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It is appropriate, after concluding the Decade of Development, to take stock of where the study of development has taken us and where it has gone wrong. That it has gone wrong is painfully obvious given the meager results of efforts to improve the quality of life in most third world countries as well as the attempts on the part of advanced capitalistic countries to enhance the life chances of their less-advantaged sectors. A portion of these mistakes may be attributed to methodological errors in the part of those engaged in the study of development. The present paper attempts to review some recent approaches to the study of development and suggest what future steps are needed to develop a clearer understanding of the issues and approaches to developmental concerns.

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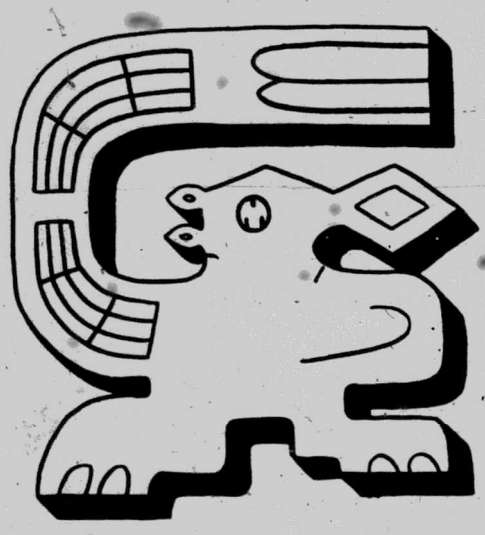

Methodological Issues in the Study of Development

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METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT*

by

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I. THE STARTING POINT: DEFINITION

It is appropriate, after concluding the 'Decade of Development', to take stock of where the study of development has taken us and where it has gone wrong. That it has gone wrong is painfully obvious given the meager results of efforts to improve the quality of life in most third world countries as well as the attempts on the part of advanced capitalistic countries to enhance the life chances of their less-advantaged sectors. A portion of these mistakes may be attributed to methodological errors on the part of those engaged in the study of development. The present paper attempts to review some recent approaches to the study of development and suggest what future steps are needed to develop a clearer understanding of the issues and approaches to developmental concerns.

All too frequently during the 'Decade of Development' the major challenge facing the world was defined as increasing gross national product or disposable income per capita. Clearly, many argued that development should not be equated with economic development and economic development should not be equated with growth. Yet, in practice, this was what really occurred. Countries were classified as developed or underdeveloped on the basis of per capita income. Since many of the advanced capitalistic countries of the West headed the list under this definition of 'development', it was relatively easy for scholars from these countries, either consciously or unconsciously, to equate 'development' with Westernization under the label of modernization (Huntington, 1971).

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discussion is that most U.S. sociologists trained in the U.S., are socialized into the equilibrium approach as part of their training in the field. If one accepts the philosophical tenets of the equilibrium approach development issues become reduced to technical solutions to the problem of increasing rates of growth. Assuming that relations are essentially harmonious and that inequities are part of life and the State exists to minimize (but never eliminate) inequities, there is no need to study the big questions. Therefore, there is a tendency to develop models of how to change individual behavior rather than institutions. Some individuals will change sooner than others (because they have more control over resources?) and will consequently, receive a greater share of short-run profits but these new income streams are accessible to all in the long run. The State, being benevolent, will assure that this occurs in the long run. Peter Sober is a benevolent dictator but Peter Drunk is a despot. A big question such as who keeps Peter Sober is rarely asked under the equilibrium approach because the problem is assumed away.

Three sub-categories of the equilibrium approach will be presented. Two of these (the behavioral and psychodynamic) are inherently models about individual behavior and not about macrosystems. Yet the authors of these models and their proponents claim that these models will resolve key development problems. How can models to explain and change individual behavior resolve key development issues? They can if one believes the key assumptions of an equilibrium approach. Institutions as embodied in the State are inherently 'good'; man requires restraining and control. Thus, the key development problems involve individual behavior.

For our purposes, the broad categories of equilibrium and conflict approaches are the starting points for the classification of approaches to the study of development. As noted earlier, within these two broad divisions, there are internal divisions. Therefore, I have sub-divided the equilibrium approach into behaviorists, psycho-dinamicists and diffusionists and the conflict approach into structuralists-non Marxist and Marxist. A word of caution is still needed however. Any classification system is a research device. It does not exist in its pure form in reality. Nevertheless, to assist the reader I have classified some major sociological works into these five categories to aid in identifying the differences in approach.

Table 2 presents the five categories, their major assumptions and concepts and indicates works that fall into these categories. Another point should be clarified. The assumptions listed in Table 2 do not

TABLE 1. *Differences in Assumptions Between the Equilibrium and Conflict Approaches to Development**

Issue	Approach: Equilibrium	Approach: Conflict
1. Interests	Uniting	Dividing
2. Social Relations	Advantageous	Exploitative
3. Social Unity	Consensus	Coercion
4. Society	System with Needs	Stage for Class Struggle
5. Nature of Man	Requires Restraining Institutions	Institutions Distort Basic Nature
6. Inequality	Social Necessity	Promotes Conflict and is Unnecessary
7. State	Promotes Common Good	Instrument of Oppression
8. Class	Heuristic Device	Social Groups with Different Interests

* Derived from Lenski (1966), Dahrendorf (1958), Van den Berghe (1963) Horton (1967) and Adams (1967).

include those in Table 1. That is, the three different approaches *within* the equilibrium model are assumed to share those mentioned for that approach in Table 1. Thus, the assumptions in Table 2 are at a lower level but differentiate the sub-approaches within the equilibrium model. The same holds for the two different approaches under the general conflict model.

A. The Behaviorist Approach (An Inherently Individual Approach).

The major tendency of the behaviorlist approach is to draw upon one or more learning theories for their concepts and measures (Bandura, 1969). The following central assumptions have been developed and presented by Kunkel (1970, p. 23).

1. Individuals are subject to conditions of physiological deprivation and satiation.

2. Some types of deprivation and satiation are learned and have a cultural origin.

3. The effectiveness of action varies directly with the level of deprivation and inversely with the level of satiation of the individual.

4. If in the past, in a certain context, a behavior pattern has been rewarded, the possibility that the same behavior pattern will be emitted in the future, under similar circumstances, is increased.

5. The converse is also true, past behavior that was punished is less likely to recur under similar circumstances.

TABLE 2. *Major approaches to the Study of Development with Attendant Assumptions and Concepts*

Types of Approaches to the Study of Development	Major Assumptions	Frequent Concepts
I. EQUILIBRIUM MODELS		
A. Behavioral Kunkel (1970), Lipset (1967), Homans (1961), Parsons (1960), Erasmus (1961), Eisenstadt (1966)	Individuals suffer deprivations that are contextually determined; behavior can be changed at any time, development will occur through new learning experiences.	Modernization, learning curves, internalization, deprivation attitudes, values, rationality, adult socialization, intra-generational change.
B. Psychodynamic Hagen (1962), McClelland (1961)	Early childhood socialization largely predetermines future behavior which may impede innovativeness, cleavage between individual behavior and current social environment; development occurs through new socialization patterns.	Personality, backwardness, childhood experiences, status withdrawal, intergenerational change, modernization.
C. Diffusionist Rostow (1971), Hirschman (1958), Barnett (1953), Rogers (1969), Hoselitz (1960), Levy (1966)	Simplistic dualism-societal cleavage based on degree of use of modern technology; development occurs through new capital and technological inputs.	Diffussion curves, rates of change for ecological units, lagging sectors, productivity, technological growth, modernization.
II. CONFLICT MODELS		
A. Structuralist-Non Marxist Dahrendorf (1959), Heilbroner (1963), Prebisch (1970)	Impossible to predict historical outcomes; no revolutionary upheavals necessary for development, parties represent class interests to seek new equilibriums under Pareto-better solutions; moving equilibriums, class formation not related to mode of production; rate of change dependent on intensity and violence of class conflict.	Pluralism, conflict, conflict-management, strata, means, ends, institutional reform, power, structural dualisms, structural change.

B. Marxist Szentes (1971), Mafeje (1970), Baran (1957), Dos Santos (1970), Sunkel (1970)	Mode of production underlies economic actions and class structure; at level of social formation various classes may be present depending on group's relationships to means of production; if tendency to move to a two-class structure occurs at level of social relationships, there will be a change in the mode of production. Changes related to intersocietal historical relationships in the development of the mode of production.	Imperialism, ownership of the means of production, concentration of resources, proletarianization, pauperization, class formation, class consciousnes, class struggle, development.

6. The specific components of rewarding and punishing consequences of actions are functions of the social context and may be expected to vary among individuals and over time.

7. The major implication for development analysis, and especially for the formulation of action programs, is that *behavior can be changed at any time.*

8. By judiciously altering those aspects of the social environment which constitute rewards and punishments, it is possible to alter behavior patterns and to initiate or accelerate social change.

Such a set of assumptions concerning change leads to the use of the concepts indentified in Table 2. These concepts lead in turn to a certain set of research questions. Examples of these research questions are:

1. What are the principal reference groups employed by a given individual?
2. To whom, or to what group, does the individual take his cues for behavior?
3. To what extent does the individual feel relatively deprived in relation to his significant others?
4. What action does the individual take to reduce his feelings of relative deprivation?
5. How is deviance viewed by the significant others?
6. What are the legally defined limits of deviation?

7. What are the socially acceptable norms of evasion that the individual may employ?
8. What are the relationships between social values and innovative behavior?
9. How is innovative behavior rewarded or punished?
10. What role do the major political institutions play in changing legally defined rewards and punishments?

B. The Psychodynamic Approach (Another Inherently Individual Approach)

The psychodynamic approach emphasizes man's internal state and explains behavior in terms of his internal characteristics. Kunkel (1970, p. 19) again has provided us with a summary of the general propositions employed by sociologists who subscribe to this approach.

1. Men are born with certain internal elements such as drives, needs, instincts, libido, etc.
2. Societal norms and values are internalized and may limit or modify some of these elements.
3. The resulting combination of original and modified elements, together with internalized societal factors, form an internal state usually called personality, which is the major determinant of action.
4. A stimulus impinging upon a person causes a state of tension (or disequilibrium) in the internal state (which is unpleasant).
5. Behavior is a consequence of the individual's and personality's tendency to return to a state of equilibrium (which is pleasurable).
6. The social context which is introduced into the system is that of childhood.
7. Thus, the internal state, much of it unconscious, is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change in later life.
8. Consequently, an individual's actions are often quite independent of his adult social environment.

The methodological problems involved in this approach have been well documented by all those who criticize the validity of psychoanalytic techniques. It is worth noting that the ultimate defense employed by the adherents of this position is that those who haven't been trained in psychoanalytic techniques are unqualified to criticize which, to me, appears as dogmatic as those who argue that if you are not an orthodox Marxist you are a revisionist. In any event, the sorts of questions asked by these researchers are indicated by the following list.

1. What were the early childhood experiences of the individual?

2. How were these experiences internalized and organized into personality?

3. What sort of internal responses (anxiety, rage) do current social contexts trigger?

4. What are the consequences of these internal tensions on the part of adults for the socialization of the succeeding generation?

5. What sort of intensive, individual treatment is required in order to make adults responsive to developmental needs?

6. What have been the long run trends (over several generations) with regard to personality formation?

The methodological issues raised by this approach are intricate and complex but their severity may be stressed. First, the internal state cannot be studied directly. Most of its components are devoid of empirical referents. Current research procedures do not provide measures of many of the internal processes assumed to be operating (Kunkel, 1970, p. 22).

Secondly, the causal relationships between observed behavior and the assumed characteristics of the internal state are almost impossible to validate. Consider the following passage from Hagen (1962, p. 136).

> There is a still more subtle and compelling reason for his partial identification with his father. Along with his love and admiration for his father, the boy is jealous of him and hates him. But if he perceives that his father loves and values him, this hatred and jealousy cause the boy to feel guilt... To protect himself from this guilt and fear of rejection, he incorporates into his own personality standards of conduct which he believes to be those of his father. By doing so (a) he tries to prove to himself that since he is like (or is) his father, he cannot really hate his father, and so need not feel guilty, and (b) he tries to reassure himself that since he is his father, his father does not really wish to reject him.

The empirical referents for this sort of speculation regarding the internal state of the boy are difficult to imagine.

C. The Diffusionist Approach

Most sociologists employing the diffusion approach subscribed to the equilibrium assumptions outlined in Table 1. Thus, they view interests of all members of a given society as essentially uniting and current institutional arrangements controlled by a government that is attempting to promote the common cause. Consequently, the introduction of a new technology, either foreign or indigenous, may cause temporary imbalances that will soon be restored to a new equilibrium that embodies a more equalitarian distribution of benefits.

This approach, while adhering to the general tenets of equilibrium

theory, represents an entirely different approach to development. The major differences in the diffusionist approach are summarized by its adherents' central assertions.

1. The central problem in development is increasing productivity.

2. Development occurs largely through the spread of certain cultural patterns and material benefits from the developed to underdeveloped areas.

3. Within each underdeveloped nation a similar diffusion occurs from the modern to the traditional sectors.

4. The traditional (or backward) sector serves as a brake on the modern sector and, thus, limits development.

5. The major characteristics of the backward sector which inhibit over-all development are capital shortages, traditional attitudes, and low levels of functional literacy.

6. In order to assure rapid acceptance of modern techniques one should increase knowledge of their effectiveness and increase the risk-taking behavior of their potential users.

In many significant ways, it may be more correct to identify the diffusionist approach as a variant of the behaviorist camp. In fact, if my emphasis were on strictly theoretical underpinnings, I would have classified it as such. In addition to the points listed above, most diffusionists would subscribe to those outlined for behavioralists. Nevertheless, with regard to research emphasis, they give much more attention to the above points. The sorts of research questions they ask are indicated in the following list:

1. What is the technological inventory of a given society or sector of society?

2. Within a sector, or society, what are the traditional areas?

3. How does a new technique become diffused?

4. Who are the early adopters of new techniques?

5. How do the early adopters vary in their social and economic characteristics from later adopters?

6. What is the major source of new techniques? Are they national? Or are they diffused cross-culturally?

7. What sort of a technological inventory is required for a society to be classified as modern?

There is probably no other area in sociology that has as full a repertoire of measurement and analytical techniques as the diffusionist approach. They have borrowed successfully from almost all areas of social and physical sciences for research designs, statistics and analyt-

ical approaches. Experimental designs have been frequent (Rogers, 1969).

The major issue in the diffusionist area is related to our starting point – what is development and how does it proceed? For example, it is commonly assumed that progress has occurred through the spread of the material and cultural advances of the modern sector to the traditional, and that the former contributes to the latter. This underlies Hirschman's (1958) notion of linkages between leading and lagging sectors; and Rostow's (1971) 'take-off' is initiated by the transmission of 'expansionary forces' from the primary growth sectors to other [illegible] sectors. At the cultural level, the spread of 'modern' entrepreneurial attitudes is generally thought to stimulate development in traditional sectors (Hoselitz, 1960).

Two recent critiques of these assumptions argue the exact opposite (Gunder Frank, 1967 and Bodenheimer, 1970). These critiques point out that some studies indicate that the developed sectors have blocked progress in the traditonal sectors and have advanced materially only at the expense of and through the exploitation of the latter. Human and material resources have diffused backward to the modern areas, causing a decapitalization and impoverishment of the less developed areas (Stavenhagen, 1968). The same sort of a relationship holds for the flow from underdeveloped countries to the advanced capitalistic countries (Gunder Frank, 1969, p. 315-8). These issues take us logically into the other major approach to development studies.

D. Structuralist-Non Marxist

Table 2 adequately presents the main characteristics of this approach. Its principal ones are presented by Dahrendorf (1958).

1. All units of social organization are continually changing, unless some force intervenes to arrest this change.

2. Change is ubiquitous.

3. Conflict is ubiquitous.

4. Societal conflict is a creative force.

5. Societies are held together not by consensus but by constraint, not by universal agreement but by the coercion of some by others. There is a distinctly liberal bent here. There is a basic acceptance of the extant structure of the state and economy, thus revolution is not indispensable for freedom, nor is conflict avoidable. Nevertheless, institutions could fetter individual freedom. When this occurs conflict arises which then becomes the motor for *reform* which will restore, for a time, the individual's political, civil and social rights.

Some of the questions asked by the adherents to this approach are:

1. For any given point of time, what different groups are in conflict?
2. What are the different interests of these groups?
3. What are the authority relations between these groups?
4. What are the dependency relations between the conflicting groups?
5. How intense is the conflict?
6. How violent is the conflict?
7. What are the coercive forces attempting to contain the conflict? What arbitrations are under way?
8. What have been the historical results of previous conflict resolution?
9. Whose liberties are being infringed? Who is defending these liberties?
10. What are the organizational variables that are brought into play in the attempt to change dependency relations and, thus, power relations?

E. The Marxist Approach

There is a fundamental difference in approach as taken by Marxists with regard to development. Our concern, herein, is not to fully outline the approach but, rather, to highlight this fundamental difference. First of all, Marxists tend to conform much more closely to the ideal-typical characteristics of the conflict approach outlined in Table 1. For them, these assumptions are based on demonstrable, objective facts of history. Man has exploited man; the State does represent and attempt to maintain the dominant class position; and the institutions promulgated by the State do fetter the majority of the broad masses in the historical development of the pre-capitalist and capitalist systems. Thus, the approach is truly structural and causes of development are sought in the institutional arrangements themselves and not in strictly individual characteristics. The sorts of research questions asked are indicated in the following list. In preparing this list, I have drawn heavily on Zeitlin (1967, p. 152-155).

1. What is the nature of the economic order and, within it, the sphere of production of the society in question? For example, how does new technology affect the level of production? Is unemployment rising or declining? To what extent are the main changes generalized or localized?
2. What are the major classes and how are they located in the economy? What are the objective interests of the main classes and

strata? For example, do the direct producers own or control the tools and other means of production? Does there exist an economic surplus of material goods over and above the subsistence requirements of the producers? Who has control of the surplus? How is it used and which classes benefit most directly from it?

3. Are class members aware of their objective position in the economic structure and the extent to which it determines their life chances?

4. What form does conflict take among the main classes? Within the classes?

5. What is the role of the *lumpen proletariat*? How does its existence affect the other classes? Which classes exploit its existence for their own political ends?

6. Which parties are in power? What is their relationship to the respective classes? Who controls the military, the police, etc?

7. What is the tendency toward concentration of resources? Who controls these resources? What proportion of these resources are controlled by international interests?

8. How do the external relations of a society affect its development?

The above should be sufficient to indicate the basic methodological differences in this approach. The objective is to view men in the totality of their social relations. In the other approaches to development, there was a tendency for society to be taken for granted and ignored. In the Marxian approach, the amassing of small truths about the various parts and aspects of society can never yield the big truths about the social order itself or, as Baran and Sweezy (1966, p. 3) indicate, "how it got to be what it is, what it does to those who live under it, and the directions in which it is moving. These big truths must be pursued in their own right and for their own sake".

Herein lies the nub of the methodological problems of Marxism and, I believe, of the problems confronted in the study of development. For if development is defined so as to include basic social justice or as Marx put it 'the liberation of man', then one must study society in its totality and how men are fit into this totality.

The critical issue facing researchers who wish to study development utilizing a total approach is to determine what the essential elements are that should be included in the analysis. The two questions to be asked are: 1) What is the precise problem being investigated, and 2) what are the essential elements of the problem?

These, of course, are not new problems. They are at the very core of scientific analysis. Hegel (1837, p. 65) presented the problem in these

terms: "In the process of scientific understanding, it is of importance that the essential should be distinguished and brought into relief in contrast with the so-called non-essential. But in order to render this possible we must know what is *essential*". Scientific methodology has no mechanical solution to these issues. In fact, in a very significant (and, I believe, healthy) sense each individual researcher is allowed to resolve the issue of what is essential on his own. His only obligation is to report the steps he took in reaching this decision, that is, what he disregarded and why.

In every day practice, the problems of what to study and what is essential in studying it are generally referred to as conceptualization. The hypotheses formulated and tested, and the conclusions drawn are checked against the data of experience (Dewey, 1938). To understand the achievement of a particular scientist, or group of researchers, we must try to identify their conceptualization, where it came from and how they developed their inferences. This was the object of the previous section of the present study. Unfortunately, in too much of modern sociological research, the stages of the research process are considered to be simply that – stages. Once the initial conceptualization is completed it is set aside. Inconsistent data in the analysis stage are rationalized away or ignored without requestioning the initial conceptualization. In the study of total relations, this cannot be tolerated. Conceptualization can never end; it must be a dynamic process that is present in every step. Every piece of data must be evaluated with regard to its consequences for the initial conceptualization. This, I believe, is the only way in which one can begin to determine what is essential and what is not and, thus, contribute toward an integrated study of development.

After our initial determination of what the problem is and what its essential elements are, we are faced with the question of how to proceed. It is often argued that Marx employed an abstract-deductive method. In present day terms he employed the method of successive approximations which "consists in moving from the more abstract to the more concrete in a step-by-step fashion removing simplifying assumptions at successive stages of the investigation so that theory may take account of and explain an ever wider range of actual phenomena" (Sweezy, 1968, p. 11).

What is involved in this approach is the specification of the problem at its most abstract level; then deducing what should be the observable consequences at successively lower levels. It does not imply that

findings at each lower level are not employed to redefine the original abstraction.

The key question involves how to develop macro-level understandings when almost all of our data sources are drawn from the micro-level. In my own thinking I have found an often-overlooked article by Mills (1953) to be of great value. He argues that only by moving grandly on the macroscopic level can we satisfy our intellectual and human curiosities. But only by moving minutely on the molecular level can our observations and explanations be adequately connected. We must shuttle between macroscopic and molecular levels in instituting *and* explaining – "developing the molecular index structure of general concepts and the general conceptual implications of molecular variables" (Mills, 1953, p. 271).

To me, Mills has adequately expressed the challenge, as others before him have expressed it. As indicated in the first section of the present study, sociology, with but a few notable exceptions usually from non-Western countries (Dos Santos, 1970; Sunkel, 1970; Szentes, 1971 are examples), has largely ignored the challenge. Hopefully, future sociologists will not.

What is being called for is a recasting of the various pieces of knowledge that we have concerning development into an applied, integrated approach. This process must begin with a definition of development that looks at societal goals and how we achieve them. Based on this definition, it is necessary to decide what key concepts must be incorporated into the model and how they are interrelated. In drawing upon previous studies we must determine what is significant, which is, in part, determined by the definition of development and the initial conceptualization. However, as analysis proceeds this conceptualization may require modification. And finally, we must integrate these pieces of knowledge not only into a total picture of the development process but, at the same time, indicate at what level change may proceed. These, I believe, are the key problems we are facing and those which we must address in this seminar. And I believe the Marxist approach will provide the greatest insights regarding how to best approach these problems.

DEMONSTRATING THE DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH

There is no successful way to conclude a paper that, perforce, has had to briefly outline a series of different approaches and, then, suggest a number of problems with each approach. A conclusion of

a truncated analysis is not very satisfactory. Consequently, I will briefly describe the current situation of a given country, indicate the sorts of relevant issues that might be considered in development, and finally indicate which of these issues would 'normally' be considered by each of the five approaches outlined in the present study. The country to be considered is Colombia, South America.

There is no doubt that Colombia is a capitalistic country that has eliminated almost all vestiges of its earlier mercantilist and dualistic economic structure. Even the poorest peasant is tied into the over-all economic structure through the market. However, Colombia's economic history presents some interesting differences in how the transition to capitalism occurred.

Until the cultivation of coffee, there was very little accumulation of capital in Colombia. During the colonial period, most economic surpluses were sent to Spain. Immediately following political independence, what wealth was generated was tied to crops produced for export – tobacco, indigo, and quinine. These crops were developed and exploited by strictly national owners in rather isolated localities to such an extent that pockets of wealth were localized while the hinterland lived in the most abject squalor of poverty.

During the middle 1800's there was no notion of a national economic policy. Those who controlled the production of the export crops largely governed themselves, obviously for their own gain. Large landowners enjoyed a wealth of leisure but very little capital accumulation. Political parties emerged on rather sterile polemics and pure ideology, but quickly began to protect economic interests as the national economy developed.

Local and national industry was emerging almost in spite of the overall economic chaos. Artisan industry was growing and profitable by 1850. Also the commercial sector was developing. And, of course, there existed the latifundistas who were friends of the colonial economy with its feudalistic structure. As long as the national government, controlled entirely by the ruling class, took no direct economic decisions, these diverse economic interests were largely latent. It wasn't until free exchange was established that these economic interests emerged into political issues. The commercial sector favored free exchange, the artisans and small manufacturers favored protectionism, and the latifundistas favored maintaining the colonial structure.

Free exchange was imposed and many artisans and small manufacturers were forced to change their economic activities. They became coffee growers.

Coffee production was quite different from earlier export crops. First of all it was not regionally isolated but covered all parts of the mountainous area of Colombia which was the area most heavily populated. Secondly, coffee was not produced on large latifundia but on small colonized plots. Thirdly, European countries could not undermine Colombia's market position by producing coffee in their own colonies as they had done with tobacco and quinine. Coffee became a large producer of national revenues rather widely distributed throughout the country. In brief, coffee brought about a period of 'rationalization' of the economy.

Of course, accompanying these economic changes were changes in the class structure. Until coffee, the class structure was essentially comprised of landowners, slaves, and Indians. Towards the middle of the 19th century, cottage industry emerged with artisans and apprentices and finally a growing commercial sector. But coffee introduced a new phenomenon, an increasing internal market as well as a strong and large import-export economy. Thus, one encounters a merger of the large land-owners' interests with the large-scale commercial enterprises, the importers and exporters, and at a later date, the industrialists. This coalition of economic interests still exists today.

Colombia's economic situation is very similar today, except that it is much more integrated into the world economy and is feeling the effects of modern technology and highly concentrated control over productive resources.

Colombia's political economy is controlled by a small minority and its economic resources are highly concentrated. Gini coefficients for concentration of income, land and stock ownership in 1968 are .59, .81 and .95 respectively.

The problem presented by these concentration data, even if one wished to 'develop' in conventional economic growth terms, is that Colombia's economy is geared to exports – largely the export of a single crop, coffee. Thus, any fluctuation in coffee prices has tremendous reverberations in the economy. At best, relying on exports, given the uncertainty of international markets, seems to be a very shaky 'engine of growth', given that the small farm sector operates so much at the margin it can not take advantage of new technology without a redistribution of productive resources. Moreover, the internal market is basically saturated since the income distribution is so skewed, the vast majority are unable to make significant purchases in the industrial sector simply because they don't have the money to do so.

Those who do accumulate capital tend to invest locally, if at all, in the business they know best: production of cash crops for export with capital-intensive enterprises thus limiting employment opportunities in the rural areas, limited processing of cash crops for the narrow internal cash market, associated trade, and/or speculative real estate. Such an investment pattern tends to have two major consequences: it skews income distribution even more, and places more reliance on externally determined economic factors. For example, it is logical to expect that world market prices for agricultural raw materials will eventually tend to fall, as competing producing countries, not only in Latin America, but also in Africa and Asia, all seeking more foreign exchange to implement their development program, multiply their exports in the face of slowly-growing demand in developed countries. In the event that some comparative market advantages were to take place, those with already existing capital reserves would be the ones in a position to take advantage of this new market, and, in the absence of sufficient governmental controls, the results would be even further skewness in the control over surpluses. In brief, without a redistribution of resources the internal economic situation of the country will worsen.

Colombia finds itself in such a situation at the present time. Cost of living has soared. The peso is over-valued. Unemployment is high. Coffee prices are dropping and are likely to continue to do so, given the tremendous production increases that are occurring as a result of the introduction of Cafe Caturra – a new coffee variety – and increased fertilizer usage on the part of large coffee producers. External debt payments almost completely exhaust foreign exchange values when it is coupled with Colombia's imports which are largely manufactured and semi-processed goods for the consumer industry. Internal revenues are currently about 12 billion pesos short of projected expenses.

In summary, Colombia's economic situation is best characterized by concentration of resources in foreign and national hands accompanied by a general trend toward proletarianization and pauperization of the broad masses.

Given this very brief description of the developmental situation of Colombia, Table 3 presents a list of 30 relevant research questions that I consider to be important to the resolution of Colombian development problems. Then, Table 3 indicates whether or not the five approaches described herein treat these issues. There is no intention to indicate that these are the only relevant questions or that

the list does justice to all approaches. It is hoped, however, that it will serve to stimulate discussion on both topics: (1) what is relevant, and (2) can a given approach treat this issue without major modification?

TABLE 3. *Example of Research Questions Treated by Five Different Approaches to the Study of Colombian Development*

Relevant Research Questions	*Treated by Approach**				
	Behaviorist	Psychodinamic	Diffusionist	Structuralist Non Marxist	Marxist
1. Source of Economic Surpluses and its accompanying Power Dependency Relations	o	o	*	**	***
2. Different Groups' Perception of Above Control	o	o	*	**	***
3. Control Over Economic Institutions – especially markets	o	o	*	*	***
4. Technological Inventory	*	*	***	***	***
5. Control Over (4)	o	o	**	***	***
6. Determination of how various groups view combined control of (1), (3) and (4)	*	o	**	***	***
7. Distribution of Productive Resources (land, labor, technology, capital and organization	*	o	**	***	***
8. Perception of (7) and how it Effects Class Formation	o	o	*	**	***
9. Analysis of Political Parties	*	o	*	***	***
10. Relationship of Party to Class	*	o	*	**	***
11. Use of Repressive Forces to Maintain Class Position	*	o	*	**	***
12. Who Controls Repressive Forces	*	o	*	**	***
13. Trend in Concentration of Control Over Productive Resources	*	o	*	**	***
14. Non-National Control Over Productive Resources	*	o	*	*	***
15. Effects of (14) on National Development	o	o	o	**	***
16. Non-Owner Control Over Distribution of Resources (Techno-Structure)	*	o	*	***	***

Relevant Research Questions	Treated by Approach*				
	Behaviorist	Psychodinamic	Diffusionist	Structuralist Non Marxist	Marxist
17. Level of Conflict Between Classes	*	o	*	***	***
18. How is Conflict Resolved	*	o	*	***	***
19. Who is Dependent upon Whom for Life Chances – Akin to (1), (3) and (5)	*	*	*	**	***
20. Who Uses new Technological Innovations	**	*	***	**	***
21. How is (20) Diffused	**	*	***	*	***
22. Who Developed new Technological Innovations	**	o	**	*	***
23. How do Users and Non-Users of Technological Inventory Differ:					
a) in personal characteristics	**	o	***	*	*
b) in relationship of to means of production	*	o	*	**	***
24. What are the early Childhood Experiences of Members of Society	*	***	*	*	*
25. What are the Major Forms of Treating Personalities that are Non-Development Oriented					
a) Individual Treatment	**	***	*	o	o
b) Emphasis on Social Structure	*	o	*	**	***
26. What groups Orient Individual Behavior	***	o	***	**	**
27. How do Individuals Perceive Deprivation	***	*	***	***	***
28. What Actions do they Take to Reduce Deprivation	**	*	**	***	***
29. What is the Codification of Societal Values	***	***	***	**	***
30 How do Values Affect Individual or Group Behavior	***	***	**	**	**

* The following key is employed:

o = does not treat the question

* = can treat the question without major modification of approach

** = partly treats the question

*** = fully treats the question

Table 3 is an attempt to summarize the discussion of the issues presented in Tables 1 and 2. Consequently, if a given research question is classified as '*' – can treat the question without major modification of approach – it implies that the basic assumptions do not preclude such a consideration. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the major assumptions would lead to the same prescription for actions to change the issue under study.

As indicated at the outset of the present study, I believe that researchers committed to changing extant conditions will contribute more to further defining the basic issues of development. Perhaps consideration of the issues raised herein will increase both commitment and knowledge.

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