despotism and envy as seen by entrepreneurs.

I would argue here that as a result of unclear development policies and mutual distrust between public and private sectors, the resulting uncertainty of entrepreneurs has been one of the most important factors as a stumbling block for over-all development of Colombia.

Possibly more than in any other country of Latin America the Colombian entrepreneur has been a very significant element in the country's progress. At the

same time, continuous threats of reform and instability have been their worst enemy. Although it is quite clear that the private sector cannot make a case against political, economic, and social change, in a country that so badly needs the modernization of its institutions to cope with progress, it is also true that a necessary condition for development is the establishment of credibility from public officials through statements of definite policies, that allow a certain predictability for their investments. Continuous threats of land expropriation, tax reforms, devaluation, bankloan policies, import and export restrictions, rent controls, etc., make a free economy unworkable.

Lack of Planning has been of course responsible for this lack of certainty, but we all know that planning is difficult when values and goals are not clearly stated. Some questions, therefore, will have to be asked first, in order to clarify values which may define the problems which the country is confronting:

- . What is the moral basis of Private Profit?
- . Is a Free Economy compatible with backwardness and poverty?
- . Is economic freedom an indispensable means towards the achievement of political freedom?<sup>47</sup>
- . What are the limits of State interventions if Democracy is to be preserved?

- . Is it true that to associate all, or a large part, of economic activity with the State is to endanger freedom?

Or conversely:

- . Must the industrial system rely on the State for trained and educated manpower, for regulating total demand, prices, and wages?<sup>48</sup>
- . What are the virtues or disadvantages of a state fiscal policy for regulating the economy as compared to Central Bank monetary policies?<sup>49</sup>

Questions of this order should be further expanded to the more radical interrogants that Socialist and Communist economists are posing as a way out of what has been called "the vicious circle of poverty":<sup>50</sup>

- . Is the real root of backwardness and poverty of undeveloped countries to be found in the Capitalist system and, more precisely in colonialism and exploitation?
- . Is the "central economic problem of Latin America the United States, American Imperialism, which must be kicked out by revolution?"<sup>51</sup>
- . Is underdevelopment the result of the "centuries long participation (of Latin America) in the process of world capitalist development"?<sup>52</sup>

Finally, we would have to ask ourselves a question which involves the very nature of planning itself and the political consequences it implies:

- . Is it reasonable to say that "no planning worth the name is possible in a society in which the means of production remain under the control of private interests" and that the final objective is 'planning' as the battlecry of a society that has to achieve development by "sweeping aside the former ruling class together with the institution of private property in the means of production..."<sup>53</sup>

I will not try to speculate here about these and other related questions. They are posed only to illustrate the kind of ideological conflicts that are determining the Colombian environment and the consequent confusion among its decision makers. Hopefully, these questions will determine some important issues where serious research and analysis should be applied.

All the deficiencies I have mentioned so far about the Colombian environment are of course balanced by many favorable factors:

"Colombia is still, despite much destruction of them, tremendously rich in natural resources relative to population. It has an excellent industrial base, is rapidly mastering agricultural technification, and has strong and active entrepreneurial and professional classes—all great assets. The varying climate permits a great variety in crops, although this must be offset

against the high transport costs resulting from the topography. Other assets are the abundance of hydroelectric power, affording some of the cheapest electric energy in the world, and relatively abundant oil reserves. Even in crops that do not lend themselves to machine cultivation, such as coffee, the consolidation of holdings and technification would permit the country to compare on favorable terms with any other country.

The variety and richness of resources and the strong industrial base have made the country much less dependent on imports than it otherwise would have been."<sup>54</sup>

These words coming from Lauchlin Currie who, although now a proud Colombian citizen, has been extremely critical of the country's economic leadership as a whole, should be encouraging indeed.

That Colombia is going through significant and critical steps towards prosperity cannot be denied. In a recent issue the New York Times, usually pessimistic and somehow biased about its opinion of Latin American countries, published a cable from Bogota which, because of its journalistic conciseness and its unusual perceptive understanding about recent economic events, I have considered worthy of entire transcription:

"the heady mixture of strong coffee prices, record oil output, rapid diversification of lesser exports and political stability is making 1969 the best economic year Colombia has had in more than a decade.

But such is the "dismal scient" of economics that Colombia's planners become deeply concerned over their country's evident prosperity.

This concern was being voiced even before the unexpected bad weather in Brazil last August suddenly caused Colombia's premium crop to soar in price.

In fact, the present coffee boom here is a major cause of worry among economists and they cite three important reasons for this situation.

First off, they note that Colombia's coffee is almost entirely grown by small land holders. While this undoubtedly accounts for its superior qualities, the rise in coffee prices by more than 25 per cent since late August in being translated into heavy domestic consumption.

Because of the low economic levels of Colombia's rural people, this means rising demand for sugar, textiles, shoes and cement, to name a few items being bought heavily. Each penny increase in the North American coffee market means roughly \$8-million in added income for the industry.

It also means, the economists complain, that fewer non-coffee commodities are available for export, consumer prices are being bid up and, equally important and tastes are being developed among the mass of low-income Colombians that is expected to feed upon itself for even greater drains on the country's productive capacities.

Secondly, Colombia's planners have been striving to diversify their economy. Today, coffee accounts for roughly half of Colombia's total exports. A few years ago, coffee represented some three quarters of total exports.

Aside from the exploitation of recent new petroleum fields, which became significant late last year, Colombia has been pressing exports of textiles, cotton, beef, emeralds and many other minor exports. Colombia is now an important textile producer in the world market. Its petroleum exports are nearing the level of 1968 coffee sales.

The third factor that concerns economists here is that the coffee boom, which is far more visible than climbing petroleum exports and is more quickly translated into the consumers' pockets, will encourage more plantings of coffee trees.

Presently, Colombia is reported to have about a six-month supply of premium beans on hand. And Colombians have long lived in the unsettling boom and bust cycles of the coffee trade.



Here in this capital, the economic boom is being converted into a startling building mania, with scores of skyscrapers under construction. Much of the cement earmarked for export is now in great domestic demand.

The building boom is luring an ever-increasing number of rural people into the cities and is aggravating the lack of urban services. Bogota's 2.4 million inhabitants are increasing by about 5 per cent a year and already half of Colombia's 21 million people live in cities and towns.

Because the boom caught industrialists unprepared, production has lagged far behind. Government economists complain that factory owners are still reluctant to hire new help and prefer to pay overtime instead.

Thus, unemployment remains high, prices are moving up and wide gulf between the haves and have-nots is also being noticed at the lower economic levels.

Colombia's economic planners say that they must now seek means to prevent their country's carefully prepared boom from getting out of control."<sup>55</sup>

## CHAPTER II

## EDUCATION

A country can perhaps be best described by looking at its educational institutions, examining the role education plays in the national economic and social structures, and analysing the system through which people learn. This is not only so because every society transmits whatever knowledge it has through education at every institutional level, but also because education is in itself the way societies shape their whole system of values which in turn mold their behavior in every context of life.

By describing the Colombian educational system I expect to achieve three objectives: first, I hope that this system will be looked at as a result of the multiple social and economic factors developed all through the country's history, thus giving a better understanding of its environment; secondly, by analysing the existing educational structure, a background can be described so as to understand the place that the graduate studies I am proposing will occupy in the structure of education; finally, by trying to diagnose educational deficiencies, the objectives of my proposal will be better visualized.

It is customary in every description of an educational system to start by supplying a long list of quantitative data that relates to the number of people

who receive an education, the levels at which it is given, the percentage of the national budget invested in education, the demands for specific kinds of training needed for the future, etc. This is, if not the easiest way to describe the problem, the way that most governments and planners state it.

In a developing country, once these sad figures have been stated, it seems that solutions are exclusively thought of in terms of maximizing all the factors that contribute towards more education; more people have to attend school, more class rooms are needed, more teachers have to be trained, and in short, more money is needed to solve the problem. After looking at some figures and tables that describe the existing educational deficits, this reaction is understandable.

I do not intend to skip some of this quantitative information here, even if I consider it secondary to the Colombian educational problems. I do want to make it clear, however, that by a cold analysis of this date a false understanding of the situation may result. This I will try to remedy later on, by explaining some of the factors that make the problem basically a qualitative one.

The Colombian educational system provides for five years of primary school, six years of secondary studies - mostly based on the French Baccalaureate system - and professional studies at the University

with a duration of four to six years, depending on career choices.

Although primary education is compulsory, in 1968, only 70% of the school population between 7 and 11 years of age was attending school.<sup>1</sup> (See Graphic 1) This percentage is not so low when compared to the children who finished their education at the primary level. In 1959, only 15.04% of the students who entered their first year managed to finish elementary school. (See Graphic 2)

It has been suggested that poverty, bad health, and the long distances that children have to travel to attend school make up for this situation, especially in the rural areas. (See Table 10) Among a population which is almost equally divided between rural and urban zones, only 35% of all children going to primary school were located in rural areas. In fact, lack of schools is a first priority need for peasants who naturally migrate to the cities in search of education for their children.

Whether children attend a rural or an urban school, their prospects for success during the first years of study are rather grim. Of 18,181 students who entered first grade in 1955, only 3,000 finished their first year,<sup>2</sup> and in Bogota, at the end of the 1961 academic year only 27% of the children registered in the first grade in the Public Schools managed to pass their final examination.

Figures of this magnitude are certainly staggering but if we consider the kind of education that children receive in these schools, the situation becomes almost unbearable. For one thing, slightly over one half of school teachers at the primary level have had any specialized training in the field of education, (See Table 11), and that even those who are trained are not capable of giving an education suited to the children's or the country's needs.

What the World Bank Commission on International Development had to say about education in developing countries can be fully applicable to Colombia:

"In too many instances, children who finish primary school in rural areas (and this seems also to be true about many urban schools) seem rather less fit to become creative and constructive members of their own community than if they had never been in school. The measure of achievement is the ability to enter secondary school, which again is oriented toward academic study."<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, it would seem that after this difficult period of elementary education, the few lucky children who manage to enter the secondary level would fare better. (13.20% of the original group who entered primary school as of 1960 - See Graph.2). Figures indicate, however, that for a given period in their education history (1955-1970) only 25% of the students who entered high school were able to finish. (See Table 2) This figure, by the way, is only 3.56% of the children who first started primary school.

At the secondary level of education high cost is perhaps the main factor that hinders higher school attendance. This is substantiated by the fact that in 1968, while at the primary level about 82% of the school population was attending public establishments where tuition fees are almost nominal, only 42% of the students were going to secondary public schools. Even here, school fees are not as low as at the primary level, making high-school attendance quite a luxury for a large part of the population. On the other hand private secondary schools are out of the question, even for children of an average middle class family. It would be enough to say that an average middle class family with four children would spend 25% of their budget for education, which they actually do forced by their own concept of social status.

Actually, school attendance at the secondary level is growing at a high rate. While in 1965, the number of the high school students registered in public and private institutions was 14.4% of the total age group between 12 and 18, the percentage in 1968 increased to 18.7%. Altogether this represents an increase of 42.7% of the student population in three years.<sup>4</sup>

This increase entails another difficult problem frequently overlooked by educational planners. In a country like Colombia where the average growth of the Gross National Product has been between 4 and 6%

during each of the last few years, the expansion of the educational system has far surpassed these percentages. This has been especially true at the middle level of education, whose graduates and "drop-outs" feed the white collar market for tertiary jobs in urban areas and are causing an imbalance in employment opportunities.

The problem was stated clearly in a paper presented at the VII Latin American Congress of Sociology in 1964:

"(The number of) school and university graduates tend to expand faster than even a fairly fast rate of expansion in national income... Now it is patently impossible for an ever-growing number of graduates to enjoy a standard of living which is five to ten times the per capita income of their countries, unless the national income is growing at a very fast rate indeed."<sup>5</sup>

A United Nations Report on education in Latin America has this to add:

"There is some evidence that unemployment among the educated is now on the increase. The character of the 'explosion' (of rising expectations) that is bound to result from the contradiction between the uses to which education is put and the absorptive capacity of the economies will depend in large part on the ability of students from the urban middle strata to understand what is happening and formulate different objectives for their own education."<sup>6</sup>

From these remarks it is evident that the main problem education faces now in relation to national development is more one of quality than of quantity. At every level of education the disparity between what is taught and the demands of the labor market

is markedly pronounced. Faced with a huge demand for education from all the sectors of society and trying to train more students required for a growing industrial economy, policy makers are unfortunately reacting to present and future pressures by enlarging the educational system in an almost mechanical, quantitative way.

Most of the problems that Colombia faces in education, and indeed many of the problems of development that the country faces in general, are a result of its present educational system, not only the primary and secondary levels but, as I will try to show later, at the university level.

In order to clarify this assumption one has to examine whatever relationships there are among Colombia's social structure, its system of values, and education.

"Education, whatever purposes may be formulated by the State and by educators, is sought by parents for their children either to confirm the status the family has already attained, or as an avenue toward higher status and better-paying occupations".<sup>7</sup> This remark was made as a generalization for all Latin American countries and it certainly applies to Colombia, where the words uneducated and poor are still synonymous. Education, reflecting the society that administered it, was, and remained for a long time, aristocratic and confined to a select class, specifically to Creoles, Spaniards, and upper class "mestizos".





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Although the professed value of these groups was education for its own sake, what was really pursued was an escape from manual labor and everything connected with it. These values prevail.

With the emergency of a social middle sector in the 20th Century, culture with a capital C became one of the goals of this new social group, not as a means of advancement in the sphere of knowledge but as a tool for acquiring a university degree which would entitle its holders to be addressed as "Doctors", a word by which any person with a professional degree is recognized. "Doctor" has become the symbol of high status and a whole educational system has been designed by the "doctors" themselves for acquiring the power they presently hold as the only objective.

"Any reflection on education is a venture in autobiography: In setting forth a path for others, one retraces, first, the steps one has taken oneself."<sup>8</sup> These words, written by Daniel Bell, become an accurate picture of what the elite, and then the middle classes, devised for an educational system.

In a society where power was so much concentrated in the upper classes, their values and way of life became the model for the middle sectors of society. Peasants and urban lower classes also followed models given by the upper classes in trying to escape from poverty and from what they still consider the "stygma" of manual labor.

On the whole, education at all levels has become a tool for status achievement rather than a means through which knowledge can be put to good use. Primary and secondary education are steps necessary for admission to the university. Any failure in the process is considered to be final and whoever becomes a drop-out in such a tight system has few chances of arriving at the top. As an institution, therefore, education becomes a critical, although unjust, means of mobility along the social ladder.

Colombia, as every other Latin American country, regards education as one of the fundamental rights of man. In practice, however, the situation is better described in these words:

"Everyone supports the ideal of education for the masses; everyone believes that education should give extensive and widespread opportunities for social mobility and that it should be used as the fundamental tool of change. No groups will be found in Latin America, as they once were in Europe, publicly opposing education for the poor or arguing that they should be educated just enough to maintain the structure of society and to accept their lot with resignation. These notions are in open conflict with the democratic values professed by everyone. In actual fact, however, as has repeatedly been shown, the groups that are the worst off go to the least satisfactory schools which, by their very nature, can lead only to the same kind of employment or unemployment as at present and offer no real possibility of rising in the social scale."<sup>9</sup>

A long list of obstacles are applied along the educational process to make this so. At the primary level there are countless factors which make success

for the peasant and lower class children extremely difficult. Above all, there is a set of middle class values taught by middle class teachers - eager guardians of their achieved status - who offer a meaningless education for the needs of the popular sector. Subsequent selection at the secondary level is covertly made through its high cost and high rate of attrition, not to mention their scarcity. "Clearly the limited availability of secondary education serves in many Latin American countries to perpetuate an ascriptive elite system, while in other countries an extensive system of secondary education makes it possible to recruit new elements into the elites."<sup>10</sup> Whoever manages to finish the "baccalaureate" - which really consists of an effort to fill the student's mind with memorized information involving no development of the critical faculties of the mind - is faced with a similar experience through his long university years.

#### The University

Before the territory of "La Gran Colombia" broke up into three different countries, Venezuela was called "the army barracks", Ecuador was known as "the monastery", and Colombia, because of its widely spread reputation as an intellectual center, was nicknamed as "the university". Bogota, its capital, was then, and still is, referred to as the "Athens of South America".

This image has done more harm than good to Colombia, as it has helped to perpetuate a false idea of the role that culture and knowledge play in the Colombian scene. It may be true that of the three countries Colombian universities are perhaps the oldest and the better. But the appallingly low number of people who attend the university certainly does not qualify the country as a cultural center. As of 1970, only 7,700 of the 611,145 students who entered primary school in 1955 were able to finish their higher education. (See Graph2) In 1968, 2.8% of the age group between 19 and 25 were attending the university<sup>11</sup> and only 46% of them ever completed their studies. This meant that 1.25% of the original school population had a chance to receive a diploma which qualifies them as professionals in their own fields. Actually, this percentage becomes even lower, as only 81.2% of the students at the university complete their thesis and other requirements in order to receive a professional diploma.

All these figures should dispel any further notions about the supposedly intellectual character of the country. However, the importance that the university has in the social, political, and economic environment of the country should not be underestimated. On the contrary, because Colombia's power structure is mainly controlled by these professionals, these very same facts emphasize the importance of the university.

The dominant members of the power structure receive their final education at the university. Therefore, this institution is the most strategic place where values, knowledge, and skills, necessary to bring about change to cope with inevitable development, can be acquired.

I would like to insist on the crucial importance of the university in relation to development, as I consider this factor to be indispensable in explaining my choice of institution, as an intelligence mechanism, to produce the changes I consider essential. In a country like Colombia, where Public Opinion is weak and politicians are not responsible to an electorate, the role of university graduates as agents for social and political change becomes paramount. An awareness of the situation and an understanding of the environment necessary for effecting such changes should therefore be provided by the university.

As I consider awareness as the initial element or prime mover of a learning system, the university, within the spectrum of the educational scale, becomes the main focal place where it can be developed.

Here, especially with advanced students and a strategically chosen faculty, we have the opportunity to work with the decision-makers of the near future and with the present influential professionals and intellectuals. Their power to control and determine present

and future policies is evident, and their education, especially at the present moment when the climate seems so propitious for introducing reforms in the system, as an enterprise of the utmost urgency.

Referring to the relation between the university and development, a United Nations report had this to say:

"...at the higher educational level, the nature of the demands made on education change in important respects, while the institutions themselves have, at least potentially, a more autonomous role, both in the determination of their own policies and in the exertion of influence on over-all development policy - the latter through their leadership in research as well as through their concentration of strategic sectors of organized public opinion (students, professors, graduates)."<sup>12</sup>

While it is true that social and economic development will bring about a change in values and, with it, a democratization of education making future professionals more concerned with their own fields of knowledge than with shaping the country's policies, for the time being it will be their task to be the instruments of anticipated change.

#### Nature of University Education

The nature of education at higher institutions certainly does not presently correspond well to an ideal education for the leaders of a country. The educational system at the university continues to follow the general line of a mixture between the "fundamentalists" and the "teachers" models<sup>13</sup> through which knowledge, being a part of an accepted and fixed



system of values, is imparted by a highly organized group of practicing professional who therefore give to the university its out-and-out professional character. Although a certain influence of the North American college system of education has been felt lately, especially at some private universities where young groups of graduates from foreign schools are trying to develop a modern educational system, teaching is directed from the very beginnings towards training in a traditional career. Up to the 1930's these careers were mainly medicine, law, and engineering and it has not been until recently that other professional fields have been offered. (See Table 2)

All universities make the assumption that whatever general knowledge the student may have when entering these professional faculties, it will have been acquired during his studies at the secondary level of education. In practice however, this is not so, partly because of the low quality of high schools, the lack of maturity for assimilating general culture at an earlier age, and the deficiencies in the learning system itself. Universities are therefore facing a confusing situation where doubt prevails as to whether it is their responsibility to remedy the ills of secondary education or just teach a specific profession.

As a result of this confusion, reforms are being made continuously by patching-up emergency situations

and trying to produce unspecified goals. What is more dangerous, however, is that these reforms, being more formal than substantial, are perpetuating the traditional system instead of effecting a real change. What is being done, as Mark Van Doren would point out,<sup>14</sup> is "tinkering" with instruction rather than reforming education.

The traditional system of the Colombian university can be traced directly to Middle Age institutions and more specifically to one Spanish university, the University of Salamanca.<sup>15</sup> After the French Revolution and the end of Spanish rule in Latin America, intellectuals turned to France for inspiration and guidance. The new Republic of "La Gran Coombia" was established following the French "Republique", legal codes were copied from the Napoleonic Code, and the university reflected the new Imperial University from which the "Napoleonic professionalizing"<sup>16</sup> methods of teaching sprang.

The contemporary university in Colombia is still governed by a "cloister" or council composed of Faculty members and graduate professionals, presided over by a Rector elected periodically among the "doctors" in the community.

From the very beginning, university autonomy has been maintained with very limited interference from national governments. All along Colombian history this

autonomy has been jealously preserved and on some occasions it has even been used as a shield for maintaining what would amount to independent republics with their own system of laws and justice within the campus walls.

This has been especially true in the State universities of which the "Universidad Nacional de Colombia" is the largest and most important. Private universities, on the other hand, have been quite free from government interference although their understanding of the word "autonomy" has meant more "the freedom of access to all sources of information by students and professors".<sup>17</sup>

Presently, Public university education accounts for 54% of the total number of students.<sup>18</sup> With the proliferation of new private universities this percentage has been decreasing (See Table 12), although the cost of education has been on the increase and private universities are going through a very difficult financial situation which makes their future doubtful, as institutions independent from the State.

Most of the Public and Private universities have resulted by combining separate colleges, a process that also shaped their own system of organization and made them sometimes a mere federation of independent faculties. This artificial nature of universities has been pointed out by Darcy Ribeiro who adds that, as

each school is characterized by its strong traditions and government; the existence of a true university community is impossible:

"In such cases university life consists of a few solemn acts carried out collectively, and of a common approach to dealings with the government, chiefly in budgetary matters. Whereas everything connected with the recruitment of professors, the curriculum, and the system of student admission, is left to the decision of the individual faculties, each of which jealously guards its independence. In other cases, isolation is attributable to the way in which European universities were created in the last century, as an amalgam of separate colleges, each of which selected its own students and dealt with them from beginning to end of their studies, making no provision for inter-collegiate life or for the integration of the whole mechanism."<sup>19</sup>

Student admission, for example, is exclusively controlled in Colombia by each Faculty, which sets its own norms and prerequisites for entering its specific professional studies. Whatever methods are used for selecting prospective students - many have been used and none seem to work very well - the requirements are usually above the capacity of an average high school graduate, thus closing the university doors to a high percentage of aspirants.

The fact that young people enter a professional school from the very beginning without having the opportunity of being exposed to a variety of fields, makes for an extremely high rate of failures, especially at the early stage of their studies. (See Graphic 2) Actually, high attrition rates are more responsible

for selecting future professionals than admission tests and requirements. In any event, both act as filters to control what the professionals consider a disproportionate growth in their own ranks.

The "attrition system" for selecting future professionals would indeed not be so inappropriate if it were applied at later stages in their studies; unfortunately, graduate schools do not exist in Colombian universities, except for Faculties offering a Master's or Doctorate's degree in Medicine, and Law, and sometimes in Economics and Sociology.

The consequence of the high rate of drop-outs in Colombian universities has been the proliferation of a multitude of semi-professionals, (known as "teguas" or witch doctors), who, not being subjected to the usual standards set up by professional associations, are able to compete advantageously with university graduates.

As most of the graduates of higher education institutions tend to carry out their practice in large urban centers, the need for professionals in rural areas, small towns, and lower class zones of cities, is alarmingly high. Semi-professionals have moved in these areas and, not surprisingly, are doing most of the professional work in the country. In fact, these men and women, even without a diploma passport for a legal practice or for that matter a high social status,

are filling a much needed void of the popular sector's for the access to cheaper services.

There is no doubt that the establishment of intermediate university degrees leading to some kind of semi-professional practice, would ameliorate their position, making their work respectable to the eyes of society and fruitful for the needs of the average community. This would of course mean a lowering of standards of professional services, something that the country, facing a tremendous shortage of professionals, could and should adopt.

#### Professors

The problems of the Colombian universities can be associated with the traditional nature of its professors. In fact, the main cause of the crisis at these institutions, can be directly linked to them.

Professors, themselves a product of this tradition, offer an education based on the preservation of values and social status, which has discouraged the spirit of inquiry and even the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Usually a professorship becomes a mere symbol of higher status and, as teaching is considered an honorary hobby to be exercised in the spare time that better paid professional practice permits, no opportunities are left for self advancement in theoretical knowledge or, for that matter, for the real task

of educating. In addition, many times their deficiencies are covered-up by an excess of discipline and a discouraging attitude towards research and work. In some instances, the extremely distasteful style they use is not only an excuse for perpetuating their values but also an instrument for hiding their ignorance.

The causes for the lack of interest and the low class attendance of professors have been attributed to the low salaries they receive and the lack of work and research facilities they have. These causes and the professors' complaints have initiated substantial raises of salaries and the building of private facilities for their activities at some institutions. In the universities where these changes have been implemented no significant improvements are to be noticed as to an increase of professors' communication with students, intellectual output - either in or outside the classroom - or, what some people consider a good measure for evaluating university efficiency, the decrease in the number of "drop-outs".

In other cases, universities have tried to replace part-time and occasional professors with a full-time teaching staff. Results have also been discouraging: without a full awareness of what their real task should be in respect to a better and different learning system, their time is being wasted. In fact, their problem is now one of idleness, as they do not

know how to use their time for the student's benefit or for their own intellectual profit. As a consequence, advising students, preparing lectures, reading and writing, or just being part of an intellectual community, are activities seldom practiced at the Colombian university.

Professors, followed by students accordingly, do not know how to use a modern university. The misuse, for example, of libraries, is typical. It is true that the habit of reading has not been imbued in students during their previous years of education. Libraries at the primary and secondary levels are scarce,<sup>20</sup> and when they exist they are practically unused. At the university there is little reading required for courses and libraries, although by no means well stocked are more than sufficient for present requirements.

Again, the phenomena can easily be traced to a system of education foreign to initiative, inquiry, and research. The lack of these have lead to the scarcity of new local publications and to the reliance on a few imported texts, who only a handful of students can read. In fact, learning how to read in several languages as a requirement for many courses would be a difficult task to accomplish for some students who have not read much even in their own mother tongue!



Again a quantitative problem, - the poverty of libraries and the lack of enough literature in Spanish, especially in scientific fields - has been blamed as the cause for a deficient university education. Even good libraries do not compensate for a bad educational system where they are relegated to a secondary position. A method of learning which consigns research to a minor role can certainly do with just a few books. Lack of research in every field then, becomes one of the most acute symptoms of a faculty system of education.

Until recently, and to a great extent even now, most progress has been accomplished in all fields of knowledge, especially in the context of science, by the importation of ideas and innovation from the Western World.

During the colonial period the Spanish model served as a norm for learning in the few universities that taught theology, law and medicine; whatever scientific research there was, it was done on an independent and private basis.<sup>21</sup> During the 19th century new scientific knowledge was introduced in the country, especially in engineering, but European models kept being imported. When the Industrial Revolution made its first impact on the country, all it brought was the "finished product" of a new technology, but not the process of invention that gave birth to this revolution. Research, therefore,

continued to be considered as either unnecessary or irrelevant.

The development of the Social Sciences during the last decade, and a growing awareness that the local environment conforms new solutions to the social, political, economic, and technical problems, has posed Colombian higher institutions of learning with the question of the importance of autochthonous research. Official, private, and educational institutions are realizing the futility of further model importation and various efforts of tackling the new problems through the creation of new research centers<sup>22</sup> are being made.

In practice, however, success has been constrained by the limitations of universities as training grounds for the scientific way of thought required for research. Therefore, it is understandable that so far these new university research centers have not been an important element in the process of education.

Several factors are the cause of wide concern for the advancement of research. To start with, researchers have to cope with the appalling poverty of existing data. It would seem, therefore, that as a first step all they can do now, and that would in fact be a great deal, is to carry out a basic survey and evaluation of the information and publications in existence.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, cost of research is high. Funds provided for research, especially in the case of private universities, are very scarce. Only a very small percentage of their budgets can be allocated to work of this kind.<sup>24</sup> In addition, cost of research becomes even more expensive when issues, available data and research methods are not clearly defined. In this respect, it is difficult to tell if scarcity of information is more of a nuisance than a useless overload of data which in the hands of unskilled personnel incapable of handling a larger variety of inputs, leads to false models and policies.

Training of individuals with capable minds and free from what the economist Kenneth E. Boulding calls "agorophobia",<sup>25</sup> will be costly and slow but necessary. It cannot be forgotten that this task will be more difficult because traditionally a great value has been placed on the "humanities" and there has always been a distrust of any enterprise in the field of technology and science.

Once more I have to insist on the importance of the deficiencies in the existing system. It is this system that is responsible for the lack of research in Colombian universities and not the other way around. It would be difficult indeed to expect a change in education through the implantation of research at the higher levels unless the system itself changes in such a way as to demand research.

Whatever problems exist, there is a general agreement about the importance of research at the university. This has been indicated by the Central Government and the Municipal planning agencies, who have commissioned the new research centers to design programs, especially in the field of urban design and housing.<sup>26</sup>

The need for research has been also strongly pointed out by a host of international experts and institutions. But the needs for more capital and human resources for research<sup>27</sup> should be overpowered by the awareness that a free and inquisitive system of education will be a necessary condition for diagnosing Colombia's problems, define the areas where research must concentrate, and finally make science and invention a tool at the service of the country's physical, cultural, and economic environmental needs.

#### Some Conclusions About The Education System

A well informed and free Public Opinion is the basis for political, social, and economic development. Without it, any system becomes a tool for perpetuating injustice, the haven for political corruption, and the instrument through which an economy and social structure can be used for the benefit of a minority. It can be said, therefore, that no development in any context is bound to occur in backwards countries without a conscious effort towards the creation of an

awareness that allows the people to adapt their own institutions to their own needs.

In a system where education is not only in the hands of school and family but it is strongly influenced by a predominantly irresponsible communication media, a purposeful education - and I do not think there is any disagreement about this - is our main recourse for the creation of values and the sharing of knowledge and information with which the people can express their opinion about the conduct of affairs and the decisions made by those in power. If it were otherwise, tensions and, eventually violent disorders, would be bound to occur.

The Colombian educational system is not designed with the objective of forming a public opinion. As a legate from a bygone era, it relies upon the conservation of social and economic status. Whatever the Constitution of the country or the professed values of a seemingly democratic minority, existing education is not a vehicle for citizen's participation in the conduct of affairs, but the realm of a static minority.

Drastic reforms are needed and a resulting long list of problems and possible strategies to follow would be the subject of a different enquiry. Let us just mention a few by way of opening up new vistas that could lead to further research.

Primary education, besides teaching the traditional three R's, could be offered with enough flexibility to make it meaningful and practical to peasants, possible migrants to the city, the poor urban dwellers, middle and upper class groups.

Secondary education could be designed so as to offer the possibility for training either at the "trade school" or at the "pre-university" level. A simple change in graduation certificates could do the trick of raising the status of the trade school students to a "Bachelor". This would also enable the middle and upper class students to acquire a trade school "Bachelor" degree without the loss of social status.

At the university level, reform has to be introduced to give young students the possibility of choosing a field of study, only after they have a fair chance of examining the characteristics and future each one offers, and the needs and opportunities of market's demand. Only with a free and rational choice of careers will the necessary human resources for a changing system be provided. No system, short of intellectual slavery, could force individuals to follow unwanted avocations. No matter how accurately we can forecast the need for specific professionals in the future, any kind of quantitative planning in education would be useless without the freedom of choice.

At all educational levels more resources are needed for training teachers and raising their salaries, giving the poor access to educational institutions, building and equipping laboratories, libraries, student and staff facilities, and promoting research. But any investment to be made will be half wasted if there is not a reform that goes deep into the very nature of education. All alternatives for reforms should then be examined in the light of making every educational experience an opportunity for individual discovery. By being the scenarios where problems are analysed within Colombia's own environment, it will only be then that schools will contribute to the process of finding the people's identity and shattering the bondage of ignorance.

## CHAPTER III

## A PROGRAM FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND PLANNING STUDIES

## Nature and Objectives

A proposal for the creation of an Inter-Institutional Program for Environmental and Planning Studies in Colombia is presented in this chapter as an agent for the creation of awareness, one of the key elements in a model for change of the Social Learning. It is expected that as such, it will induce action in dealing with change, not only in the Colombian educational system, but at every institutional level.

The Program has four purposes:

1. To initiate a change in the Educational System

The task of changing an educational system is indeed a formidable one; the more so if, as I have tried to indicate, this system is the product of a unique set of values. In fact, the task is so difficult that perhaps it would make no difference if any of the elements within the system itself were to be changed in the first place. Whether it is the creation of awareness, the emergence of ideas in good currency, deliberate policies, or action itself which produces change is hard to determine. What is clear is that a first step has to be taken somewhere along the line, even if the decisions to be made at some stage are irrational.



It has been my personal choice, to select Education as the system to be changed in order to deal with development, and the Program proposed as the mechanism within a planning process to effect this change. This choice is based on values which I have tried to justify in previous pages in what I hope is a rational way. Any further discussion for choosing goals and values would be axiological. Now I can only state what the objectives of my proposal are, and I understand perfectly well that any serious objection to them would probably lead to other intelligence mechanisms and strategies to achieve other desired goals.

## 2. To Educate Planners

To deal and guide development, Planners, as synthesizers of problems, coordinators of inter-disciplinary teams, and policy makers, are urgently needed in Colombia. It would seem superfluous to insist on the necessity of planners in undeveloped countries, but their conventional wisdom requires at least one rational motive for this need: when facing poverty the least one can do is to plan what small resources one has, as waste is the last thing that can be afforded.

The question then, is not whether we have to choose between having or not having planners, but rather as to what kind of planning is to be adopted in backward countries in order to avoid some of the pitfalls that developed countries of the Western World

have fallen into. Future planners will surely be in charge of doing precisely this.

The Program will promote the creation of Planning studies for educating these planners at the university level, and, where necessary, provide the academic services that the universities need for this purpose.

3. To provide an environment for deliberation about issues and for the emergence of ideas in good currency.

The Program will provide an appropriate environment in which, from the deliberation among students and professors, important issues will be pin-pointed and, hopefully, ideas will emerge. The inter-institutional and inter-disciplinary character of the Program will be propitious for this enterprise.

4. To create a place for inquiry about these ideas and issues which will lead to norms and guidelines and, eventually, to policies and action to be taken by other institutions.

As an academic mechanism, the Program, together with already existing university research centers, will encourage and promote every means of inquiry into problems, either recognized or rejected. As a service for the community and the country, inquiry and research will lead to the establishment of norms, guidelines, and models which can be translated by other institutions into private and public policies for dealing with change and development.

The main strategy to be used for the creation of the Program will be the concentration of the scarce resources that each university has into one mechanism. Students in planning from various universities, and professors strategically chosen among them will benefit from the Program and will help to effect change in their own institutions and eventually in the over-all educational system.

This strategy is justified in view of the desire of several universities to establish planning studies and at the same time their realization of their incapacity to individually do so because of their lack of human resources and funds.<sup>1</sup>

The nature and objectives of a Program in Environmental and Planning Studies involve other considerations: Underdevelopment faces two problems, one is quantitative and the other qualitative. To begin with, no nation or society should tolerate extreme poverty and hunger. These are quantitative problems looked at differently by contrasting ideologies.

Some Conservatives accept these facts as natural components of human nature and life; Liberals like to find consolation in the belief of a future utopian State which will put an end to these "transient" ills; and Radicals - also believing in utopia - justify violence as a means for changing all institutions which, so they think, are the cause of all troubles. If taken literally, non of these concepts will do.

For one thing, Conservatives should not forget that acceptance of evil does not imply its toleration. As for Liberalism, it is about time for it to realize that the egalitarian society is nowhere to be found, and that poverty and hunger will not be abolished through State control and the centralization of power, as it advocates, and which always leads to despotism. Finally Radicals, their violent strategies used as remedies for society's poverty are not within the realm of reason and do not justify irrational or immoral means towards their ends, no matter how ethical they might be.

In the fight against poverty and hunger, the solution seems to be found in "plugging" moral values into reality and using rationality as a weapon. If Planning is understood in this way - no matter whether it is practiced as the science of "rational decision making" or just as the art of rationally "muddling through" - its importance as an instrument for causing quantitative change becomes crucial.

The second is a qualitative problem. Underdeveloped nations are beginning to realize that development cannot be equated with growth. The problem has been clearly stated by Richard Goodwin in these words:

"The Great Society looks beyond the prospects of abundance to the problems of abundance... Everywhere there is growth and movement, activity and change. But where is the place for man?... The task of the Great Society is to ensure our people the environment, the capacities,

and the social structures which will give them a meaningful chance to pursue their individual happiness... Thus the Great Society is concerned not with how much, but how good - not with the quantity of our goods but with the quality of our lives."<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the Great Society did not really accomplish these objectives does not concern us here. What is important is that, by its example, undeveloped nations have been repeatedly warned of the dangers of placing too much hope on growth and quantity of material things. They have already seen what man is bound to go through when his hopes for a better life are placed on abundance.

The ideals of freeing men from poverty, hunger, and ignorance, through freedom and justice and within the limits of rationality and the constraints of human nature, will shape the hidden goals of the proposed planning process. Before I describe the mechanism and the strategies of the process, a short history of what planning has been in Colombia up to now is necessary.

#### Some History of Planning in Colombia

Although the idea of Planning in Colombia is not new, Planning as a profession or as a field of studies does not exist. The concept of planning was introduced in the country through two different channels. City Planning, better known in Colombia as "Urbanism", was one of the subjects taught at the School of

Architecture of the National University since its foundation in 1935. Although the School was established by young graduates who had studied in France and Belgium under the "Beaux Arts" system and ideology, it was not long before the influence of the architects belonging to the CIAM (Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) group, and especially of its leading urbanist LeCorbusier, began to be felt among students. The first architects to graduate from this school of architecture became quite familiar and sympathetic with "La Charte d'Athens", the CIAM testament, which together with Jose Luis Sert's book "Can Our Cities Survive?" became the first city planner's text books for academic thought and professional practice.

However, the CIAM ideas were nothing else but the same statement of some values highly regarded by the young architects of the 30's and 40's. In fact, these architects never went beyond the idea that Urban Design was the solution for all urban problems. This kind of approach was the natural answer to a society that was asking for solutions from the only professionals it considered to be capable of giving them - the architects.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately but naturally, this approach only led to improvisation and a wide "dilettantism" among these self-made city planners.

The second groups of professionals that introduced the idea of planning in Colombia were the lawyers, who

made the study of economics and economic planning part of the law schools' curriculum. The fact is not surprising if we consider that traditionally the lawyers in Colombia have had not only the role of legal counselors but also financial experts. The first studies in economics in the country were considered therefore as a branch of law and even now some of the law schools offer combined degrees in Law and Economic Sciences.

The main responsible for introducing economic planning studies in the country was a lawyer-turned-economist, the expresident Carlos Lleras, who has been considered as one of the important "reform-mongers" of Latin America.<sup>4</sup> Besides being responsible for the introduction of a new concept of planning in the Public Administration, he founded in 1943, together with the educator Daniel Samper, the first school of economics in a stricter sense of the word.

By the end of the 40's a significant group of graduates from this school were already exerting some influence in the conduct of national economic planning and public affairs. Under the leadership of Lleras and also Lauchlin Currie, they introduced development as an idea in good currency. The group is still remembered in the country as the vigorous and intellectually active "Economistas Jovenes". (Young Economists).

As in many other countries, a wide gap between economic and physical planning has been present from the

very beginnings of the young discipline.<sup>5</sup> During the late 40's two groups of foreign experts arrived in the country almost simultaneously. The first was the World Bank mission headed by Currie (See page 4), which led to the establishment of the Department of Economic Planning, later to become the National Planning Department. This office, the first of its kind in Latin America,<sup>6</sup> was located at the presidential level and its concern was mainly economic development. Its personnel was recruited from the then recently founded school of economics of which Lleras was the first Dean.

In 1949, the Swiss-French architect LeCorbusier was invited to Bogota to draw the first Pilot Plan for the city. This plan, which later became a "definitive" master plan under the direction of Jose Luis Sert and his partner Paul Lester Wiener, gave birth to the Master Plan Office (Oficina del Plan Regulador) a new organization soon to be imitated by almost every city in the country. The Bogota Master Plan Office was organized with recent graduates from the young school of architecture, who also were appointed to head the rest of the Municipal Planning offices in the country.

As it can be seen, the emergence of the two professions in Colombia, economics and architecture, had much to do with the beginning of the planning ideas, be it economical or physical. The results of the still



existing dichotomy between physical and economic planning have been obviously experienced. On the one hand, municipal planning offices established throughout the country under the direction of architects, reflected the concept of planning that this profession holds and, as a consequence, considerably limited their scope of action. In fact, the only contribution of these offices, if it can be called a contribution, was the production of "paper projects", zoning regulations, building codes and guidelines, urban transportation models, etc., that generally resulted in failures whenever implemented because they were not the product of real conditions and needs. It has been often said that it is better to have no planning than to have bad planning; this seems to apply to much of the work that Colombian architects have done in the field of Urban Planning so far.

The kind of planning that economists have been concerned with, on the other hand, has been mainly focused on the national economic issues, (i.e. economic growth, increase of output and income per capita, etc.) which, being instruments and indicators more than goals for development, have distorted the basic idea of the planning process itself. By mixing strategies with desired objectives and by relegating social and political issues to a secondary position, the Colombian economists were responsible for a government policy which, regardless of huge gains made in the country's

economy, jeopardized the very existence of democracy. During the last presidential elections the popular sector, following an ex-dictator leadership, voted against a government that had as a motto, and actually "came up with the goods" of economic development.

These recent political events, plus the fact that urban problems have been mounting vertically during the last few years, have turned comprehensive planning into a new idea which, for many people, offers a better promise for curing Colombia's present ills.

#### The Origins of an Idea

The fact that government institutions, either engaged in physical or economic planning, have been solely responsible for whatever programs there have been in this field, does not mean that other previous efforts have not been made. Individuals, and private and public institutions have had their attention called to the pressing urban and regional problems and to their possible solution through a comprehensive idea of planning.

In 1965, a group of intellectuals and professionals representing centers and institutions where some kind of teaching, research, or action programs were being done in the field of demography assembled at a first Seminar, and in 1968 a second reunion took place, this time with the participation of more than 80 high level people representing 35 institutions engaged in the broader field of urban development. Finally, in May of

1969, a Seminar on Urbanization took place as the result of the promoters desire "to strengthen and institutionalize the various programs developed on education, research, and action, in the area of urbanization".<sup>7</sup>

Papers presented at the last Seminar were edited and published by Ramiro Cardona and Jaime Valenzuela,<sup>8</sup> the two main organizers and coordinators of the Seminars. The papers were related to research now being carried out by several institutions and they are a good indicator of the kind of work that is being done in the field. It can be said that, with the exception of a few interesting contributions, most of the presentations were either mere statements of current urban problems to be found in widely quoted publications, or sophisticated elaborations on foreign models hardly applicable to Colombian problems.

Important conclusion, nevertheless, were finally arrived at and, quoting from the seminars proceedings, I will transcribe the circumstances and considerations that lead to them:

- . "A lack of awareness in relation to the urbanization process among the different concerned fields"
- . "Lack of communication between the programs on urbanization being carried out in the country."
- . "Under-utilization of national and foreign research in this field".
- . "Lack of a theoretical body that could guide institutions in framing their action policies."
- . "Under-utilization of the country's existing trained personnel."

- . Lack of cooperation between the universities and research centers in the one hand, and the community and action institutions, on the other.
- . No evaluation of the meager efforts that have been made up to now.
- . International aid through foreign experts who do not know "the reality of the country"\*
- . Finally, and consequently, the lack of a strategy capable of giving form to research, teaching, and action programs, in relation to the urbanization process."<sup>9</sup>

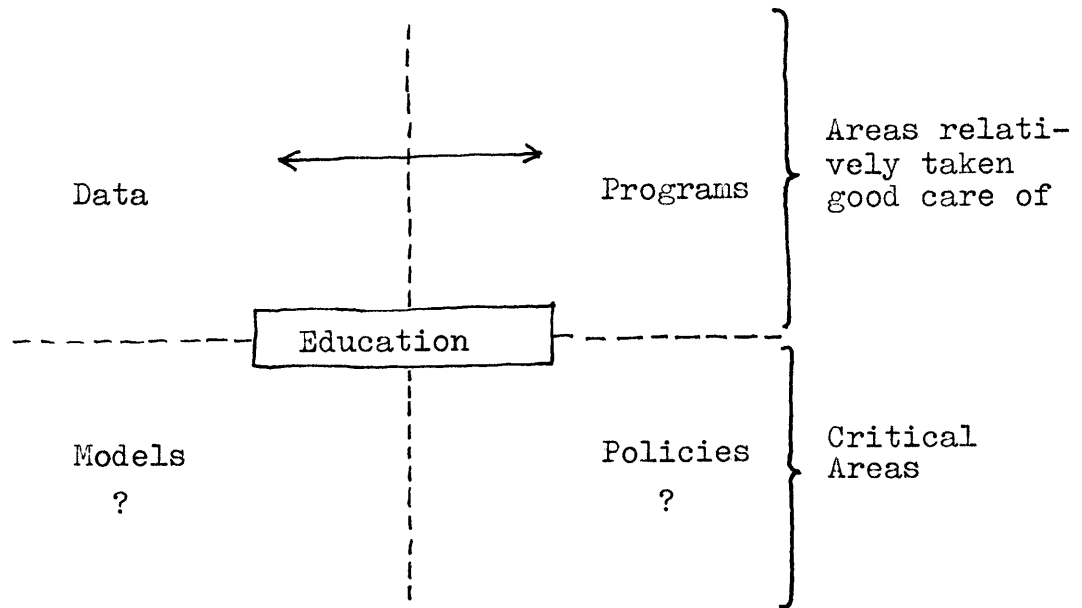
The Seminar arrived at the following conclusions:

- "1 - There are excellent perspectives in the task of improving policies in relation to urban development in Colombia, mainly because of the growing capacity and motivation of research, teaching, and action program of institutions in this field.
- 2 - It is of the utmost urgency to work out a system or program that will help to chanelize this capacity and motivation, promote the development of new programs, and orient future action policies.
- 3 - A Service of cooperation between a feasible maximum number of institutions in the field of Urban research, teaching, and action programs, seems to be the best mechanism to achieve these goals."<sup>10</sup>

In answer to the recommendations of the Seminar, their promoters, Cardona and Valenzuela again took up the lead, and in February of 1970, came out with a concrete proposal for the creation of an Inter-Institutional Service for Urban Studies.<sup>11</sup>

In their own words: "The proposal (for such a Service) as well as its original idea were the product of all interested institutions" which, as they suggest, will become members of the Service. (See Anex 1)

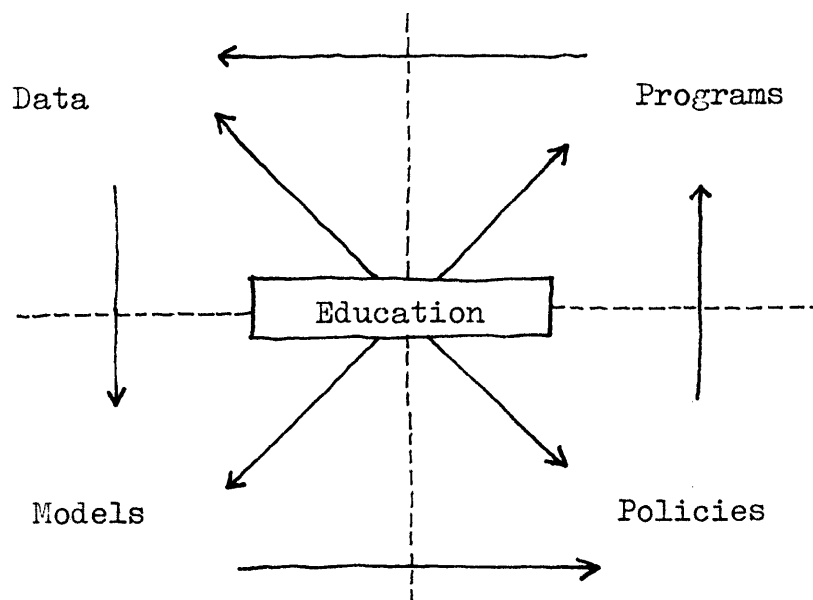
In their proposal the authors, after giving a conceptual frame for the goals they consider desirable, go into an analysis of the present situation in the urban field and an estimate of future prospects for future policies. Their conclusions, which are the foundation for the proposed Service, highlight the absence in the country of data-based research leading to models that permit decision-makers to frame national policies for development programs. The present planning system, they say, only utilizes doubtful data to carry out improvised programs. Accordingly, they point out in their model to two areas where voids are to be found: Models and Policies.



SITUATION AT PRESENT

As they indicate, most urban planning institutions in the country are jumping from the stage in which they collect and select their information to the formulation and implementation of programs.

Their proposal for the creation of the new Service is based on the following statement: "Basically, four types of activities are carried out by the institutions working in the field of Urban Development in Colombia: To state and carry out programs for which previous definition of policies are required, these being based on stated hypothesis and models built on the necessary collection and processing of data. Apart from these four activities, there would be a fifth one: teaching, which covers aspects of all the rest, and which objective is to prepare personnel so that the other four activities can be pursued".<sup>12</sup>



Supposedly Ideal Model.

As it can be clearly visualized, a specific place is assigned to what they call teaching - I would call education - in the structure of the Service they propose. It is indeed an important role that education will play as a unifying element in the group of activities to be carried out by the Service. In such a role and within this described structure of the Service, I have considered the Program I will propose. But before I do so, it is necessary to say that some of the concepts stated by the Service proposal are not shared by this author. Some of these discrepancies will have to be clarified first, as my thoughts about them will surely reflect the Program's objectives and methods.

The blue-print for the Service states:

"...it can be said that the task which urban policies in countries like Colombia must tackle, is that of shortening the gap between an ever increasing population and the available resources to satisfy this increase."<sup>13</sup>

This concept is further reinforced by an elaboration made later in the proposal and based on London Wingo's analysis of Urbanization in Latin America,<sup>14</sup> which definitely gives second priority to the idea of quality when working on development policies for a country like Colombia. This is a quantitative concept of development, which I have repudiated before. To categorize countries according to their Income Per Capita for purposes of education - or for any other purpose - is completely inadequate. This should be

obvious to anyone familiar with Latin American countries, and local planners should know better.

Later on we find the following lines:

"...these policies should be oriented ...towards the promotion of the urban system growth."<sup>15</sup>

Although I am not prepared to disagree with this concept offhand, and in fact there are few scholars who do so now-a-days, the proposition takes for granted that decision-makers will continue to be part of an urban oriented power-structure, which apparently is not the case in some countries where radical changes have occurred lately. The fact that Colombian cities are going through a "peasantization" process and that, to a lesser degree, the rural areas are being urbanized by land reform, mechanization, and easy communications, should give us second thoughts about devising and implementing pro-urban policies and programs, relegating agrarian problems to the background. Actually, the tendency in more developed countries has been the gradual disappearance of a traditional image of the city and the emergence of what has been called "The Urban Field".<sup>16</sup>

Varied opinions held by scholars foreign to the Colombian environment have unfortunately become theories in the hands of local planners. Whatever norms and guidelines are to be applied in formulating new policies for Colombia's development, - and I have been at pains trying to emphasize this point - will



have to be the result of a much deeper and careful inquiry into local problems and conflicts, and the product of continuous deliberation in and about the unique environment of the country.

In the words of Leo Jakobson: "...three basic skills are needed to accomplish this: the art of thought, the art of judgement, and the art of conjecture."<sup>17</sup> The development of such skills will be the most important goal of the proposal for the creation of a Graduate Program for Environmental and Planning Studies.

#### D. The Program

##### 1. Members and Location

The Graduate Program for Environmental and Planning Studies will offer participating institutions a place where people can gather for deliberation and inquiry on the environmental planning process. As such, any higher education institution offering degrees in Planning, Environmental, Regional, or Urban Studies can be a participant in its activities.

As a matter of convenience and for purposes of easy access to a large percentage of the most important universities in the country, the Program will be located in Bogota, with the provision that decentralized courses and activities will be carried out in other cities whenever circumstances ask and permit.

## 2. Administrative Structure

The Program will have a Directive Council consisting of professors and students from each participation institution, chosen by whatever means these institutions consider convenient. This same Council appoint the Director of the Program.

It will be the Directive Council's responsibility to:

- a - Appoint or remove the Director and determine his period of tenancy.
- b - Approve a yearly budget submitted by the Program's Director.
- c - Confirm appointments of the Program's Faculty members, made by the Director, and fix their salaries.
- d - Approve the curriculum of courses and related activities to be offered by the Program.
- e - Deliberate on problems of its own accord or those submitted by the Director.
- f - Take whatever disciplinary action they deem necessary for the normal performance of the Program.

It will be the Director of the Program's responsibility to:

- a - Submit a yearly budget to the Directive Council.
- b - Submit a curriculum of studies to the Council and ask for its approval.
- c - Submit to the Council the names of prospective Faculty members and administrative personnel and get its clearance for appointments.
- d - Submit to the Council any problem he or she considers worthy of deliberation.
- e - Act as liason officer between the Program and its members.
- f - To supervise the Program's personnel, and its work.

### 3. Professors

Two stages are contemplated in the process of appointing professors to the Program. As a first step, a one year Seminar on issues relating to environmental problems and planning will be conducted among prospective members of the Faculty (and prospective students). Candidates from the top professionals and intellectuals in the fields of Physical, Social, Political, and Economic disciplines will be chosen by the Director and the Council.

There should be a strict criteria for the selection of professors choosing them from the best qualified academic, and professional candidates. Receptive, and creative men, will be preferred and an emphasis will be given to their multi-inter-disciplinary origins.

The question arises here as to how these highly qualified prospective members of the Faculty could be lured to join a Program, whose main goals are the creation of awareness and the comprehensive understanding of problems, if they may lack this awareness in the first place. There is on the other hand no apparent reason why they should abandon their present activities and fields of work where, in all probability, they occupy a privileged position.

The initial recruitment of professors becomes a difficult task which has to be accomplished through the use of various strategies such as: the promotion of the innovative character of a new institution where

possibilities for career advancement will be easily found; explicit statements about the loose hierarchical structure of the Program where high status will be achieved through academic rewards; the possibility of tackling individual or team research work in conjunction with their courses; the useful connections that can be established with future sponsoring national and international institutions; the "fashionable" character of the planning profession itself and its high status; the high demand and excellent rewards for planners at top levels of private organizations and public institutions; finally, high salaries at the Program.

The possibility of bringing some foreign professionals and academicians to the Program has to be contemplated because of their excellence as scholars and agents of change. This possibility, however, has two disadvantages: the fields of knowledge of foreign professors is usually too specialized for the kind of education the Program would have in mind - at least during its first stages - and their capabilities would therefore, be greatly under-utilized; secondly, their services would be far too costly for the initial financial capabilities of the Program. A possible alternative to overcome the difficulties in acquiring their services would be to engage Ph.D. candidates from foreign universities as students, researchers, and teachers in the Program. Lower salaries could be paid

to them, and the Program, together with its associated research centers from various universities, would be an ideal place for advancement, especially when these students contemplate the possibility of working later in undeveloped countries. In fact, this is logical step for these students to take at a more mature age, instead of going through an early training in these countries (the Peace Corps is an example) and then becoming foreign experts on undevelopment while living in developed countries where they acquire higher status through a Ph.D. degree.

#### 4. Students

The Colombian educational system, as it has been mentioned before, does not offer the necessary background for students to become "planning specialist". As the Program will not prepare them to be "specialists in planning" or for any specific job, but rather "equip them with sufficient knowledge that will enable them to choose their role intelligently",<sup>18</sup> general, not a specialized education will be used.

This concept is based on the particular character of the planning process in undeveloped countries; factors like the limited tenure of public office, economic and social instability, continuous change in information and the lack of it, etc., make this process a day-to-day enterprise and leave little room for the use of specialized or sophisticated techniques.

I have referred to a very general education inappropriately given at an early age in secondary schools that is to be wasted during professional studies at the Colombian university. Even though strong arguments have been given to the convenience of locating planning studies at an under-graduate level in other countries, it is for the above mentioned reason why location of the Program at a graduate level is considered advisable.

One of the aims of the graduate Program, therefore, will be to make mature students consider the discipline of Planning as a vehicle for "bringing to the forefront, and into the consciousness of governments and of the general public, the importance and desirability of being concerned with (operationally) relationships among people, physical objects, and ecological forces; of trying to see things whole."<sup>19</sup>

Students will be selected for admission to Graduate studies by their universities, according to their previous academic experience and performance, professional experience if any, future possibilities of influencing the system, and the motivation to work and study in the field of Planning - the last judged in personal interviews and the results of previous courses related to the field in the under-graduate level.

Although the selection of students is to be made by their universities or departments, the Program will

advise member institutions, who will hopefully act accordingly, about all admission candidates and related problems.

#### 5. Relation of the Program with Universities

The Program will encourage universities to establish departments or schools of Planning and/or Environmental, Urban, Regional, or whatever related fields they consider feasible and advisable within their own academic structure. These departments and schools will be responsible for the design of a curriculum leading to a Masters degree of Planning, subjected to the approval of the Colombian Association of Universities, as government regulations require of any curriculum of any officially recognized university. The Program will advise the Association as to the suitability of these independent curricula and, with its own courses, will fill the voids to be found in schools or departments. In this sense the Program will be a distributor of courses; in a broader sense the Program's curriculum and methods will be a fountain-head of graduate education.

Arrangements will be made through the Program to make it possible for students of participating universities to "cross-register" in courses offered by all of them. To this end, departments and schools will determine which courses are to be accepted for credit and their credit value, following their individually designed curricula.

The Program will promote and foster the creation of some specialized services in each university. As individually they already emphasize specific disciplines and fields of study, the possibility of having a concentration of efforts in different places (i.e. Urban Design, the Environment, Social and Political aspects of development, Information systems and techniques, etc.) is not only desirable but feasible. (See Annex 2) Cross registration will eliminate the dangers of excessive centralization and decentralization. To use Professor Lloyd Rodwin's phraseology, a "case for concentrated decentralization"<sup>20</sup> will have to be made.

It is not the purpose of the Program to offer advanced degrees or to become a school of planning by itself. On the contrary: its existence as a teaching center will be limited to the time necessary to prepare and train capable teaching personnel so that all interested universities can offer in the future, either by themselves or in an inter-institutional way, complete programs leading to Master's and eventually Ph.D. degrees in Planning. If, and when this happens, the role of the Program will be reduced to a coordinator, extemporaneous promoter of specialized courses, and place for inter-institutional and inter-disciplinary deliberation.

The limited duration of the Program has been formulated on the assumption that decentralization of studies will lead to a healthy and necessary competition among the different universities.



## 6. The Issue Approach

In trying to analyse the urban, regional, or "urban field" systems, the Program will use an issue approach. Courses and seminars will accordingly be based on "conflict"<sup>21</sup> as the unit of analysis.

This method has the following advantages: by relating thought, deliberation, and inquiry, with actual or possible happenings and conflicts, students are motivated by the perspective of looking at reality and making their studies more meaningful. Moreover, taking issues as units for analysis, allows for more objective solutions; in the words of James Q. Wilson, "Looking at issues one is more likely to find pluralism, contention, and bargaining."<sup>22</sup> Finally, the "issues approach" offers the best possibilities for carrying an inter-disciplinary type of education.

The analysis and diagnosis made of the Colombian environment in the first and second chapters of this work, will help us to determine some of these issues, a job that will hopefully be continued by the Program. For the time being and as a result of this previous inquiry, the following issues could be highlighted:

- . City growth - its causes, consequences and desirability.
- . Regions, regional centers and city distribution in the country.
- . Prospects for cities.
- . The control of the environment.
- . Regional and urban transportation.

- . Population growth.
- . Migration.
- . Social mobility.
- . Housing.
- . Squatter settlements.
- . Institutional change.
- . The power-structure.
- . Underdevelopment, underdevelopment, and development.
- . Political popular participation.
- . Institutional popular participation.
- . Political development and party platforms.
- . The Church and development.
- . Agrarian land reform.
- . Urban land reform.
- . Unemployment.
- . Diversification of production and suitability of industries.
- . Colonialism.
- . International trade and aid.
- . Economic policies for development - fiscal and monetary policies, devaluation.
- . Private enterprise and State control of production.
- . Education and Public Opinion.

## 7. Courses

The issues that I have enumerated, and surely others, will be used as themes or vehicles for a central course or workshop to be offered by the Program. The course to be taken every semester during the duration

of studies (which has been provisionally estimated at four semesters) will be a requisite for all planning students of every participant university.

This course will be given in the form of a weekly seminar in which invited speakers from various disciplines and professions will express their own thoughts about the issue under consideration. These presentations will be followed by general discussions on the subject. Another weekly two hour meeting will offer students the chance to discuss topics related to the issue and examine their own work in progress. Individual papers will be required from every student and their content will be discussed with the course Director and with the other students at these last meetings. An example of one of these semester courses is given in Annex 3.

During the second year of the Program, four other courses will be offered:

1. Social and Political Aspects of Development.
2. Economic Aspects of Development.
3. Metropolitan and Regional Planning (2 semesters).
4. Theory of the Planning Process.

Depending on needs and means of the Program and of participating institutions, other courses on Transportation, Public Administration, Social Change, Models, Psychology of the Environment, Theory of Urban Form, City Design, etc., will be offered in subsequent years.

It is expected that many of the courses necessary for a complete curriculum in planning will be offered by individual departments at the universities either to their own or to other students. (see Annex 2) As I mentioned before, the universities and their planning departments will determine their own programs, curricula, duration of studies, degrees conferred, etc., with the Program's advice and the consent of the Colombian Association of Universities.

#### 8. Scale of the Program

Courses and seminars will be limited to 20 students, an appropriate number, especially if personal contact is to be maintained between students and professors, as I consider essential for the course and the student's success. This density of courses give the scale of the Program. It is estimated that at peak operation 100 students will be participating in it.

#### 9. Research

The Program will use the research facilities that participant universities already have. (See note 22 to Chapter II). By being "a place for deliberation and the emergence of ideas in good currency", the Program will generate research. Participating students and professors from various universities will do research either individually or collectively at their own university's research center or at the others' facilities. Hopefully, research will be done on issues being considered by the Program and vice versa.

The Program will facilitate work for Ph.D. candidates from foreign universities in the existing Colombian research centers. Later on, Ph.D. local candidates will have the same opportunity. Computer facilities in the existing research centers are supplied by their university's information system.<sup>23</sup>

#### 10. Library

The Program will advise universities and individual departments of Planning as to their specific needs for acquiring books and periodical publications. Students in the Program will be allowed to consult all the participating universities' libraries.

If an agreement is reached among universities and within the Program's Directive Council, a library will be established in the Program with inter-university funds and donations. Such a library would belong to all participating institutions and possible withdrawal from the Program would not entitle them for compensation.

Although reading in English and French will be required for study at the Program, translations of foreign literature on the subject will be necessary for easier understanding and for possible distribution among the public. Professors will be required to translate basic material for their courses. In fact, this task will have first priority in the initial activities of the Program.

Professors will be strongly encouraged to publish, and students will have to write papers on every course

they take, also with a view for publication. Writing papers for courses is considered of the utmost importance, not only as a source of much needed information but especially as an educational method for fostering initiative and individual discovery.

#### 11. Financing

If the Program is to be initiated with the preparatory seminar in 1971, as it appears to be possible, financing for the first year of operations will have to come almost exclusively from the participating universities and their research centers, as it will probably take longer to receive funds from other sources. Expenses for this period, therefore, will have to be kept to a minimum.

For this purpose, all utilized resources will come from the existing university facilities and personnel. Their initial contribution to the Program will be more in the nature of "species" than funds. Professors will receive their salaries from their own institution; office space, classrooms, and library facilities will be provided by the university too; research centers will give free access to the students at their information systems. In other words, the Program and the universities will behave in the traditional Colombian "extended family" manner.

For the second and subsequent years of operation, it is expected that substantial aid from various sources,

plus a greater participation and contribution of universities, will be received. The other sources for providing the funds necessary for launching the Program in full operation are:

1. Municipalities
2. The Central Government
3. Decentralized Agencies. (ICT, ICETEX, INCORA, etc.)\*
4. Colombian Association of Universities
5. Foreign aid. (AID, Ford Foundation, Etc.)
6. Private Associations. (ANDI: National Association of Industry. Agricultural Society. CAMACOL: Camara Colombiana de la Construcción. Etc.)
7. Research Centers (ASCOFAME, CID, CPU, CEDE, etc.)\*

It is difficult to estimate future budgets now, but as way of illustration, a one year cost estimate of operations is given in Annex 4. A future yearly budget is thus estimated at U.S. \$32,000 - not so large an amount of money to raise, especially when national and international institutions are already convinced by the Program's initial steps and, I hope, by its success. They will realize the importance of their contribution in the context of underwriting an underdeveloped country by supporting a Planning Program already in operation.

A final word about a possible alternative: Even though the establishment of the inter-institutional Service for Urbanization Studies in Colombia (See point C in present chapter) seems to be imminent, and

\*See Annex 1 for the meaning of these

the place and role of the described Program assured within the Service structure, the alternative of having this Program as an inter-university undertaking has been contemplated. For this reason the Service is not mentioned in the final proposal although its contribution to the success of the Program would be valuable.

If the Service becomes a reality, the Program would benefit from being part of its overall structure and its financial and human resources. Otherwise, the urgency of establishing the Program should overpower considerations of making it necessarily a part of a super-structure. As I have pointed out, progress and development are happening, and Planning has to deal with them before it is too late.



TABLE N° 1

POPULATION GROWTH FOR COLOMBIAN CITIES OF MORE THAN 40,000 PEOPLE BETWEEN 1918 AND 1964 AND THEIR RATE OF GROWTH IN THE PERIOD OF 1951-1964. (Population figures given in thousands).

CITY	1918	1938	1951	1964	Annual rate of growth per 1.000 people	
					1951	1964
1 Medellín	79.0	144.1	342.9	717.8	65.5	58.5
2 Bello	6.0	8.0	28.3	85.8	100.5	89.1
3 Envigado	x	6.0	13.3	40.6	92.2	89.6
4 Itagüí	4.0	6.1	11.0	60.3	167.2	139.8
5 Barranquilla	64.0	150.0	276.2	493.0	48.0	45.6
6 Cartagena	51.0	73.2	111.2	217.9	32.8	53.1
7 Sincelejo	x	11.0	21.6	44.0	53.3	56.2
8 Tunja	10.0	16.3	23.0	40.4	25.5	44.3
9 Manizales	43.0	51.2	88.9	190.0	43.6	50.2
10 Armenia	17.0	30.4	57.1	125.0	51.6	62.1
11 Pereira	25.0	30.5	76.2	147.4	72.6	52.1
12 Popayán	20.0	18.0	31.8	58.5	46.6	48.0
13 Montería	x	13.1	23.6	70.5	48.4	87.8
14 Bogotá	144.0	332.5	638.5	1661.9	54.3	76.4
15 Girardot	14.0	23.1	35.5	66.5	35.8	49.5
16 Neiva	x	15.6	33.0	75.8	62.1	66.1
17 Santa Marta	18.0	25.3	37.0	89.1	30.2	69.9
18 Ciénaga	x	22.7	24.3	47.7	5.2	53.2
19 Valledupar	x	3.3	9.0	43.5	78.8	128.8
20 Villavicencio	5.0	6.4	17.3	45.2	80.5	76.7
21 Pasto	x	27.5	48.8	82.5	44.9	41.2
22 Cúcuta	24.0	37.2	70.3	147.1	50.0	58.4
23 Bucaramanga	25.0	42.6	102.8	216.8	71.7	59.1
24 Barranca	x	9.1	25.0	59.6	81.6	69.1
25 Ibagué	x	8.0	54.3	125.2	54.0	66.4
26 Cali	46.0	88.5	241.3	618.2	81.3	75.0
27 Buenaventura	9.0	15.3	35.0	70.0	72.2	54.4
28 Buga	x	19.5	32.0	65.5	35.8	56.6
29 Cartago	x	14.7	31.0	55.6	58.9	45.9
30 Tuluá	x	12.0	28.7	56.5	71.6	53.5
31 Palmira	x	21.3	54.2	106.5	75.0	55.3

x (No information available)

Source: DANE (National Department of Statistics)

TABLE N° 2

POPULATION OF THE 10 LARGEST  
COLOMBIAN CITIES  
1969

1 Bogotá	2,425,000
2 Medellín	1,070,000
3 Cali	917,000
4 Barranquilla	642,000
5 Cartagena	313,000
6 Bucaramanga	305,000
7 Manizales	287,000
8 Pereira	226,000
9 Cúcuta	235,000
10 Ibagué	210,000

Source: Colombian Information Service, Colombia Today, N.Y.1969

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TABLE N° 3

THE 10 CITIES OF COLOMBIA WITH THE  
HIGHEST POPULATION INCREASE RATES  
1918-1964

1818-1938	%	1938-1951	%	1951-1964	%
1 Barranquilla	134	Ibagué	579	Itagüí	448
2 Bogotá	131	Bello	252	Valledupar	383
3 Cali	92	Barranca	175	Envigado	205
4 Medellín	82	Valledupar	173	Bello	203
5 Armenia	79	Cali	173	Montería	199
6 B/Manga	70	Villavicencio	170	Villavicencio	161
7 B/Ventura	70	Palmira	154	Bogotá	160
8 Girardot	65	Pereira	150	Cali	156
9 Tunja	55	Medellín	138	Santa Marta	141
10 Cúcuta	55	Bu/Manga	138	B/Bermeja	138

Source: CIE, Universidad de Antioquia (Published in R.Cardona,Ed.  
"Migración y Desarrollo Urbano". Ascofame, Bogotá, 1970.)

TABLE Nº 4

POPULATION OF COLOMBIA BY RACE, ACCORDING TO  
VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

Authority	Date	Number of inhabitants	Whites	Indians	Negros	Mestizos	Mulattoes
Vergara y Velasco	1778	828,775	24.7	19.7	7.3	-----	48.3
Vergara y Velasco	1810	1,095,000	20.5	15.9	6.6	-----	57.1
Perez	1883	4,000,000	50.0	15.0	35.0	No mixed groups considered	
Census	1912	2,611,147	32.5	8.6	10.2	-----	48.7
Census	1918	5,855,077	28.1	8.7	9.3	-----	53.9
Rosenblatt	1945	9,206,283	23.6	1.6	4.5	46.0	24.3
Banco de la República.	1963	15,000,000	20.0	2,2	6.0	47.8	24.0

Source: Lynn Smith, "Racial Composition of Colombia" Studies of Latin American Societies, Doubleday & Co., N.Y.1970

TABLE Nº 5

AMOUNT AND VALUE OF SOME  
AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

	1966		1967	
	Quantity	U.S.\$(000)	Quantity	U.S.\$
Cotton	4,520,127 Kg.	2,176	30,011,042 Kg.	15,355
Sugar	113,930,400 Kg	8,257	176,465,278 Kg	11,256
Coffee	5,564,450 (60 Kg.Bags)	328,256	6,091,535 (60 Kg.Bags)	332,372
Bananas	15,138,845 (Bunches)	19,998	325,581,603 Kg	25,003
Tobacco	13,147,705 Kg	5,551	11,944,344 Kg	4,390
Timber	32,993,236 Kg	2,192	68,992,538 Kg	3,211

Source: Revista del Banco de la República  
Bogotá, March 1967 and 1968 Issues

TABLE Nº 6

PERCENTAGE ANNUAL GROWTH  
OF MANUFACTURING, 1950-65

Year	Increase in the manufacturing product
1950	---
1951	---
1952	7.0
1953	9.1
1954	9.3
1955	6.8
1956	7.4
1957	4.6
1958	4.4
1959	8.3
1960	6.2
1961	6.0
1962	6.8
1963	4.8
1964	5.9
1965	4.7

Source: National Accounts, Bank of the Republic. U.N.  
Economic Commission for Latin America. Economic  
Bulletin for Latin America, October 1967.p.96

TABLE Nº 7

## COLOMBIA: PRODUCT AND REAL INCOME, 1950-1969

(In millions of pesos a 1958 prices. In 1958  
One U.S. dollar=Four Colombian pesos.)

Year	Gross domestic product	Annual growth rate
1950	14,688.8	---
1951	15,146.6	3.1
1952	16,102.0	6.3
1953	17,081.0	6.1
1954	18,262.3	6.9
1955	18,976.0	3.9
1956	19,745.7	4.1
1957	20,186.2	2.2
1958	20,682.5	2.5
1959	22,128.6	7.0
1960	23,041.8	4.1
1961	24,179.0	4.9
1962	25,396.0	5.0
1963	26,238.0	3.3
1964	27,812.3	6.0
1965	28,701.7	3.2
1966	29,964.6	4.4
1967	31,163.2	4.0
1968	33,033.0	6.0
1969	35,345.3	7.0

Source: National Accounts, Bank of the Republic. ECLA.  
Economic Bulletin for Latin America, October 1967, p.95  
Data for 1966-67-68 was gathered from the Revista  
del Banco de la República, various issues.

TABLE Nº 8

## YEAR TO YEAR PRICE DECLINE FOR RAW MATERIALS

## IN THE WORLD MARKETS

Cacao	-27 per cent	(1955-56)
Coconut Oil	-26	(1960-61)
Coffee	-21	(1958-59)
Copper	-33	(1956-57)
Copra	-29	(1960-61)
Jute	-29	(1961-62)
Rubber	-27	(1960-61)
Wool	-29	(1957-58)

Source: Peter B. Kennen, "International Economics", Englewood  
Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1967, p.100

TABLE Nº 9

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS  
REGISTERED IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC  
INSTITUTIONS (1968)

	Primary Education	%	Secondary Education	%	Higher Education	%
Public	2,213,405	80	272,794	46	33,938	54
Private	520,027	20	313,910	54	28,906	46
Total	2,733,432	100	586,704	100	62,844	100

Source: National Educational Census. 1968. (Octavio Arizmendi Posada, "La Transformación Educativa Nacional". Bogotá Ministerio de Educación. 1969

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TABLE Nº 10

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING PRIMARY  
AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN URBAN AND

	RURAL AREAS	URBAN AREAS
Primary Education	1,734,663	998,769
Secondary Education	955,529	36,953
Total	2,690,192	1,035,722

(These figures include Nursing School and kindergarden for the Primary education, and specialized secondary education.)

Source: National Educational Census. Arizmendi Posada, Op.Cit.

TABLE Nº 11

EDUCATION BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS  
IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Background Studies	Number of teachers	%
Primary Education	5,302	10.0
Secondary Education	18,451	35.0
Teachers College	23,613	44.8
University	1,112	2.1
Education(University degree in)	1,005	1.9
Secondary Technical	3,268	6.2
Total	52,751	100.0

Source: DANE . General Statistics Annual, 1962

TABLE Nº 12

NUMBER OF GRADUATES ACCORDING TO PROFESSIONAL FIELDS

Professional fields	1920-63	%	1956-59	%	1960-63	%
Engineering	6,819	15.0	1,195	14.0	2,569	17.1
Agriculture	2,077	4.6	276	3.2	773	5.2
Medicine	13,328	29.3	2,734	32.0	2,955	19.7
Exact and Natural Sciences	3,077	6.8	567	6.7	1,234	8.2
Education	2,538	5.6	591	6.9	1,160	7.7
Law	10,622	23.3	1,633	19.1	2,690	17.9
Social Sciences	3,191	7.0	646	7.6	1,904	12.7
Art and Architecture	1,273	2.8	332	3.9	543	3.6
Humanities	2,558	5.6	566	6.6	1,194	7.9
Total	45,483		8,540		15,022	

Source: ICETEX: "Recursos y Requerimientos de Personal de Alto Nivel", Bogotá, Imprenta del Banco de la República. 1964

TABLE Nº 13

YEARLY  
ESTIMATED COST OF EDUCATION  
PER STUDENT

Primary School	42.00	(U.S. Dollars)
Secondary School	155.00	
Vocational School	210.00	
Teachers training	210.00	
University	700.00	
University Technical and scientific careers:	From 700.00 to 1,500.00	

Source: United Nations, "Education, Human Resources, and Development", N.Y. 1968

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TABLE Nº 14

PARTICIPATION OF PUBLIC AND  
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN  
HIGHER EDUCATION

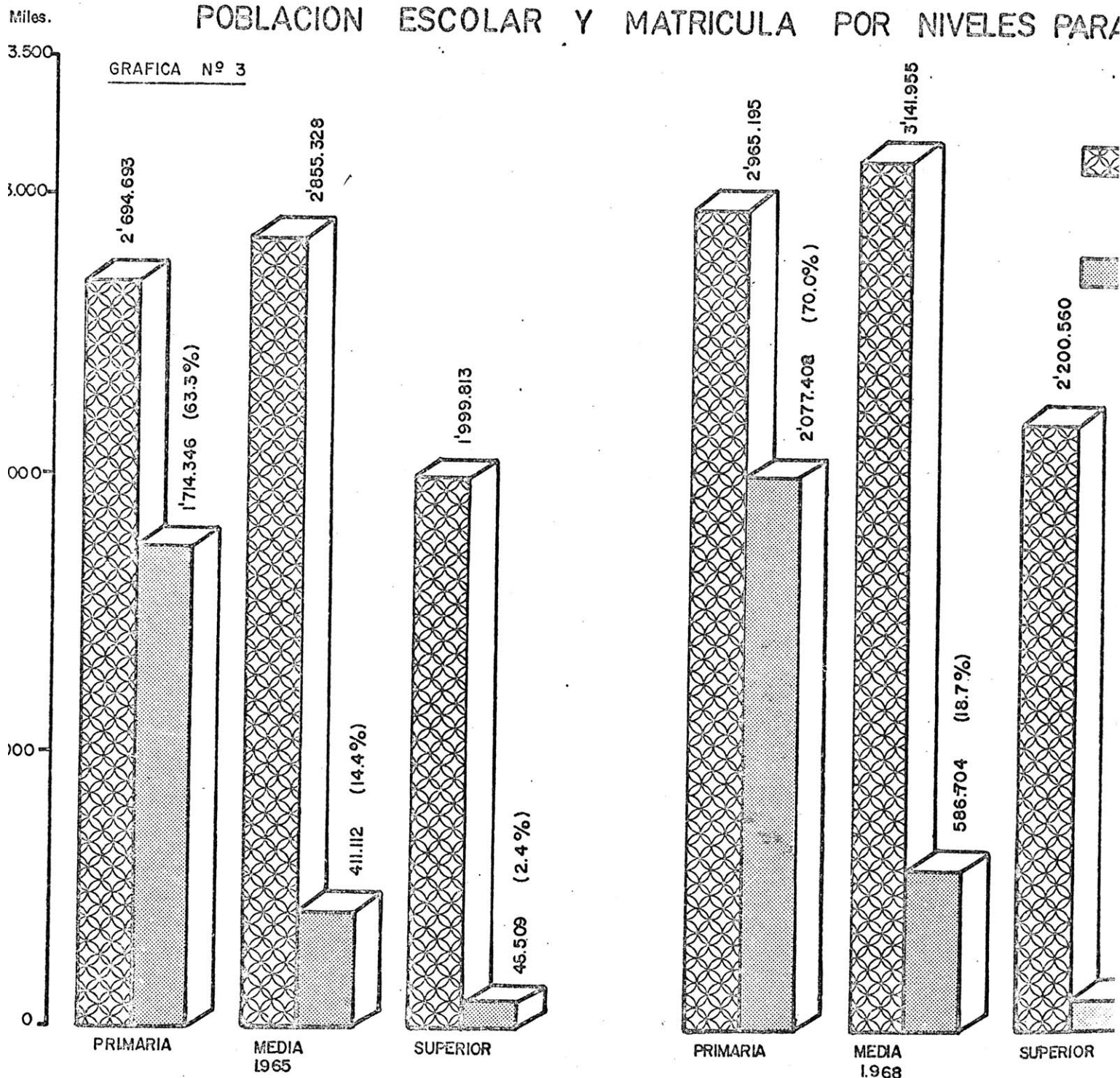
Year	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN INSTITUTIONS	
	Public	Private
1950	71.8	28.2
1955	62.1	37.9
1960	58.4	41.6
1962	57.3	42.7

Source: Icetex, Recursos y Requerimientos de Personal de Alto Nivel, Bogotá, Imprenta del Banco de la República, 1964, p.41

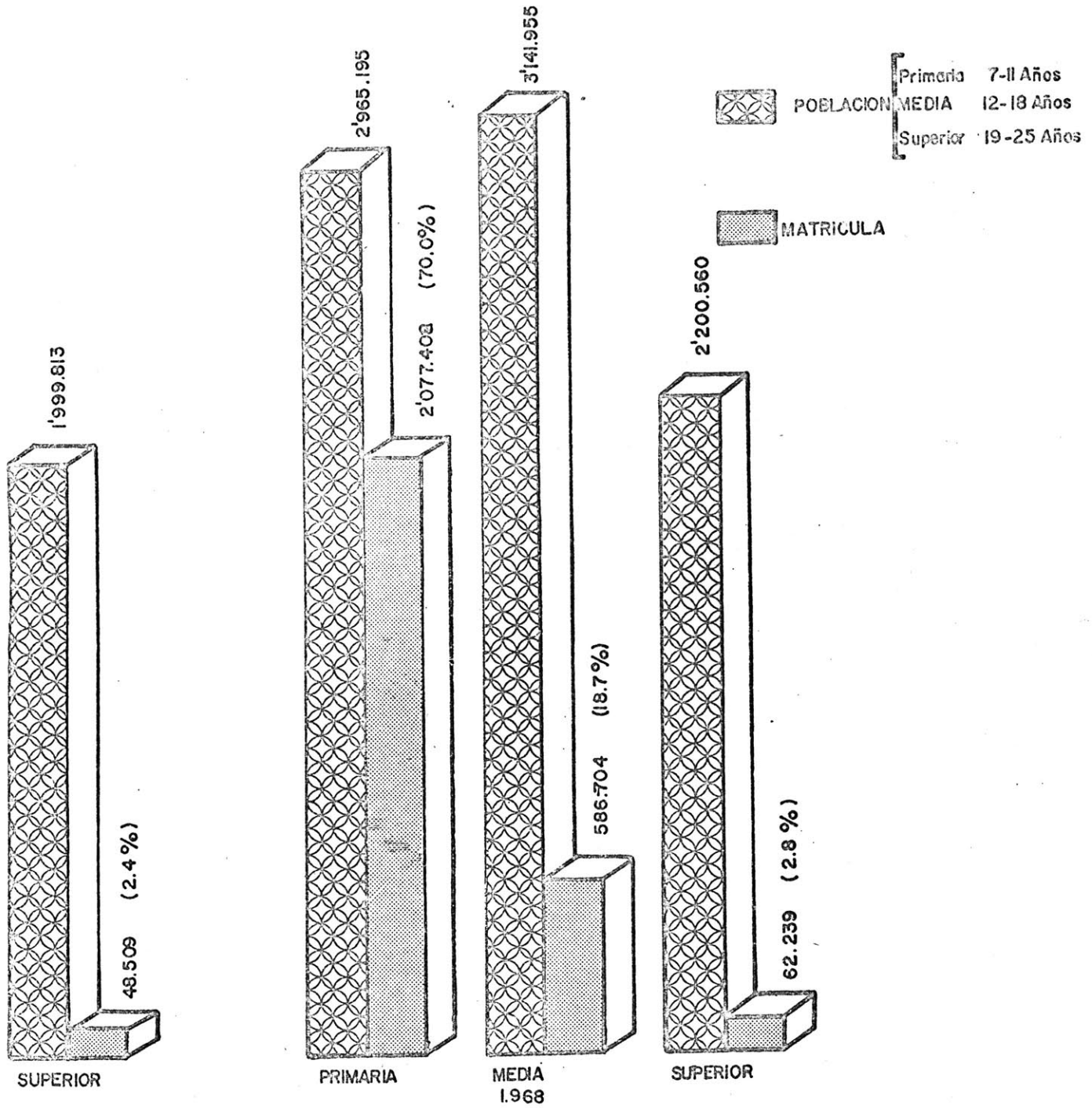


# POBLACION ESCOLAR Y MATRICULA POR NIVELES PARA

GRAFICA Nº 3



# ESCOLAR Y MATRICULA POR NIVELES PARA 1965 Y 1968



# RETENCION Y DESERCIÓN DE LA POBLACION ESCOLAR Y FLUJO HACIA EL MERCADO DE TRABAJO.

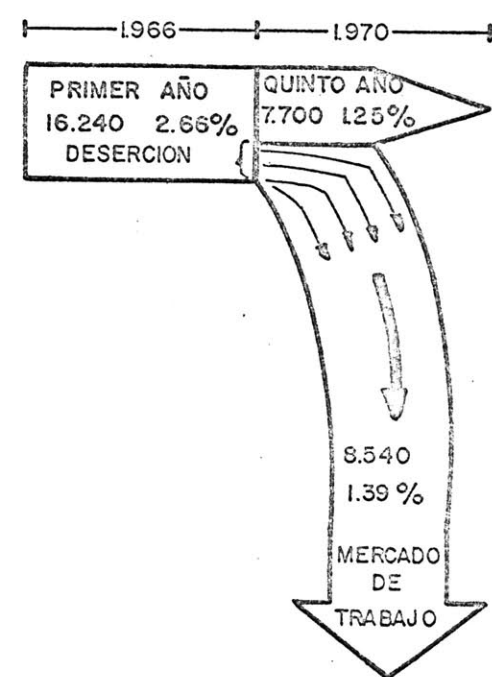
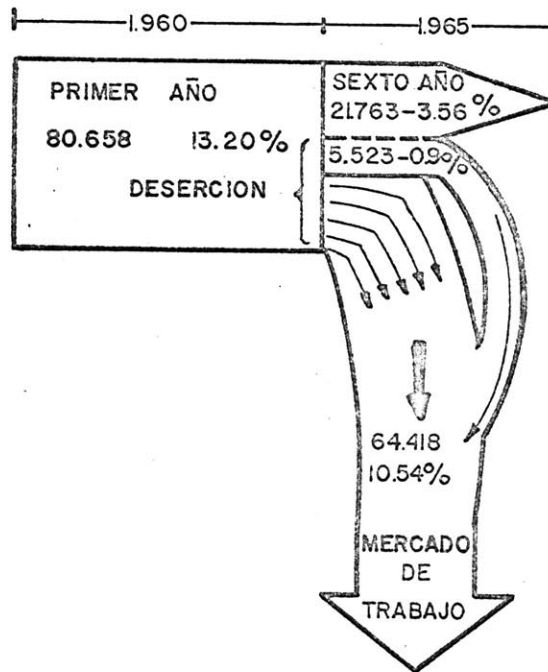
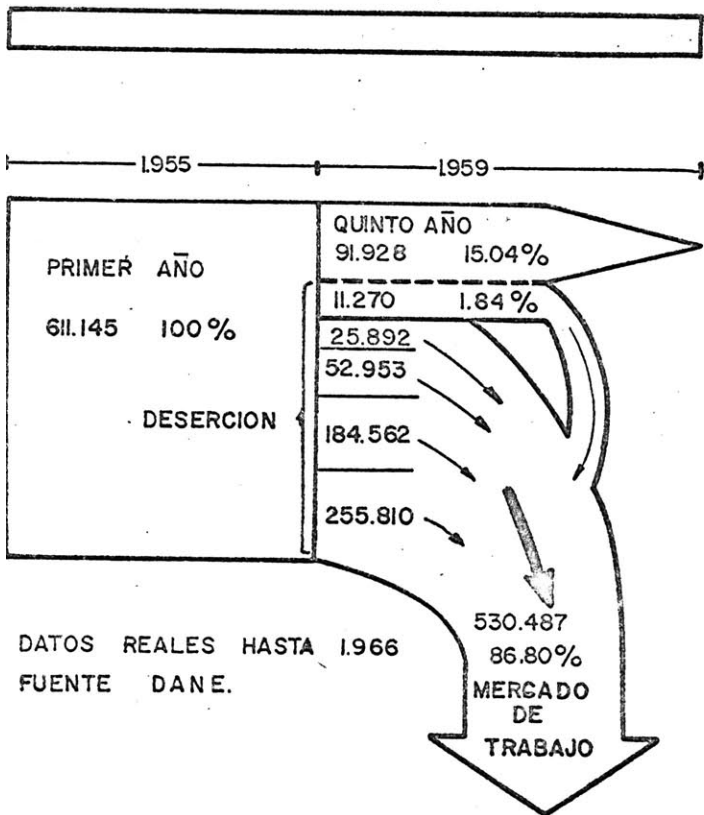
GRAFICA Nº 4

1.955 — — — 1.970

## PRIMARIA

## MEDIA

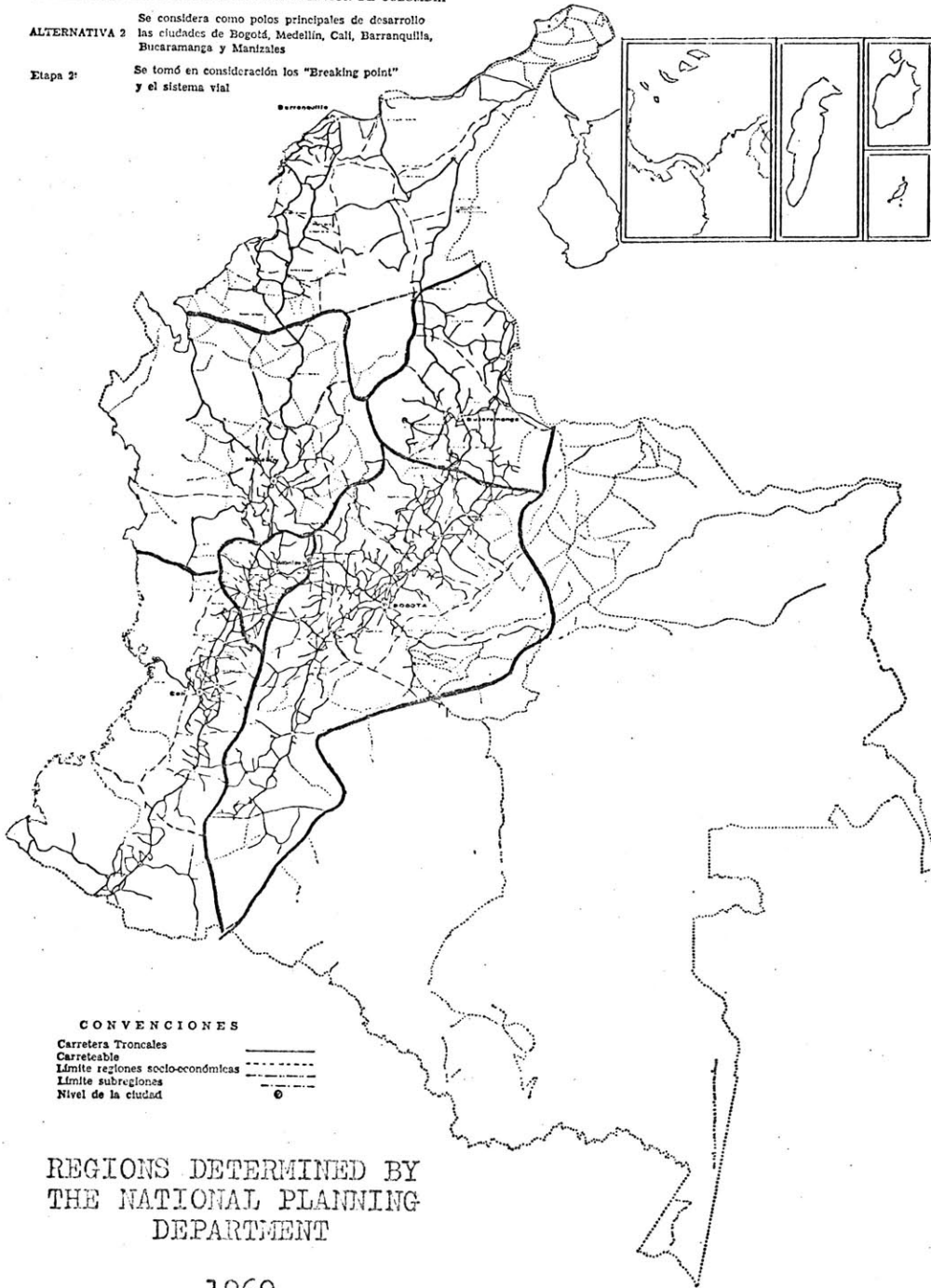
## SUPERIOR

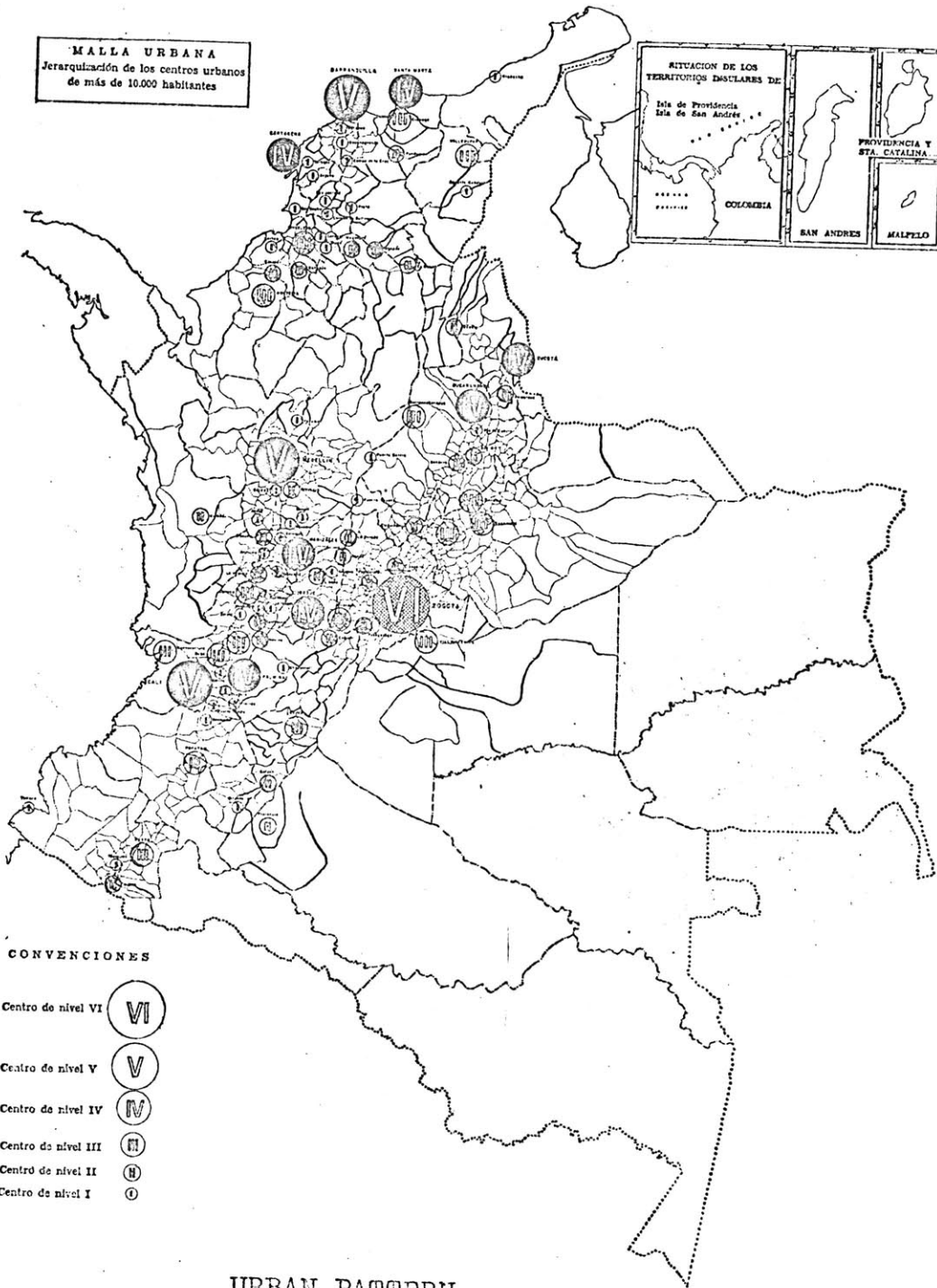


PRIMERA APROXIMACION DE LA REGIONALIZACION DE COLOMBIA

ALTERNATIVA 2 Se considera como polos principales de desarrollo las ciudades de Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga y Manizales

Etapa 2: Se tomó en consideración los "Breaking point" y el sistema vial





URBAN PATTERN  
AND  
RANK OF CITIES OF MORE  
THAN 10,000 PEOPLE. 1969

## ANNEX 1

INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE COLABORATED TOWARDS  
THE CREATION OF THE INTER-INSTITUTIONAL  
SERVICE FOR URBAN STUDIES

## 1- UNIVERSITIES

Universidad Javeriana  
Universidad Nacional  
Universidad de los Andes  
Universidad de América  
Universidad del Valle  
Universidad de Caldas  
Universidad de Cartagena  
Universidad de Antioquia  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

## 2- PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Ministry of Health  
Instituto de Crédito Territorial ( I.C.T. )  
Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria ( INCORA )  
Banco Central Hipotecario ( B.C.H. )  
Planeación Nacional  
Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE)  
Instituto Colombiano de Especialización Técnica  
en el Exterior ( ICETEX )  
Planeación Municipal de Bogotá  
Caja de Vivienda Popular de Bogotá ( C.V.P. )  
Instituto de Vivienda de Cali ( INVICALI )  
Empresas Municipales de Cali  
Empresas Municipales de Medellín  
Codesarrollo de Medellín  
Oficina de Erradicación de Tugurios de Cartagena

## 3- PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

Organización Corona  
Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina ( ASCOFAME )  
Centro Colombiano de la Construcción  
Asociación Nacional de Industriales ( ANDI )  
Fundación de Estudios de Población de México

## 4- INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Cornell University  
United Nations  
Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo ( BID )  
Ford Foundation  
Agencia Internacional de Desarrollo ( A.I.D. )  
Rockefeller Foundation  
World Bank

Population Council  
Federación Panamericana de Facultades de Medicina  
Sociedad Internacional de Planificación  
Programas Internacionales de Población ( P.R.B. )  
Centro Interamericano de Vivienda ( CINVA ) O.E.A.  
Organización Interamericana de Cooperación Internacional  
Federal Commission of Housing

## ANNEX 2

SOME COURSES RELATED TO PLANNING  
GIVEN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF "LOS ANDES"  
AND AT THE JAVERIANA UNIVERSITY

## ECONOMY

Colombian Economy \*  
Contemporary Economy \*  
Human Resources and Demography \*  
Economic Development \*+  
Economic Planning \*  
Public Finance +  
Social Economy +  
International Trade +  
Economic Geography +  
Planning and Economic Development +

## SOCIAL SCIENCE

Rural Sociology +  
Urban Sociology +  
Methods of Research +  
Human Geography +  
Principles of Demography +  
Principles of Anthropology +  
Social Psychology +  
Methods in Social Work +

## POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Public Administration \*  
Political Process \*  
History of Political Ideas \*  
International Politics \*  
Political Development \*  
Regional and Municipal Government \*  
The Role of the Military in Latin American Politics \*

## TECHNIQUES

Computer Methods \*  
Computer Simulation \*  
Industrial Organization and Sociology \*  
Game Theory \*  
Decision Theory \*

## PHYSICAL PLANNING

There are not advanced courses offeres in this field.

\* University of "Los Andes"  
+ Universidad Javeriana



## ANNEX 3

## SAMPLE OF A ONE SEMESTER "ISSUES" COURSE

Issue: MIGRATION

- 1st. Session Nature of the course and of the issue to be studied. Explanation of meetings and schedule to be followed.
2. Demographic Aspects in Colombia. Human Geography.
3. Rural Areas vs. the City.  
Why do peasants migrate to Urban Areas?
4. Rural Areas, their environment and their future prospects.
5. Communications and their impact on Migration
6. Social status and social organization of rural people. Economic life.
7. Migrants in the City. Economic, Social, and Political participation of migrants in Urban Areas.
8. Squatter Settlements.
9. The Church and Migrants in Urban and Rural areas.
10. Migrants and their access to institutions.
11. Education in Urban and Rural areas.
12. Participation of migrants in the urban labor force. Skills.
13. Presentation and discussion of individual papers.
14. Presentation and discussion of individual papers.

## ANNEX 4

SAMPLE BUDGET FOR A ONE YEAR FUTURE  
OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM. (In Colombian pesos)

1 Director of the Program \$15,000 a month	\$ 180,000
3 Half Time Professors \$ 7,000 a month each	252,000
4 Teaching assistants \$ 2,000 a month each	96,000
2 Secretaries \$ 2,000 a month each	48,000
1 Messenger \$ 1,000 a month	12,000
Library books and periodicals	40,000
Office supplies and services	12,000
Office space and other facilities for teaching provided by the participating universities.	
	<hr/>
Total	\$ 640,000

The equivalent in U.S. dollars  
is around \$ 32,000

## NOTES

## CHAPTER I

## THE ENVIRONMENT

1. "Historically speaking, European colonies in the new World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be divided into two general classes, which have been designated by some economists as farm colonies and exploitation colonies. A brief consideration of their significance may serve as a useful background to a study of the institutions of the Spanish Empire in America and will make clear that physical or geographical circumstances in the New World, and the kind of natives found there, conditioned the formation of settlements and to some extent the types of society created. It will also help to account for the kinds of institutions developed, or at least for the spirit in which these institutions were permitted to function." ( C.H.Haring, "The Spanish Empire in America", New York, Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc. 1947. p.27)
2. See: Brian J.L.Berry and William L.Garrison: "Alternate Explanations of Urban Rank-Size Relationships" in: Annals of the American Association of Geographers, March 1958, p.93
3. "Colombia in effect, is a federation of city-states that are the reflection of the isolation imposed by the Andes." (The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac, 1970, p.765)
4. For a detailed discussion of Growth Pole Centers, (Pôles de Croissance), see: F.Perroux "Note sur la Notion de Pôle de Croissance", Economie Appliquée, Vol.8, N.1 and 2-1955, pp.307-320. Also: L'Economie du XXème Siècle, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964, Deuxième Partie, Chap.2-7
5. Lloyd Rodwin, Nations and Cities, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970, p.XII
6. Ibid, p.7
7. See: Richard M.Morse, "Latin American Cities" in Friedman and Alonso Ed. Regional Development and Planning, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1964. p.369
8. Cardona and Simmons, "Urbanización, Migración y Marginalidad", Bogotá, Ascofame, 1969
9. The term "peasantization" is widely used by Joel M. Halpern in: The Changing Village Community, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1967

10. See specially: J.J.Johnson, Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors, Stanford University Press, 1958, and Pan American Union: Materiales para el Estudio de la Clase Media en América Latina, Washington, 1950-51, 6 volumes.
11. For an explanation of Hoselitz ideas, see: B.F. Hoselitz, "Economic Growth in Latin America", a paper presented at the First International Conference on Economic History. (Stockholm, August 1960) and published by Unesco in Contributions..., Paris, Mouton and Co.1960
12. Luis Ratinoff, "The New Urban Groups", in Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari, Ed. Elites in Latin America, New York, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.67
13. Anthony P. Maingot, "Social Structure, Social Status, and Military Conflict in Urban Colombia", in:Thernstrom and Sennett, Ed. 19th.Century Cities, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1969
14. This definition of"elite" is given by Lipset in the Introduction to Elites in Latin America, Op.Cit.
15. Eduardo Santos, Una Política Liberal, Bogotá, Editorial Minerva, 1937, p.32
16. Recent publications continue to insist on the Elite as the unit of analysis. See specially: Peter Amato, An Analysis of the Changing Patterns of Elite Residential Areas in Bogotá, Colombia. Ph.D. Thesis presented at Cornell University, Ithaca.1969
17. These ideas were expanded in a paper by this author: "A Reappraisal of Social Categorization in Latin America" M.I.T. 1970
18. For a thoughtful and complete analysis of education in Latin America see: U.N. Education, Human Resources, and Development in Latin America, New York, 1968
19. Martin C, Needler, Political Development in Latin America, New York, Random House, 1968
20. For an interesting discussion on the meaning of Political Development see: Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development, Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1966, Chapter II
21. The term "alienated voter" has been used by Edward C. Banfield in The Unheavenly City, Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 1970

22. See documents prepared by the Second General Conference of the Latin American Roman Catholic Episcopate in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968
23. Nelson A. Rockefeller, The Rockefeller Report on the Americas, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1969, p.31
24. For a detailed account of Ivan Illich's and other Catholic "rebels" see Francine du Plessix Grey: Divine Disobedience, Profiles in Catholic Radicalism, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1970
25. Colombia's per capita exports at the beginning of the Century were less than one third of Chile's and one fifth of Argentina's. (From "The Economic Policy of Colombia in 1955-66", Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Oct.1967. Washington. U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America.
26. Lauchlin Currie, Accelerating Development, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966, p.153
27. Currie, Op.Cit. p.163. For a well documented account of the Colombian Land Reform process, which the advocates of peaceful change should find fascinating, see: Albert Hirschman, Journeys Towards Progress, New York, The 20th Century Fund, 1963. The book shows how by patient and stubborn insistence during more than 30 years, Colombian legislators were able to introduce the Land Reform Law in the country's Constitution.
28. In the case of coffee for example, which accounts for 17% of the domestic agricultural products and for two thirds of the total value of Colombian exports, there are 250,000 farms of which 60% have an area ranging from one to ten hectares, and these account for 26% of the total production. More than one third of the states are "minifundios" of less than one hectare, and they produce 6% of the coffee crop. (Information to be found in Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Oct.1967
- 28A The draft law on Housing and Urban Development (Proyecto de Reforma Urbana) was presented to Congress on September 25, 1969. For a critique of the law proposal see: Bonnie Mae Lindquist mimeographed paper, "A Critique of the 1969 Colombian Urban Reform Law Proposal". M.I.T. June 1970
29. Lauchlin Currie, Op.Cit.p.194
30. Ibid, Table 11, p.183

31. See: Alfredo Navarrete Jr. and Ifigenia M. de Navarrete "Underemployment in Underdeveloped Economies", in Agarwala and Singh, Ed. The Economics of Underdevelopment, New York, Oxford University Press, 1963. p.342
33. Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society, New York, Vintage Books, 1964, p.116
32. For a closer account of innovation as part of a "socio-technical" system, see specially: Elting E. Morison, Men, Machines, and Modern Times, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press 1966. Also, Donald Schon, Technology and Change, New York, Dell Publishing Co. 1967. A thorough study of innovation as part of social change is to be found in H.G. Barnett Innovation, The Basis of Cultural Change, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964
34. Donald Schon, Op.Cit.
35. Lauchlin Currie, Op.Cit. p.193
36. John Sheahan in "Imports, Investment, and Growth", Gustav F.Papanek, Development Policy, Theory and Practice, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968
37. Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Op.Cit.p.94
39. The Rockefeller Report on the Americas refers to this phenomenon in the following words:"For example, the producer of a raw material, which could be beans for soluble coffee, might ship the raw material duty-free and get \$1.00 a pound. If he processes the beans, he might get \$1.50 a pound and pay 20% tariff- not on the added value but on the full price. Thus the protection to the United States producer would not be 20%, but 30 cents of the 50 cents added value, or an effective rate of 60 per cent." Nelson Rockefeller, Op.Cit,p.73
38. U.N. Trade and Development, Final Act Report, New York, 1964, p.10
40. See: Survey of the Alliance for Progress, A Case History of U.S. Aid, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate Washington, February 1st. 1969, p.103
41. Time Magazine, Bussiness Section, March 23,1970
42. Alexander Hamilton,"Report on Manufactures", quoted from Peter B.Kennen, International Economics, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1967, p.97
44. Harold Dunkerley,"Exchange-Rate Systems" in Papanek, Ed. Op. Cit. p.172

45. I refer here to the National Planning Office, created in 1951, whose main achievements have been: "Performance budgeting since 1961. General Economic and Social Development Plan 1962-70. Four-year public investment Plans. (ECLA, Economic Bulletin for Latin America, Op.Cit. pp. 1-17
46. Lauchlin Currie, "Reorganización de la Rama Ejecutiva del Gobierno de Colombia", Report of a mission headed by Currie, Bogotá, National Press, 1952
47. Milton Friedman has become the main supporter of this thesis. See: Capitalism and Freedom, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962
48. For a defense of this thesis see: John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1967
49. For two arguments on the controversy see: Friedman and Heller, Monetary vs. Fiscal Policy, A Dialogue, New York Norton and Co.Inc. 1969
50. The term is used by Ragnar Nurkse in, Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries, New York, Oxford University Press, 1967
51. Quoted from Edward Boorstein, The Economic Transformation of Cuba, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1968
52. Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1969
53. Paul A. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1957
54. Lauchlin Currie, Accelerating Development, p.202
55. The New York Times. December 8th. 1969 issue.

## CHAPTER II

### EDUCATION

1. For most of the figures that I use in the quantitative information in this first part of the chapter, I employ the data given by Octavio Arizmendi Posada, Minister of Education, in his latest publication, "La Transformación Educativa Nacional", Bogotá, 1969. This data is the result of the last Education Census of 1968.
2. Currie, Accelerating Development, p.197

3. The italics are mine. The quotation is to be found in: Lester Pearson, Partners in Development, New York, Praeger, 1969
4. Arizmendi Posada, Op.Cit. p.59
5. Hla Myint, "Education and Economic Development", a paper presented at the VII Latin American Congress of Sociology, Bogotá, June 1964
6. United Nations, Education, Human Resources, and Development. p.66
7. Ibid, p.65
8. Daniel Bell, Reforming of General Education, New York Columbia University Press, 1966. Introduction.
9. U.N. Education, etc. p.95
10. Aldo Solari, "Secondary Education and Elite Development" in Lipset and Solari, Ed. Op. Cit. p.460
11. Arizmendi Posada, OP.Cit. p.39
12. U.N. Education, etc.p.2
13. For an explanation of these models see: H.Otto Dahlke, Value Orientation, Social Models, and Education, in "Values in Culture and Class-room, New York, Harper and Bros. 1958, pp.41-66
14. The distinction was made by Mark van Doren who wrote in "Liberal Education" about it. (Boston, Beacon Press, 1959, pp.5 and 6
15. C.H. Haring, Op.Cit. p.214
16. "A vast majority of Latin American Universities belong to the type known as 'Napoleonic-Professionalizing', in other words to a type created by the inspiration of a pragmatic, liberal, and secular mentality." (Luis Scherz-García, "Relations between Public and Private Universities" in Lipset and Solari, Ed. Op.Cit, p.383
17. Alfonso Borrero, S.J. "Estructura Académica y Administrativa", Bogotá, Universidad Javeriana, 1967, p.12
18. Arizmendi Posada, Op.Cit., p.61
19. Darcy Ribeiro, "Universities and Social Development" in Lipset and Solari, Ed., p.359



20. The last Educational Census of 1968 reports:" In respect to library services for exclusive use of students, only 25.1% of the total schools have this service and only 21.1% actually have a library room. Private Schools are in a better position as 47% of them have libraries, whereas only 16.5% of Public Schools have not" (Arizmendi Posada, Op.Cit., p.110)
21. Most scientific research done in Colombia during this period was done by two private citizens working on their own: Francisco José de Caldas and José Celestino Mutiz.
22. Some of the main university Research Centers are:
  - CID. (Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo, Universidad Nacional.)
  - CEDE. (Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico. Universidad de los Andes.)
  - C.P.U. (Centro de Planificación y Urbanismo. Universidad de los Andes).
  - ASCOFAME (Asociación de Facultades de Medicina)
  - CIE (Centro de Investigaciones Económicas. Universidad de Antioquia.)
  - IIE. (Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Javeriana.)
23. For a study of Research Priorities see: Waldemiro Bazzanella. "Priority Areas for Social Research in Latin America" in :Unesco, Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America, Paris, Desclée & Cie, 1963
24. In the case of private universities, cost of education is generally higher than the income of the university. More than 80% of the budget is made up by tuition fees and the contribution of the State towards private education is practically negligible.
25. Quoted from the preface by Bertrand M. Gross to "Social Indicators"; Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1966
26. As an example, CID is presently engaged in doing research in Urban Policies for the new Government of Colombia.
27. "...it is estimated that expenditure for research in Latin America amounts to only 0.2% of G.N.P....Comparable figures for the Soviet Union and The U.S. are 4.2% and 3.2% of G.N.P. respectively. (Lester B. Pearson, Op.Cit., p.66)

## CHAPTER III

## A PROGRAM FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND PLANNING STUDIES

1. So far, the Javeriana University, the National University, the University of Los Andes and the University of El Valle, have tried to initiate programs in Planning without success. Only the last one had a Graduate Program for a few years, which, unfortunately had to be suspended.
2. Richard N. Goodwin, Address to visiting foreign students at the District of Columbia Armory, July 20, 1965
3. For an appreciation of the architects influence on City Planning, see: Françoise Choay, L'Urbanisme, Utopies et Realités, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1965
4. Albert Hirschman dedicates his book Journeys Towards Progress to Carlos Lleras, whom he calls a "reform monger".
5. A similar situation in England is described by Lloyd Rodwin in Appendix A to his book, The British New Towns Policy, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, pp.187-201
6. The Office was founded under the Conservative Government of 1951
7. Ramiro Cardona, Jaime Valenzuela, and Ethel Rodríguez, Ed. Migración y Desarrollo Urbano, Bogotá, Ascofame, 1970, p.16
8. Ibid.
9. Cardona and Valenzuela, Propuesta para la Creación de un Servicio Inter-institucional para Estudios sobre Urbanización en Colombia, Bogotá, Ascofame, p.37
10. Ibid, p.41
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid, p.14
13. Ibid. p.1
14. Lowdon Wingo, "Recent Patterns of Urbanization Among Latin American Countries", in Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol.II N°1 (March)
15. Cardona and Valenzuela, Op.Cit., p.1

16. The term was used by John Friedmann and John Miller in "The Urban Field", JAIP, Vol.31 N<sup>o</sup>4, Nov.1965, pp.312-320
17. Leo Jakobson, Toward a Pluralistic Ideology in Planning Education, in Urban Planning in Transition, New York, Grossman, 1970, pp.274-275
18. Jakobson, Op.Cit., p.267
19. Harvey S. Perloff, Education for Planners, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1957
20. Lloyd Rodwin, "Metropolitan Policy for Developing Areas." The Case for Concentrated Decentralization, in Rodwin, Ed. The Future Metropolis, New York, George Braziller, p.173
21. The words "conflict" and "issue" are related by James Q.Wilson in his discussion about the units of analysis of the city. See:"We Need to Shift Focus" in Edward C. Banfield, Ed., Urban Government, New York, The Free Press, 1969, p.30
22. Ibid, p.30
23. There are computer facilities (IBM 360) at the University of Los Andes and at the National University.