The Rural Territorial Dynamics (RTD) Program is coming to an end. Its contributions have been many during these five years of work. The most significant of these contributions has been introducing the idea that territory matters into the Latin American development agenda, both because there are persistent territorial inequalities that remain obscured by averages, as well as the ongoing disregard to the fact that the territorial dimension generates economic inefficiencies that miss territorially based opportunities. The Program offers a more comprehensive and complex approach to rural development, and represents a contribution to rural territorial development public policies in Latin America. This contribution comes as a result of a wide group of nearly 50 organizations belonging to the Program's partner network.

Territorial Policy is a concept that emerges from research carried out within the RTD Program framework. This concept is understood as the design of interventions that focus on the territory as a social construct and in which natural-resource and productive structures, actors and institutions coexist and sustain one another. Territories have a development potential, but inequality dynamics prevent or hinder the deployment of value-added production chains because poverty and inequality traps are imposed, restricting the social distribution of opportunities. Proving the existence of these exclusionary dynamics allowed the Program, through its various components, to create agendas, strategies and recommendations on institutional policies and measures for both national and regional governments. It also allowed the generation of tools that support territorial management in specific territories. These tools are a set of practical mechanisms, based on and supported by research, to help territories reach higher economic dynamism and social inclusion.

In order to increase its effect on the change process, the RTD Program created the Incidence Fund in 2010 with the idea of supporting specific territorial policy processes, with actions taken in El Salvador, Chile, Peru, Guatemala and Ecuador. Effects on policies have been reinforced by initiatives taken by other Program components that seek to complement territorial development research and action with decision making. To this end, the project “Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development,” one of the Program’s components, merges knowledge derived from research with the creation of concrete proposals, programs and policies. This project has also established Rural Dialogue Groups (RDG) in Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Mexico that enable government authorities, researchers and public and private leaders to collaborate.
Quantitative and qualitative studies have been carried out in eleven countries. Territorial management and capacity building processes have also been supported. Moreover, dialogue and policy change processes have been implemented, just as networks and postgraduate programs have been created. With critical support from IDRC Canada and a significant contribution from the New Zealand Aid Programme and IFAD, the Program has estimated the role that different economic, social and institutional factors play in a territory’s productive and social outcomes, especially in those few cases in which socially-inclusive economic growth and inequality-reduction processes were observed. The summary of the territorial studies conducted mentions that “structures, regulating institutions and the agents that perpetuate them are very powerful and difficult to change” and do not tend to be inclusive. Studies not only confirmed the impact this history, structures and the past have on territorial dynamics, but they also found that history can be changed. This is the reason why we must invest our knowledge into practical policy recommendations.

The Program also took on a gender-focus approach that allowed us to appreciate the way in which structures, institutions and agents are marked by concepts and norms that establish proper roles for men and women. Concepts and norms define the productive and reproductive roles associated with unequal access to assets and benefits, which in turn encourages or hinders the economic and social performance of men and women. This is also the purpose of territorially-based processes designed to remove obstructions in achieving equality dynamics.

The ambitious goal of this Final Report is to present objectives, conceptual definitions, territorial management processes, effects, networks, results, work dynamics, communication and information strategies used, and a list of publications, among other things. This task requires reviewing the Report’s sections with the curiosity that comes from a diverse, creative and productive collective undertaking. The Program’s largest contribution, if it can be summarized, is the solid evidence gathered, which forces development researchers, decision makers and actors at the various levels to consider that territorial dimension has the potential to provide much-needed answers for solving the most pressing dilemma in Latin America: the inequality problem that hinders development and well-being.

Claudia Serrano
Executive Director - Rimisp
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Over the course of five years, more than 50 organizations have been working in 11 countries in Latin America to explain why some rural territories have achieved greater economic growth with more social inclusion and environmental sustainability, and to collaborate in the design and implementation of public strategies, policies, programs and projects based on gathered knowledge. Along the way, these organizations have created a dialogue, collaboration and shared-work system that in itself is a contribution to rural territorial development in Latin America. These are, in sum, the results of the Rural Territorial Dynamics (RTD) Program.

The Final Report sheds light on some of the main Program activities, its results and products from 2007 to 2012. This document also presents a group of key actors in the process: the Program’s partners. The Program’s intellectual output and its practical contributions to the design and implementation of policies and other forms of public actions are so numerous and diverse that we have been forced to select some of the results that better reflect the set of outcomes in general. All the products and results are available at the Program’s website for those interested in learning more about them.

Just like any other good research effort, the Program has answered some questions and created others. This unresolved agenda prominently includes a series of questions on the role played by public policies and large private investments in the generation and reproduction of territorial inequalities. There also unanswered questions about the best combinations of sectoral and territorial public policies that can help countries achieve territorial cohesion; these questions include the issue of incentives and capacities needed to solve the lack of coordination that prevents moving from biased actions to true territorial development strategies. Another substantial issue that requires more research work is the effect various types of economic growth have on national territorial cohesion and, especially, on changes that affect various types of poverties or social inequalities. We must better understand how to reconcile territorial development policy objectives at the national level with development goals created by actors in each territory. The number of unanswered questions could continue to grow, but what we mean is that there is still a lot to learn.

At the practical level, there are also problems left to solve. We have already mentioned the challenges related to coordinating actors, sectors and government levels, which is indispensable for territorial development. We must learn more about how to achieve a deeper commitment to collective actions from the most powerful territorial actors, including the largest private businesses, to achieve territorial development, instead of them using their power to directly find solutions to their individual needs. Since almost always territorial dynamics occur in larger and more diverse spaces beyond local government jurisdiction, we must continue experimenting and innovating with mechanisms that help build forms of governance and public administration that can effectively manage development dynamics at the territorial level. In regards to national public administration issues, there are large vacuums in criteria and methods that specialized government agencies can use to evaluate ex ante and make decisions about sets of articulated multi-sectoral public investment activities, necessary to implement territorial development policies. There is also a lack of adequate and cost-efficient methods to conduct a rigorous evaluation of the final impact of territorial development strategies, policies or programs, which by definition assume the simultaneous modification of numerous factors due to the actions taken by a variety of actors. In sum, these are examples that show that there are still many insufficiencies in the territorial development toolbox.

Rimisp-Latin American Center for Rural Development and a group of leading partners that participated in the RTD Program have been working together to design a way to give continuity to the tasks achieved, with new research questions being formulated and facing practical problems that require better solutions. During the second half of 2012 we will be implementing the program “Territories of Well-Being” (Territorios de Bienesar), a conduit to continue working on decreasing territorial inequalities directly affecting tens of millions of people living in Latin
America’s lagging territories. These inequalities are a burden on general Latin American development and, therefore, also hinder well-being and opportunities for all people living in this region.

Rimisp- Latin American Center for Rural Development was charged with coordinating the RTD Program and facilitating the incredible work done by its partners. For Rimisp, the experience has been an amazing opportunity to learn and help build capacities. Evaluations conducted show that the RTD Program has also contributed to the organizational development of many of our partners.

We should not end this introduction to the Report without recognizing and thanking cooperating agencies that have generously provided their financial backing to make this Program possible. The contribution made by the International Development Research Center (IDRC, Canada) gave us the initial boost that made everything else possible, and provided the axis around which all other contributions fell into place. The support from the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAP) was essential to the work done in Central America, especially in regards to capacity development for territorial administration. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) made a significant donation that allowed us to expand our activities on public policy dialogue. Without this support, many of the contributions made in this area simply would not have happened. These three agencies showed great generosity and flexibility in making their donations truly complementary and in reducing administrative and transactional costs. Perhaps even more importantly, they all took significant risks, approving programs with innovative elements that, initially, had little guarantee of providing results.

Besides these three key benefactors, the Program also received support for specific activities from FAO; the Ibero-American General Secretariat, the governments of Brazil (Ministry of Agricultural Development), South Africa (Department of Rural Development and Land) and India (National Planning Commission); the Rural Development Agency from the state of Michoacan in Mexico; Simon Bolivar Andean University based in Quito; the government of the Tungurahua province, Ecuador; Nitlapan Institute at the Central American University, in Managua; the Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS); CEPAL; ICCO (The Netherlands); the French Development Agency (AFC); The College of Mexico (Colmex); the Institute for Economic Research Foundation (FIPE) at Sao Paulo University, Brazil; Earth Foundation, Bolivia; PRISMA Foundation, El Salvador; University of the Andes in Bogota, Colombia; the Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE) and the Peruvian Studies Institute (IEP), both based in Lima; Rafael Landivar University, Guatemala; Manchester University and Greenwich University, both in the United Kingdom; the Salvadoran Development and Environmental Research Program; and, the World Bank.

To everyone who invested in the RTD Program - and to all the people who participated and collaborated in it - I would like to express my gratitude and that of the coordinating team. Thank you!

Julio A. Berdegue
RTD Program Coordinator
Between 2007 and 2012, the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program contributed to change processes at the territorial level, to the design and implementation of development programs and projects, and to the formulation and implementation of public policies and strategies at the sub-national level. Some illustrative examples of the way the Program affected change include:

- Support was provided for the creation of a task force composed of several actors from the Ostua-Guija territory in Guatemala. This task force eventually created a project for protecting the basin in Lake Guija, a Project co-managed by the Arcoiris Organization and Asuncion Mita’s municipal government.

- The labor union Salmon Chile began the design of a “Program Agenda on Integration and Relations between Interest Groups” in the territories in which the industry operates. The decision taken by the organization to create this policy was influenced by the dialogue established with the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program, framed by internal discussions on lessons learned and answers needed to the 2008-2011 salmon industry crisis in Chiloe.

- In the Macizo de Penas Blancas territory, a natural reserve in Nicaragua, the municipal association AMUPEBLAN (Association of Municipalities from North Penas Blancas) was created by the towns of La Dalia, El Cua and Rancho Grande. Together with local coffee producers and environmental organizations, AMUPEBLAN implemented a comprehensive community-based, rural tourism development plan.

- Three universities revamped their academic programs with the support of a Network of Postgraduate Programs created by RTD: the Master’s Degree in Rural Territorial Development, FLACSO – Ecuador; Master’s Degree in Territorial Development, Central American University, El Salvador; and the Master’s Degree in Sustainable Rural Territorial Development, National Autonomous University, in Nicaragua.

- Support was provided for the design of the Program for Good Living in Rural Territories that will invest US$60 million in helping 25,000 Ecuadorean families living in poverty.

- A policy dialogue process is conducted leading the Mexican government to formulate a new rural development project in the Mixteca region in southwestern Mexico, with a total investment of US$35 million.

- The 2010-2022 Regional Development Strategy for the Araucania in Chile justifies the need to “implement rural territorial development activities based on restructuring production and institutional support as shown by Rimisp - Latin American Center for Rural Development”.

- Through the Rural Dialogue Group (RDG) in El Salvador, support has been provided for the work done by the Permanent Round Table of Actors from Bajo Lempa and by the President’s Technical Secretariat to create a Development Strategy for the Coastal Areas with a total cost of US$300 million financed by the Millennium Challenge Corporation.

- The Program contributed to the preparation and implementation of a Tungurahua Province Competitive Agenda in Ecuador. The Agenda was created by the provincial government and territorial social actors.
Program findings, especially conclusions drawn during the final phase, were utilized by the Peruvian government as an important element in designing policies and an agenda for the new Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion. A special emphasis was given to the need to focus on territorial development and implement strategies that articulate actors from territories where vulnerable populations reside.

- The Rural Dialogue Group (RDG) in Colombia together with the RTD Program collaborated with the Colombian government to prepare a legislation project on Land and Rural Development.

- The Program provided support to the Ecuadorian Coordinating Ministry of Production, Employment and Competitiveness in creating the 2010-2013 Agenda for Productive Transformation, which includes a territorial development focus.

- The Program worked in collaboration with the Andean Community of Nations in creating its Strategic Guidelines for Rural Development with a Territorial Focus.

- The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) used results from research carried out by the Program to designate their priority working regions in Latin America as part of their new strategy.

These contributions were based on the knowledge generated by an ambitious program of applied research and policy analysis published in:

- 10 books
- 118 working papers
- 280 presentations to 800 participants in four Program-led Regional Conferences and one International Conference of emerging countries
- 31 presentations in 12 international scientific conferences
- 440 press articles

All achievements previously mentioned are the result of work done by the Program’s partner network:

- 54 organizations in 22 countries
- 26% academic institutions, 24% non-governmental organizations, 24% governmental agencies, 13% private businesses, 8% international corporations, 5% community organizations
- 166 research-study authors

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SECTION ONE:
WHY THE NEED
FOR AN RTD PROGRAM?

“This Program has to make a difference, affect approaches, strategies and policies, foster the creation of new networks and alliances, and build the capacities of social actors. In other words, it must contribute to the transformation of rural societies towards a path of greater economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability”.

German Escobar, Rimisp’s Executive Director (2007-2009)
The Territorial Component of Inequality in Latin America

Inequality in Latin America manifests in various ways. These manifestations are linked to and reinforce one another: ethnic groups; women and men; people with or without access to good education; those who receive the benefits of income and wealth concentration, and those who have nothing to eat; people who engage in new economic ventures because they have the resources and connections to do so, and those who survive thanks to informal labor; people who participate in public life, and those who are invisible to the State because they are not even registered as citizens; powerful individuals, and those without power or unable to exercise it.

The Rural Territorial Dynamics (RTD) Program allowed over 50 organizations in 11 countries to work in coordination during a period of five years to understand and find alternatives to a different type of inequality: the one that exists between the different types of places or territories making up the national development geography map. We do not mean the purely geographic differences but rather those that are the result of human action, expressed, for example, in market flaws, non-economic institutions or public-policy decision-making processes. There is an abundance of evidence pointing to the fact that territorial inequalities are different and in addition to individual or group inequalities, and that they are an important component of inequality in general.

We all recognize the most significant manifestations of spatial inequalities in each of our countries. We clearly see the differences between northern and southern Mexico, the Pacific region and the central region in Colombia, between the coastal areas and the highlands in Peru or Ecuador, the Altiplano of Oruro and Potosi and the lowlands of Santa Cruz in Bolivia, the Pampa and northwest in Argentina, and the south and northeast in Brazil. However, in the last 30 years, these regional fractures, their causes, costs and consequences seemed to vanish from the public agenda. On one hand, economic policy starting in 1980 until recently was focused on
macroeconomic relations and, therefore, on national aggregate indicators. On the other hand, we were told that in order to improve those macroindicators, we should allow comparative advantages of countries and their regions to express themselves as freely as possible.

The World Bank argued in its 2009 World Development Report that uneven spatial growth would eventually lead to socially inclusive development. Those who agree with this perspective trust in two basic economic forces. First, capital and labor flows between regions with productivity and salary differences will gradually produce spatial convergence and equilibrium of well-being indicators. Second, capital and labor concentration in large cities, for example, will have positive effects on competitiveness and innovation. The first problem with this reasoning is that real economic forces operate in a world in which there are a large number of frictions (economic and non-economic) that lead to results different from those predicted by the theory. Moreover, there is an increasing amount of evidence backed by a solid theoretical foundation that supports the hypothesis that increasing concentration in large urban centers has a limit after which its costs and negative externalities can be hard to accept. Finally, the time that takes for those processes to unfold is extremely long, intergenerational and, many times, incompatible with expectations, rhythms, cumulative tensions and societal needs.

The RTD Program holds a different perspective. We think inequalities—especially those as extreme as the ones found in Latin America and when they affect the capacities and opportunities of people to realize their life objectives—are not only ethically reprehensible but also have a significant social cost. We must highlight that these costs not only affect those who are directly harmed by living or having been born in a certain place, but also affect the rest of society, including people living in privileged places.

Therefore, for ethical and instrumental reasons, the RTD Program shares the aspiration for rural regions in Latin America to be able to simultaneous achieve economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability. Despite the progress attained in our countries in regards to several

The underlying hypothesis that justifies the existence of the Rural Territorial Dynamics (RTD) Program is that socio-economic inequalities in Latin America have a territorial component, different and in addition to inequalities found between people, households and social groups.
For example:

- In 2002 in Chile, there were municipalities with per-capita income of $975,000 pesos and others with per-capita income of $66,000 pesos; in 2007, in Peru’s Jorge Basadre province, per-capita expenses were 710 soles, or 5.2 times higher than in the Churcampa province; and in 2005 in Mexico, residents of San Pedro Garza Garcia had a per-capita income 24 times higher than those living in Acatepec.

- There are also territorial gaps in regards to poverty, with rates varying between 52% to almost zero in Chile’s municipalities, from 92% to 8% in the Peruvian provinces, and between 99% and zero percent in the municipalities of Mexico.

- Territorial differences in income concentration are also notable: the Gini coefficient among municipalities in Chile varies between 0.76 and 0.36, from 0.41 to 0.25 in Peru’s provinces, and 0.7 and 0.2 in Mexico’s municipalities.

- There are also territorial differences in growth and development processes related to environmental sustainability.

Because of this spatial inequality, it should not be surprising that generalized economic, sectoral, environmental and social policies can have a territorially differentiated effect. Also, if spatial inequality does exist, some territories will have greater capacity to take advantage of development opportunities, whether they are provided by the market or by public policies.

Due to this, calls for emphasizing territorial approaches for rural development in the implementation of development policies and programs are gaining strength. In general, these proposals start from evidence that territorial gaps do exist, and derive from this premise a political-normative objective to achieve greater territorial balance. The proposals emphasize various combinations of policies and instruments of two types: those oriented to the mobilization of endogenous territorial capacities, and those that transfer resources and carry out public investment activities in lagging territories.

The more than 50 organizations that participated in the RTD Program studied the issues with a normative interest, but also with an analytical and empirical approach, having as a point of reference the territories that have been able to achieve economic growth with social inclusion and environmental sustainability.

Over the course of five years, and to come up with a working proposal, development processes of a significant number of territories across Latin America were studied, from the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico to Chiloe in southern Chile, and from Cuzco in the Peruvian Andes to Jiquiirca in northeast Brazil. We were trying to understand why in some territories we observed change dynamics characterized by socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable economic growth, on one hand, and factors that determine deep territorial inequalities in our region, on the other. Today we can offer a much better image of territorial inequality, and have developed a proposal on the factors and processes that determine why some territories are able to grow in an inclusive and sustainable way. In sum, we can offer an operational theory that allows us to systematically explain particular rural territorial dynamics and to inform public action.
The Rural Territorial Dynamics Program has as its general objective to contribute to the design and implementation of public policies able to stimulate and support rural territorial dynamics that lead to socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable economic growth.

THREE KEY QUESTIONS

The questions that have guided the Program since its inception are:

• Are there rural territories in Latin America that have been able to create virtuous circles of economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability?

• What factors can explain these types of territorial dynamics?

• What can be done from the perspective of public policy formulation and other forms of non-governmental public action to stimulate and support these dynamics?

The point of reference is those territories that have been able to achieve socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable economic growth. To offer a proposal, we have tried to understand what is going on and, above all, why certain territories show development dynamics that are more economically, socially and environmentally successful.

THREE EXPECTED PROGRAMATIC EFFECTS

• A collective actor: Various change agents in Latin America interact through a network connected at the regional and global levels.

• A shared vision and strategy for Latin America: Change agents create a theoretically consistent vision and strategy that is also empirically proven in order to achieve rural economic growth accompanied by poverty reduction, and greater social inclusion and environmental sustainability.

• Influence on public policies and practices: Program partners are able to efficiently influence debates and decisions on rural development policies at the national, regional and international level, as well as how these policies are implemented.

SIX COMPONENTS

Applied Research: The implementation of multidisciplinary research projects that specifically seek to inform those involved in rural development policies and strategies at the territorial, national and international level.

Capacity building: Strengthening the capacities of public, private and social sector agents in order to positively influence rural territorial dynamics that result in economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability.

International Networking Actions: Establishing dialogue and interactions between Latin American professionals working on rural development research and policy formulation and their counterparts in other regions of the world.

Postgraduate Education: Strengthening the capacities of some postgraduate programs focusing on issues directly related to rural development in Central America and the Andean Region.
**Rimisp’s Organizational Development:** Strengthening management, governance, innovation and human-resource training systems, as well as expanding its program-development and regional-coverage strategies.

**Communications:** This is a transversal component to all others mentioned above and offers the platforms and systems to facilitate communication, dialogue and collaborative work between all Program participants in order to share results and products with change agents and the general public.

**FOUR PHASES**

The Program included four periods during its 60-month implementation term:

- During the first 18 months (2007-2008) the greatest efforts revolved around laying down the foundation, including: creating the Advisory Council and Coordinating Unit, establishing relationships with key partners in each of the 11 countries, reaching basic agreements on conceptual and methodological frameworks, initiating each of the Program components, and starting the first projects.

- The emphasis during the second phase (2009) was placed on enriching rural development visions, strategies and policies in Latin America, and providing a large space for “evidence to speak for itself”. There were several knowledge-enriching activities for the RTD Program: Research was carried out to answer initial questions, capacity-building initiatives were implemented in each territory, dialogue sessions were organized with national and international organizations committed to rural development in Latin America, and connections were established with experiences in other regions of the world.

- The third phase (2010 – 2011) follows by generating evidence and harvesting an abundance of results generated by the different Program components. At the end of 2010, the first summary of things learned is published. In 2011, five thematic projects are implemented, expanding the work in some of the key aspects of the preliminary summary. Each of these projects included an analysis between the key factor(s) and gender systems. This period is characterized by the emergence of a new interpretation of rural change at the territorial level in Latin America, strategies for affecting public policies, proposals for specific territorial development strategies, a gender-focus approach when examining territorial dynamics, South-South knowledge connections, and strengthening postgraduate education programs.

- The fourth and final phase (2012) brings the Program to a close and discusses its implications for the future. This period is characterized by intense analytical work to give the final report a solid conceptual and empirical foundation.
The Research Path toward an Operational Theory

Territorial Dynamics Mapping (2008-2009)
Analysis of national population census data and surveys for 400 million residents in 10,000 municipalities in 11 Latin American countries. Data included income and consumption rates and was used to identify tendencies related to economic growth, poverty and inequality at the territorial level.

Exploratory Projects in Four Territories (2008-2009)
Implementation of four exploratory projects that studied the dynamics of the following rural territories: Santo Tomas, Chontales, Nicaragua; Tungurahua, Ecuador; Cuatro Lagunas, Cuzco, Peru; and Chiloe, Chile, in order to prove and adjust research questions, hypothesis and methods. Collaboration systems between countries, partners and projects were built.

Studies in 16 Additional Territories (2009-2010)
Execution of 16 case studies in the same number of rural territories were economic growth dynamics and changes to the poverty, income and consumption rates have been observed with varied results in regards to social inclusion and environmental sustainability. Preliminary synthesis with answers to the Program’s questions is published.

Thematic Projects (2011-2012)
Execution of five thematic projects that expand on some of the key factors affecting territorial dynamics and that were identified in earlier phases.

Final Synthesis with Answers to the Program’s Questions (2012)
Elaboration of an operational theory that enables the analysis of rural territorial dynamics and the formulation of policy recommendations in order to move toward inclusive and sustainable territorial development and toward greater territorial cohesion at the national level.
SECTION TWO: SUCCESSFUL TERRITORIAL DYNAMICS: HOW AND WHY DO THEY EMERGE?

“With the RTD Program we sought to contribute, in an ambitious and relevant way, by offering a middle-range theory or a way of explaining which factors lead to virtuous dynamics of socially-inclusive and sustainable economic growth, in the few cases where they take place. The moment has come to share our results and findings”.

Claudia Serrano, Executive Director - Rimisp
Territorial dynamics maps, case studies, transversal analysis of findings in the various territories, and the large number of exchanges between partners and collaborators have converged in a significant summarization effort to give answers to the three initial questions posed by the RTD Program and to generate policy proposals.

Case studies carried out within the context of the RTD Program allowed us to determine that approximately 13% of territories in Latin America, in which 10% of the population resides, showed development dynamics that resulted in economic growth, poverty reduction and better income distribution between the mid 1990s and the mid 2000s. Some of these territories were also able to achieve all of this in an environmentally sustainable way.

However, more than half of the continent’s population resides in territories that have not shown positive changes in economic growth and social inclusion, and many of them have actually undergone environmental degradation. Moreover, we found evidence of territorial polarization in several countries, meaning, there is a widening gap between a few developing territories and many others that are lagging behind or have experienced a reversal in development.

The predominance of territorial dynamics with little or no growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability in Latin America is the result of poverty and inequality traps widely spread in the region’s rural territories.

These poverty traps, and inequality traps in particular, are the consequence of deeply rooted structures, including:

- Natural-resource governance regulations and processes that concentrate power and economic and political opportunities in a few actors.

- Weak ties between many territories and dynamic markets.

- Enclave production structures or others with a small number of predominant businesses, often extraterritorial in origin, that generate little or bad employment, have few local linkages, and result in the extraction of an enormous percentage of territorial surplus.

- Weak ties or predatory relationships between rural territories and intermediate cities.

Each of these structures, institutions and agents, are marked by gender systems or ideas and rules that define roles and attributions to men and women and that also regulate gender differences in participatory processes and of access to assets, opportunities and benefits. These structures are maintained thanks to institutions (formal and informal rules) that tend to stabilize and reproduce them.

Behind these structures and institutions, there are also specific actors that, benefitted by the status quo, work toward maintaining the existing situation. Structures that prevent or hinder localized virtuous circles for economic growth, social inclusion and environmental
sustainability are present as a result of long-term processes. Many times, these processes get lost in the territory’s history but also in the intentional actions of territorial and extra-territorial actors that benefit from the status quo and have the power to maintain and reproduce it.

These structures, the institutions that regulate them and agents who maintain them are very powerful and difficult to change. This is why territorial dynamics maps in each of the 11 countries studied for the RTD Program have in common the predominance of situations far from the normative ideal of inclusive and sustainable growth. A few territories were able early on to escape the majority’s faith because of quite extraordinary historical circumstances that resulted in the creation and posterior development of structures, institutions and actors more favorable to inclusive and sustainable growth.

However, just as we say that history weighs heavily, and that many times it weighs against, we also found clear evidence that territories can indeed alter the course of their development and break away from historical inertia through structurally transforming institutional change.

CHANGE POTENTIAL. Which conditions are favorable in achieving these institutional changes that can modify the determinant impact of existing structures?

One source of change are extraterritorial shocks or forces, which can be economic, political, cultural, or environmental in nature (or a combination of any of these). For example, many territories go through a transformation when powerful economic actors invest in the territory in order to exploit certain natural resources. Or because power relations in the territory become altered when national legislation recognizes the rights of indigenous groups to their ancestral lands.

However, this “exogenous explanation” is not sufficient, because there is evidence of territories reacting in very different ways to the same external shock. Each territory has specific conditions that affect the particular way in which it relates with the macro-regional, national or global environment and with the processes or shocks that occur at those levels. Therefore, a significant portion of the answer to this question is endogenous in nature.

“This is a Program in which we have studied various aspects of a very important issue –understanding what elements truly help activate a development, poverty-reduction and inequality-reduction program in rural territories. This is the main challenge I face today as the Minister, and many of the lessons learned from the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program are helping shape public policies being implemented by the recently created Ministry of Social Inclusion in Peru”.

Carolina Trivelli, Minister of Development and Social Inclusion of Peru and, until 2011, Researcher at the RTD Program. During the Magisterial Conference - 2012 Meeting: Rural Territories in Motion
What seems to occur is that in each territory there are several coexisting structures. Some examples of these structures include: a particular productive structure with more or less small and medium-size businesses, ties with a variety of markets that favor exchanges over others, an agrarian structure that favors access to natural resources of some actors over others, a city with less or more social diversity, a gender system that facilitates, hinders or blocks the participation of men and women in the labor market, etc.

Associated with each of these structures there are specific institutions, or formal and informal norms, that regulate behavior among actors. Between these structures and institutions there are frictions, tensions and contradictions. For example, gender norms can favor a woman’s role in the household and domestic activities, but the productive structure can also demand the incorporation of women into formalized labor; the most-profitable markets can favor environmentally sustainable technologies while the agrarian structure imposes difficulties for technological innovation. These tensions between structures open up spaces or the potential to achieve changes.

Besides coexisting institutions, we also find in the territory a variety of actors that “interpret” and favor some institutions over others based on their benefits and interests. For example, private businesses may give priority to property rights in order to favor economic growth. Other actors may want to highlight environmental legislation to limit or even prevent certain productive activities. Moreover, actors are reflexive, meaning, they have the ability to acquire or develop new ideas, visions, societal models and development options for their territory.

Depending on changes in power relations between the different actors, and on their capacity to imagine a different future or a new development option for their territory, interpretations that favor one regulatory system over another will have more weight, and this will open up a space or the potential for institutional change.

What we have here, then, is the potential for institutional change, a potential derived from either exogenous shocks or more gradual endogenous processes born from inter-structural tensions and formal and informal rules, and, more frequently, in the interactions between exogenous and endogenous factors and phenomena.

Agents act upon this potential for change—or better yet, agents have the potential to act. Action forms are diverse and include interest groups, social mobilizations, communities or networks of people representing a development idea or set of ideas, or coalitions of different types (some more tacit and others more explicit and with a purely political purpose). Some of these actions are used to defend the status quo and prevent significant changes. Others will seek to partially modify territorial dynamics, opening up some spaces for some traditionally excluded social actors. Lastly, others will promote deeper changes that, if successful, can result in a partial break from existing territorial dynamics, leading to a new development path.

The State is a player in this game between structures, institutions and actors. State agencies and their leadership are internal territorial actors, and at the same time exert external influence. Various types of governments or reformist State agents can generate political opportunities for institutional

“What the RTD Program has found is that there are no silver bullets or one single cause of territorial development. There is a complex set of combined factors that interact and lead to equitable and environmentally sustainable economic growth”.

Javier Escobal, Group for the Analysis of Development, GRADE (Peru), and RTD Program Partner
In web interview for Rimisp, 04/27/2012
change, while others act by reproducing and maintaining the status quo. Some State agencies are themselves institutions. State agencies define and enforce (or ignore and selectively apply) a variety of laws and regulations; faced with the same situation, some State agents will tend to defend and favor certain actors or institutions over others, eventually leading to contradictions with other public agencies and opening up, in this way, the space needed for institutional change.

The collective action of social actors can manifest in different ways, including through pressure groups, social movements and social coalitions. The capacity and content of these forms of collective action depends on a variety of factors. One of these factors is the group’s composition. For example, by definition, a pressure group expresses the particular interests of a single social actor or group of actors who are very similar to one another, while a coalition requires the integration of various societal sectors. Another critical factor is the power yielded by the group, social movement or coalition. A third factor is the common objectives that members can agree on—their political project—despite their differences.

The power harnessed by this group of actors will depend on their collective set of assets and capital: their economic, political, social and symbolic capital. Therefore, there will be groups of actors with more or less power, as well as those in which power will be more concentrated or more distributed among members of the collective-action group.

If we are discussing a group of actors of the same type or very similar to one another, it is very probable that their “program” will tend to favor one development objective or a narrow set of development objectives. It could be a pro-growth, pro-distribution and social inclusion, or pro-environment group, and would have less interest and space to find balance between the three territorial development dimensions.
If, on the other hand, collective action involves a more diverse set of actors, and if each of these actors contributes power to some extent (such as private businesses with economic power and powerful social organizations with symbolic and social capital), then it would be more likely for their common objectives to reflect some type of equilibrium between different development objectives. It is more feasible for what we term a transformative social coalition to emerge within these conditions. By a transformative social coalition we mean a group that includes a wide range of territorial actors who implement converging actions to achieve a territorial development dynamic characterized by inclusive and sustainable growth. The transformative coalition also has the power to achieve its objectives and the capacity to implement a project taken as legitimate by other actors who eventually also assume it as their own.

**The emergence and development of these transformative social coalitions is the key factor for territories to achieve socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable economic growth dynamics.**

**CRITICAL DOMAINS.** Based on these ideas, RTD Program partners studied the dynamics of 20 territories distributed across 11 countries. The main purpose of these studies was to analyze the way in which structures, institutions and agency forms interact to prompt the creation of more favorable territorial dynamics.

Starting with intensive field work, these studies created analytical narratives that help explain how those interactions weaken poverty and inequality traps. Even though institutional change processes identified in the case studies are far from homogeneous, certain patterns were observed. The probability of a territory to experience growth dynamics with social inclusion and environmental sustainability is associated with the way in which structures, institutions and agency forms interact within a small set of critical domains:

- The agrarian structure, and more widely, the sets of institutions governing access and use of key natural resources in the territory

- The productive structure and its interaction with markets

- The ties between the territory and cities

- The nature of investment and public expenditures

Case studies also confirmed that the ability of these interactions to free territories from poverty and inequality traps is critically dependent on the types of social coalitions that emerge and become dominant. In the following section of the report we will take a closer look at the findings related to these domains.
Policy Recommendations

The first message harvested from the Program’s case studies is the need to incorporate a territorial approach for improving rural development public policies. We have verified that structures, institutions and collective action forms vary from territory to territory. Therefore, sectoral policies that do not consider a territory’s individual characteristics will invariably achieve vary dissimilar results when implemented in territories with differing capacities, institutions and structures.

Territorial policy does not replace or is “better” than sectoral or macro policies. But without a territorial development strategy, with its corresponding policies, instruments and budgets, there are at least two objectives sectoral and macro policies are not able to achieve:

• The development capacity of a territory to express all of its potential, whatever this may be; and
• The reduction of territorial gaps related to well-being indicators considered important at the national level.

Both objectives converge in the concept of territorial cohesion.

Territorial cohesion must be considered a significant normative political dimension of development. It is not the same for a country’s economy to show strong grow if this growth is the result of a few territories with strong growth and a majority that remains stagnant. It is not the same to observe a reduction in national poverty if this reduction is the result of a few places where residents have more and better employment but others in which many people are increasingly dependent on social subsidies in order to avoid the poverty label. We cannot talk about “a country” that shows progress when that image hides an increasingly spatially polarized and divided society.

If territorial cohesion is not attained, the first to pay the consequences are the residents, social groups, public and private organizations and businesses of the affected territories. However, the country as a whole also looses, and not only from an ethical sense of justice, which we consider primordial, but also in dimensions such as aggregate economic growth, the sustainability of growth, or social peace.
Territorial Development Strategy

What central elements must be found in a territorial development strategy and the public policies to implement? Based on RTD Program findings, we have distilled three main priorities:

1. Medium and long-term policies oriented toward achieving institutional changes at the territorial level in the critical domains previously identified. These changes will lead to the emergence of territorial growth dynamics with social inclusion and environmental sustainability. These policies seek to:

   • Modify existing agrarian structures and, more generally, natural-resource governance.
   • Promote ties between territories and dynamic markets.
   • Stimulate and support territorial production structures with more linkages, increased participation of small and medium-size businesses with local capital, and higher diversification.
   • Support the development of small and medium-size provincial cities and the ties between these cities and their rural surroundings, under the concept of a functional territory.
   • Ensure that territorial investment and public expenditures are subject to regulatory systems that include the voice and vote of local actors.

2. Medium and long-term policies that help expand the agency capacity of territorial actors. This appears to be an obvious message although it is routinely ignored by the great majority of rural or territorial development organizations: There is not one magic formula or direct path to territorial development; each territory must achieve its own development, modifying the conditions of its relationship with the outside world.
If we had to summarize in just one phrase our answer to the main question posed by the Program, we could say that “successful” territories are those in which actors gradually acquire the capacity to act upon small opportunity gaps, expanding and moving them in a direction that makes sense to them. Territorial development strategies must give actors the space, time and opportunity to do their work.

The previous paragraph lends itself to another question: How can agency capacity at the territorial level be constructed from a public-policy perspective? There is enough evidence to suggest that social-engineering attempts to build agency are usually implemented by bureaucratic organizations lacking the necessary vitality and influence -such as the thousands of “negotiation round tables” constituting the institutionalized version of the white elephants dating back to the time of cement and brick in rural development—or by new corporative groups, maybe a bit more progressive but with no less clientelism.

The key element seems to rest on public-policy agents that focus on expanding public opportunity and incentives so that social territorial actors can interact and construct collective actions forms that are shaped and move at the pace they see fit, and include objectives that these actors value and are able to implement themselves.

From the above, there are substantial implications for the public-policy decision maker. The first implication is related to national governments to accept that territorial societies must be given wide space to determine and decide their own objectives, actor arrangements and programmatic content of their territorial development plans and programs. The second implication has to do with the period of implementation for territorial development policies and programs. If expanding the agency capacity of actors is given serious consideration, implementation periods cannot be changed every three or four years. The third implication involves the State’s role in guaranteeing institutions that are transparent and non-discretionary. The State must not be an ally of the most powerful actors, because if any one actor knows that he has the option to solve his problems and fulfill his needs by going directly to the decision makers, and that even breaking the law is largely inconsequential, we cannot expect to find territorial social coalitions.

Obviously, in societies where we find deeply rooted exclusions and inequalities between social actors, developing the capacity for agency must include some positive discrimination in support of the poorest and most socially excluded members. Without this component, social coalitions and their agendas will probably not represent or fulfill the interests and priorities of those members.
3. Policies that reduce development gaps between territories through the implementation of generalized national policies rather than expanding the capacities of lagging territories as in the two cases above. The Program has documented very large gaps of all types, and that several countries are experiencing territorial polarization processes rather than territorial convergence in these dimensions.

In this regard there are two lines of action. The first and most evident consists in using public policy as the solution for closing territorial gaps, increasing public investment, and encouraging private investment in lagging territories in order to narrow gaps in employment, education, market access, productivity and enterprise, infrastructure, and citizen participation, among others. The second line of action rests on the understanding that public policies and large private investment can often be part of the causes of territorial gaps. The main task here is to show and evaluate ex-ante the variety of impacts a set of supposedly “spatially neutral” policies can have on each territory, because rather than being spatially neutral, these policies tend to be spatially blind. These policies may encourage and regulate large private investment or be implemented by big businesses and corporate conglomerates. If this differentiated impact is brought to light in a serious and systematic way, it is possible for an informed public debate on strategies to exist, and to find ways to avoid, mitigate or compensate for these impacts.
How can we explain the fact that some territories have made the transition into development characterized by synergies between growth and inequality and poverty reduction, and accompanied by environmental sustainability, while the large majority of territories have not been able to achieve this? Territorial disparities are the result of inequality, poverty and inefficiency traps that prevent or hinder regional convergence processes, impose a heavy load on people living in those areas, take away from general national well being and growth potential, and cause social and political tensions that can exert too much pressure on developing democracies commonly characterized by weak institutions. Within this perspective, territorial development policies and “place-based policies” are not only justifiable but also a necessary component of development strategies.

Even though the RTD Program concerned itself with understanding why so many territories have “stagnated” with dynamics characterized by poverty, inequality and little or no growth, its main focus was to explore how the trajectory of a territory can follow a set of dynamics characterized by “advances” in poverty and inequality reduction, greater economic growth and environmental sustainability. Within this context, we will discuss five key relevant factors gathered from information generated by the Program’s case studies.

Agrarian Structures and Natural Resource Governance

The influence of the amount and quality of natural resources on territorial dynamics is not independent from historical and existing institutions around which natural-resource control and use is organized. Therefore, there is not a unidirectional relationship between the quality and quantity of natural resources and territorial dynamics. For example, the province of Tungurahua in Ecuador does not have an unusual amount of natural capital when compared to neighboring provinces in the Ecuadorian highlands. However, the collective action of small and medium-size producers and merchants, starting in at least the 19th century, led to the construction of a wide irrigation and internal road network that compensated for any natural disadvantages. Today, Tungurahua is one of a small number of Ecuadorian provinces experiencing growth dynamics with less poverty and inequality. In contrast, the territory of Santo Tomas in Nicaragua has a relatively favorable natural-resource base, but after the agrarian reform in the 1980s, actions taken by the most powerful social groups allowed them to recapture land and significant investment opportunities, both from the government and international cooperation groups, to build roads and develop cattle cooperatives, for example. This has resulted in development dynamics with little or no economic growth, no reduction in poverty rates and income concentration, and in increasing water shortages due to aggressive deforestation practices.

Understanding the institutional arrangements that govern natural resource access and use is essential in explaining the relationship between growth, poverty, inequality and environmental quality in any territory. A central component of this relationship is the agrarian structure. In the great majority of Latin American rural territories, until well into the second half
of the last century, land was the basis for economic, social and political power. Kinship, heredity and marriage institutions, legislation and its implementation, agrarian reform agencies, and more, influenced the differential distribution of natural-resource access and use by gender, which without a doubt has an impact on growth potential, poverty rates and income distribution in each territory. One of the tensions that can create cracks and lead to changes is found between institutions that distributed most land to men and current demographic realities showing that more than 30% of households in Latin America do not have an adult male.

The presence of agrarian structures with large landowners (latifundistas) characterizes many of the territories studied for the Program, and it appears as a source for exclusive and polarizing dynamics. The latifundio-minifundio pair had deep impacts not only on the power structure but also on accumulation patterns, income distribution and consumption guidelines, in the lack of or distorted nature of stimuli to the inclusion of technical progress, and in the reduced numbers of entrepreneurs.

All other things equal, a comparison of cases suggests that in places where equitable agrarian structures were initially put into place, today we find territorial dynamics that are more inclusive. This can be observed in studies done in Tungurahua, Cuatro Lagunas (Peru), Jauja (Peru), Santa Catarina (Brazil) and Chiloe (Chile). Other territories—such as Cariri (Brazil), and Santo Tomas, Susa and Simijaca (Colombia)—are characterized by old institutions that provide very unequal access to land and other natural resources. In these territories we tend to observe development dynamics with little inclusion.

There is a tendency for institutions that regulate access to land and other natural resources to reproduce over time, but there are conditions under which institutional reproduction has been altered in recent years. In some cases, agrarian reform changed access to resources in an irreversible way, as in the case of the South-Ocongate Valley in Peru, giving space
for more economically and politically inclusive territorial dynamics. On the other hand, even in territories where less or more egalitarian forms of access to natural resources have prevailed for many years, we observe the emergence of new powerful actors with new ways of utilizing resources, exemplified by the salmon industry in Chiloe and the gas industry in the indigenous territories of Tarija in Bolivia. We also observe changes in market relations that favor a new cycle of land accumulation, as is happening in the Yucatan due to neoliberal reforms implemented in Mexico during the 1980s.

The probability of an agrarian structure or access to natural resources becoming more equitable over time, and for territorial dynamics to become more inclusive, varies according to who are the most powerful actors. In this sense, there are currently two important situations that differ in regards to the agrarian structure and natural-resource governance:

• **Territories in which natural-resource use involves the participation of large investors and external companies**, as in Chiloe and O’Higgins in Chile, Loja in Ecuador and Tarija in Bolivia. The main issue in this case is how a change in the relationship between the territory and a new market (of energy, minerals, new agricultural products, etc.) induces the arrival of those powerful extraterritorial agents, and how their presence articulates with the existing agrarian structure and governance forms. In these cases, institutional change processes tend to revolve around those extraterritorial factors (Textbox 1).

• **Territories in which economic and social activities are based on natural resources that, in principle, are widely accessible to and usable by many local actors**, as in the cattle and coffee producing territory in Nicaragua, Tejutla in El Salvador and the South-Ocongate Valley in Peru. Their ability to achieve wide access and use, and under what conditions and with what results, will depend on their natural-resource governance systems (Textbox 2).
In many current territorial dynamics, extraterritorial actors have become determinant factors by having direct access to certain resources (i.e. mineral extraction, aquaculture), influencing natural resource use through investment (i.e. infrastructure and communications) or by building nexuses with new markets.

In general, these actors have access to economic, political, social and cultural resources while the local actors generally do not. Their presence introduces new power asymmetries in the territories while at the same time opens up new connections with dynamic markets.

These asymmetries lead to substantial changes in natural-resource governance structures and in environmental management practices. The effects on territorial dynamics can be numerous, but they usually center on new trade-offs between economic growth, social inclusion and environmental quality. The resulting trade-offs depend on whether or not institutional changes also occur.

At the same time, these changes are the result of the way in which interactions occur between deeply rooted structures and forms of human and collective action. The first path to institutional change originates in “structural pressures” that in a way “force” institutional change to come about even against the inaction or will of involved actors. The second path is through the dominant coalition’s collective action or other social groups that put external pressure on the coalition.
### Natural-Resource Governance and Territorial Dynamics with the Presence of Local Actors

There are many territories in which key actors, both private and public, are local. The power relations among them and their differing agency capacity (individual and collective) have much to do with their access to/control over natural resources, especially land. Institutions that regulate natural-resource governance also control power relations and these differing capacities.

Starting in the middle of the last century, and even more recently, national reforms, such as democratization processes or agrarian reforms, sought to affect the relationship between natural-resource access and socio-political power in several countries, but their effect has been quite unequal at the local level. The implication is that any attempt to reform natural-resource governance must interact with this unequal institutional geography, which explains the differences found between territorial dynamics in a region.

When we find more equitable agrarian structures, and where small producers have more political influence and greater capacity to exert social control over municipal authorities, there is more space for local governance innovations to emerge.

The presence of a more equitable agrarian structure facilitates the process of learning and training people on agency capacity. This learning can help promote, among other things, greater environmental awareness.
**Linkages with Dynamic Markets and Productive Structures**

Linkages to dynamic markets and the characteristics of a territory’s productive structure are also factors that influence rural territorial dynamics. In order to take a closer look at these factors, several case studies were done in which these variables were found to be relevant. The places studied included Jiquirica (Brazil), the dry lands of O’Higgins (Chile), Tungurahua (Ecuador) and the South-Ocongate Valley (Peru).

By *linkages with dynamic markets* we mean that the level of access of a rural territory to markets of various types, such as products, services, credit, labor or other production factors, must be significant enough to stimulate high and sustained growth rates for extended periods of time. The working hypothesis is that this growth is accompanied by a reduction in poverty and greater social inclusion in places where land property structures, throughout history, have favored greater equality of opportunities for actors to participate in the economic dynamics promoted by these markets. The extended interaction between important markets and actors belonging to territories with agrarian and productive structures that are less unequal is essential to socially inclusive economic growth.

By *productive structures* we mean the level of economic diversification in the territory, the eventual inter-sectoral ties within the territory, and the various types of businesses. Territories with more diversified economies, greater density of territorial inter-sectoral ties, with a solid presence of small and medium-size businesses, and with a significant portion of local capital in its economy, have more options to develop socially inclusive growth dynamics.

“There are many situations in which market dynamics can exert strong selective pressure. Consequently, it is more likely for dynamic markets to generate inclusive economic growth. Clearly, there are dynamic markets that are built on weak economies, and, in these cases, the effects on poverty are initially strong. This is basically because before those markets were created there were no other opportunities for people in the territory. As time goes by, however, modernization exerts selective pressure that leads to inequality and exclusion”.

Arilson Favareto, Academic at the ABC Federal University in Sao Paulo, Researcher at the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (Cebrap) and RTD Program Partner
In Web interview for Rimisp, 03/12/2012
Having recognized the central role played by markets to infuse dynamism into a territory, case-study evidence shows that markets by themselves not always lead to social inclusion and, even less, sustainability.

- When dynamic markets create linkages with more diversified productive structures, there are options for a wider range of intra-territorial connections. This also opens up more choices to participate in and receive the benefits of growth dynamics, allowing for the strengthening of social capital of territorial actors and greater possibility for developing coalitions that favor more inclusive growth, as in the case of the coastal areas in Santa Catarina, Brazil.

- When linkages with dynamic markets are strengthened by more equitable agrarian structures, opportunities for economic growth are clearly greater. The contrast between the territories in Santo Tomas in Nicaragua and Tungurahua in Ecuador are evidence of this finding. While in Santo Tomas, land concentration has led to power structures that guide public investment in favor of minorities, in Tungurahua the relatively more equitable distribution of land and water for irrigation has facilitated the consolidation of a wide segment of small producers and the development of a dense local and regional market system that forms the basis for its inclusive growth dynamic.

Many of the case studies show various types of public action and its effects on markets and productive structures and territorial development. In O’Higgins, Chiloe, Jiquirica and the South-Ocongate Valley, investment in infrastructure has been a determinant factor in opening up the territory to new productive structures that have triggered economic growth. The State has also played a key role in guaranteeing property rights as a way to gain access to resources. On the other hand, there are many instances of public policies having little or no effect if institutions do not enforce rules, as it occurs in the exploitation of aquifers in O’Higgins or the use of nature reserves in Penas Blancas.

Radical transformation of the productive structure can facilitate the emergence of new actors and markets. Due to an important flow of external investment into the territory, the labor market grew significantly in O’Higgins, Chiloe and Santa Catarina. Many of the people who had been small producers before became salaried employees, and this had a direct effect on how quickly family income increased. The situation...
has also benefited from investment in infrastructure, especially in road building, which has significantly expanded the labor market and economic activities in those territories.

When there are strong linkages with dynamic markets, the role of external actors in the processes is instrumental in assessing whether the benefits of growth will be more or less inclusive. By the nature of the product (i.e. Loja’s coffee), some markets have more linkages and attract certain extraterritorial actors who are more likely to allow more pro-poor market-governance forms. Other markets rely on the income generated by extraction of a natural resource, attracting certain extraterritorial actors who set limits to the adaptation of market-governance forms. Even in this case there is some room to act depending on existing territorial structures. In Tarija, for example, a long standing agrarian bourgeoisie may have helped developed coalitions more able to confront extraterritorial actors and exert control over where gas-exploitation income should be invested.
Public Policies and Dynamic Markets

- In all territories studied the possibility of having access to dynamic markets is fundamentally amplified by having access to infrastructure. In Santo Tomas, the increase in dairy production occurred after the construction of a road to Managua, but an increase in competitiveness is linked to the arrival of electricity. In Chiloe, the availability of a fully developed infrastructure network (including roads and rural electrification) made possible the establishment of the salmon industry.

- A second level of State participation targets public policies related to developing individual and institutional capacities that allow greater equality of opportunities. Without the availability of sufficiently strong social capital in a territory, so that physical infrastructure can be used in a productively inclusive way, the benefits will give way to more powerful actors. Investment in irrigation in O’Higgins (Chile) and in roads in Santo Tomas (Nicaragua) has disproportionally favored the largest enterprises. This is in part due to weak institutions.

- The implementation of equal-opportunity public policies in the territory is also instrumental. The amount of public investment and the way in which it is invested determines whether or not growth will be more inclusive. In Tungurahua, the existence of a dynamic city and an internal-road system that support a network of street and rural markets is not by chance. It is the result of sustained collective actions over time, in a territory that has allowed the investment of public goods in such a way that it maximizes the network’s positive distributive effects. On the other hand, when more radical transformations in the productive structure take place (as in O’ Higgins, Chiloe and Santa Catarina), there is also a change in how actors relate to one another, and this has deep implications on how markets operate. When actors have significantly different opportunities for accessing information, markets and capital, and the territory lacks enough internal social capital to have leverage, only the State can intervene through the enforcement of public policies.
Latin American rural societies have stopped being what the average person commonly understands as “rural” – a space in which dispersed populations, with few public services, and with a “different” culture live in relatively far and isolated “countryside” communities practicing agriculture and other primary activities. More and more everyday this “deep rurality” carries less economic, demographic and political weight and significance. In countries like Chile, Mexico and Colombia, the percentage of the population living in “deep rural” territories is only 6%, 7% and 17%, respectively. At the far side of this, we find a deeply rooted myth of an über-urbanized Latin America despite the fact the 62% of the population lives outside the largest 79 Latin American urban centers with more than 750,000 residents.

The intermediate space that lies between the deep rural world and the large cities and metropolises constitutes the fundamental element of rurality in contemporary Latin America. It is a heterogeneous space, composed of markedly rural territories and rural-urban territories with one or more medium-size cities with a significant close functional relationship to their rural surroundings.

“In today’s rurality we are witnesses to many rural-urban exchanges and complementarities, in which everything that happens in many cities, especially in intermediate cities and their rural surroundings, is intimately connected. I think this can help us break away from the dichotomy characteristic not only of the academic world but also of rural development proposals and urban integration strategies”.

Manuel Chiriboga, Researcher at Rimisp
In Rimisp’s News Portal, 24/01/2012
The influence urban centers have over the dynamic of rural-urban territories travels through a variety of mechanisms: Greater human capital and social diversity, more coverage of basic public services, greater access to specialized services for businesses and individuals, a larger and more diversified labor market, less employment gaps between men and women, better physical and virtual connectivity, greater public investment gaps between the urban center and its rural surroundings, and greater political competition in local government. These conditions and capacities are given by the city and play an important role in the entire territory through mechanisms that can be classified in three categories: economic, socio-demographic, and political and cultural.

There are four economic mechanisms that stand out in our case studies. First, cities in the territories constitute final markets for many local producers and merchants, especially for small-scale economic actors. Second, specialized services for businesses are created and offered in cities. Third, cities not only offer more employment than those available in deep rural territories, but also offer differentiated employment, which is instrumental for many of the poor rural households that lack access to enough land to support their likelihood with self-sufficient agricultural strategies. Female participation in formalized labor is also significantly greater in rural-urban territories than in rural territories without a city. Fourth, cities attract to the territory organizations such as businesses, governmental agencies, research and education centers, etc., which augment their capacity for innovation. Cities also serve as connection hubs for internal and external rural and urban social networks.

Economic functions have a variety of effects on the territory. Among them, there are two that stand out: the ability of the territory to capture a greater percentage of the local economic surplus in comparison to what a deep rural territory without a city could capture; and the emergence of new types of economic structures, a factor that according to Program research is a key element in achieving socially inclusive growth. In some cases, however, there are predatory relationships that harm the rural sector.
From a social and demographic perspective, evidence shows that cities in territories are important spaces for the concentration of poor rural people, even though extreme poverty is disproportionately found in rural territories. At the same time, however, small and medium-size cities in rural territories have been decisive in reducing unmet basic needs among rural people living in poverty. Moreover, the cost to the poor of securing certain minimum living standards is less in these rural-urban territories than in deep rural territories.

It is not only these poor rural people who concentrate in small and medium-size cities but also a percentage, seemingly increasing, of farmers and agricultural workers with a higher standard of living. As the road infrastructure improves, people are able to move to the city, where household members can benefit from having access to more services and less social isolation, as well as traveling daily to work in the fields. Small and medium-size rural cities also provide refuge and greater relative security to people living in rural areas affected by violence and insecurity. Moreover, case studies have produced large amounts of evidence pointing to the fact that the presence of a city within a territory reduces the rate of emigration of young people to large urban centers.

From the political and cultural perspective, evidence shows that the presence of non-agrarian actors in territories with a city allows for the emergence of new elites and a variety of agreements among social groups. Sometimes, these actors are external, arriving to the territory due to the availability of a city; other times, social groups are internal to the territory but used to base their livelihood on agrarian activities. Little by little, these groups became urbanized both in location and life strategies. Finally, some of these groups combine into their livelihood both agrarian and urban elements.
Compared to deep rural territories, in rural-urban territories these new elites put forth new discourses and development “programs” or agendas. For example, elites seem to be instrumental in introducing environmental awareness and in leading or fostering environmentally focused movements and processes that favor citizen participation. They also bring with them social capital, or the networks and relationships that are often very different from those of agrarian actors found in deep rural territories.

The new elites that emerge with the presence of a city in a territory also affect agrarian actors. There is evidence in many of the case studies of urban actors, with extraterritorial influence, being behind many agricultural and agro-industrial businesses and many of the agrarian modernization processes. Their objectives and perspective on the territory are markedly different from large landowners and farmers with historical local tradition and standing.

Cities in rural-urban territories increase contact between the territory and political representatives: senators, other members of Congress, mayors, council people, and chiefs of parties. Deep rural territories generally often receive programs designed from a central perspective, while rural-urban territories more frequently receive customized investments, projects and programs. These are possible due to their increased contact with political powers.

In a rural-urban territory, all these mechanisms operate simultaneously. Some of them favor and others hinder the achievement of growth, poverty reduction and income distribution objectives. The intra-territorial interactions between these mechanisms at any given moment are extremely complex.
Complementary Analyses

As part of the Program, complementary econometric analyses were implemented in Chile, Colombia and Mexico in order to analyze the relationship between the presence of a city within a territory and changes in income, poverty and income inequality.

According to the econometric studies:

• Generally speaking, the presence of a city in a rural-urban territory is associated with greater economic growth and more poverty reduction, accompanied by a moderate increase in income concentration (as compared to rural territories without a city).

• Each of the economic, social, demographic, political and cultural mechanisms that operate in rural-urban territories has a particular effect on each of the three dimensions of development mentioned before - growth, poverty reduction and income distribution. Therefore, the end result of the simultaneous action of all these mechanisms cannot be easily predicted or controlled for all territories in a country.

• The trade off observed between general tendencies that favor growth and poverty reduction on one hand, and an increase in income inequality on the other, can be mitigated by implementing public policies specifically designed for this purpose.

“Despite their importance to rural areas, intermediate cities are not usually the target of rural development policies in Latin America. From this point of view, a territorial focus can offer interesting and innovating perspectives to deal with the development of rural-urban systems in a comprehensive way, and generate proposals that foster the virtuous articulations -and mitigate negative ones—that emerge between the countryside and the city”.

Felix Modrego, Researcher at Rimisp
In opinion column for the Spanish-language portaldelcampo.cl 03/26/2012
Public Investment

Public investment has the potential to be a transformative force in rural territories. The case studies carried out in the dry lands of O’Higgins in Chile, Santo Tomas in Nicaragua, the north Banks of Cerron Grande wetlands in El Salvador, Cariri and Jiquirica in Brazil, the Yucatan in Mexico, the South-Ocongate Valley in Peru and Tarija in Bolivia, among others, shed more light on the subject.

There is not always a direct and positive relationship between public investment and changes that lead to economic growth with social inclusion and environmental sustainability. The effects of this investment are affected by the formal and informal institutional frameworks that operate in the territory, and by the role that various coalitions play in attracting, regulating and/or controlling the type, location and flow of those investments. This has been observed in the various effects public investment has had on six territories analyzed by the Program (see textbox below).

The popular idea that problems in lagging territories are due to a lack of public investment is incorrect. By itself, public investment can have a variety of effects on a territory, including mitigating or eliminating poverty traps while also reinforcing inequality traps. Some types of public investment can also solve significant deficiencies in a territory and reduce the gap between the local and national averages of some indicators, such as education or health coverage, without altering poverty levels or achieving greater economic growth.

A factor that does make a difference on localized impacts of public-investment initiatives is the role played by territorial social actors in decisions about what to invest, when to invest it and how to invest it. This is not only a problem in which national decision makers do not consider citizen participation mechanisms, but it is also related to the relative capacity of the different social actors to have a vision and proposal for needed investment and, especially, to be able to be counted, heard and be able to influence decision-making processes.

“The territory as a social construct is a space with identity and a development project agreed between all the different sectors that make up its social fabric. With this aim, many formulas have emerged for the creation of participatory opportunities, such as public-private platforms, round tables, councils, etc. However, an abundance of experience shows that the great majority of cases results in frustration because decisions about where funds should be invested are not taken using these participatory bodies”.

Alejandro Schejtman, Researcher at Rimisp, in Equitiera Magazine № 6 - June 2010.
Public Investments: Dissimilar Effects on Territories

• On the north banks of the Cerron Grande wetlands in El Salvador, territorial social construction has been largely affected by the game played between external decisions on public investment and the attempts by internal actors to resist and sometimes influence these flow of resources. Its regional identity as a provider of environmental services to the rest of the country is the result of this game. Nonetheless, although this investment has altered both the territorial landscape and productive structures, it has not been able to act as a catalyst for creating a localized virtuous circle of socially-inclusive and environmental sustainable economic growth. This could be because social coalitions lack the power to make their development project prevail over exogenous decisions on large infrastructure projects.

• Cariri, in Paraiba, Brazil, is characterized by an agrarian structure typical of the large northeastern hacienda, with very weak ties to dynamic markets and a social structure until recently controlled by a small elite group of large landowners. Territorial dynamics change at the end of the 20th century with the withdrawal of old subsidies that supported cotton cultivation and extensive cattle farming, and with their replacement with public expenditures oriented toward the poor majority. These expenditures included pension programs, conditional money transfers, family agriculture support, etc. Until now, however, the social majorities have not been able to convert these new investments into self-sustaining ongoing development, and there is evidence of a new type of dependency, this time with the new social and political structures that manage public programs.

• In Jiquirica, Brazil, the same programs and forms of public investment implemented in Cariri have given dynamism to the local economy and strengthened the role that family farmers play in it. This could be explained in part by its structural and productive history, its relationship with the markets, and the role of cities in the territory. Due to these more favorable structural conditions, small businessmen in Jiquirica, both farmers and merchants, have developed social abilities and accumulated various types of capital to respond to political opportunities created by the new public programs.
• **In Yucatan, Mexico,** in the early 1990s, the state ended investments that for decades had been supporting the henequen industry, leading to its collapse. The implementation of large social safety nets followed, however, which included money-transfer programs to people and households, a subsidy system for the countryside, and dozens of support programs to micro and small enterprises. Large investments of resources are also being funneled into building roads and the creation of direct and indirect subsidies to the textile manufacturing industry, which today has become the largest employer in the territory.

• **In Tarija, Bolivia,** the type of public investment most relevant during the period studied was financed by gas income and oriented toward building road and water infrastructures, urban renewal, rural electrification projects, and education and health services. The destination of these investments has been influenced by pre-existing territorial social coalitions that have the capacity to negotiate the usage of gas income.

• **In the South-Ocongate Valley in Peru,** public investment is financed by some of the mining tax sent directly to district governments in the territory. The availability of these resources coincided with a change in the profile of local authorities, favoring mayors from rural or indigenous backgrounds, with educational or labor experience in a city, and who embraced a discourse that combined the *developmentalist* logic of development programs, on which many of them had worked, with a distinct recognition of their ethnic roots. The result was a “modernizing *indigenism*”. Given the fragmentation of Peru’s political system, these local authorities do not need to be part of political platforms or parties at the national or regional level, so the local agenda dominates without competition. This has resulted in funds being invested mostly in projects of infrastructure, irrigation, education and digital connectivity. It has also discouraged municipal coordination and fragmented investment at the district level – the lowest level possible.

In Jiquirica there are two different territorial dynamics at play. One segment of the territory depends on these public programs, which creates an issue because, if the programs change, all that was accomplished through them is lost. There is another segment in the territory, however, that takes advantage of these incentives only to gather momentum, and in which farmers are able to sell their surplus in the urban markets. This is how they become less dependent on government subsidies.

Arlson Favareto, Academic at ABC Federal University in Sao Paulo, Researcher at the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (Cebrap) and RTD Program Partner
Web interview for Rimisp, 03/12/2012
A social coalition is defined as a group of diverse actors carrying out converging activities around a territorial development dynamic. A coalition differs from other forms of collective action, including interest groups with more specific interests or social movements with less diversity of actors. There are five necessary elements a coalition must have to differ from other forms of collective action:

• **Diversity of actors.** Coalitions must be understood as an answer to a need. Coalitions emerge when one actor alone cannot secure by itself the necessary support to achieve its objectives and needs the support of other actors. For social coalition members, being part of a coalition involves not only advantages but also calculations and risks. Incentives to form a coalition are greater when members perceive a threat that puts their interests and survival as autonomous social actors in danger. Therefore, it is not surprising that coalitions are easier to observe and analyze during social and political tension periods, when tensions are more pronounced and territorial projects more differentiated.

• **The existence of converging objectives among its members.** This does not mean that a total coincidence of goals must exist between coalition partners. It also does not assume that coalition members must articulate a shared project—but if this project does exist, it can provide a significant advantage. Although some coalitions have a set of explicitly stated objectives, through a program or manifesto, these are the result of the synergy of individual interests that do not necessarily become an explicit program of work.

• **Medium to long-term focus.** For cooperative action to be considered a coalition it must go beyond a convergence of short-term interests. Case studies demonstrate that coalitions can have life cycles of several decades even though their institutional life travels through many stages, with periods of more or less intensity. Moments in which there

“I think Rimisp is conceptually and practically identifying new concepts, both in defining territories as well as in defining social groups that are involved in the interactions to identify and solve their issues, and in which the public sector’s role is to facilitate the process”.

**Stephen A. Vosti, RTD Program Evaluator**

*Equitierra Magazine N°11 - March 2012*
is great cohesion between its members can be followed by periods of weaker ties due to a lack of defined goals or because the original coalition objectives have been accomplished. In this sense, we can talk about rigid coalitions that maintain the same program of work throughout their life span, and of adaptive coalitions, which recreate themselves over and over in order to adapt to different situations without losing continuity in their actions.

- **Availability of diversified resources.** Coalitions gain power when they combine the strengths and capacities of various actors. Their resource, capital and asset diversity has an effect on the type of action each coalition can take in each context. At the symbolic level, coalitions usually depart from a set of shared beliefs, ideas, norms and values that are tied to the situation members want to maintain or modify. In certain circumstances, this community of interests and perceptions can take the shape of an articulated discourse or even of a heroic narrative that generates cohesion among its members and increases the coalition’s legitimacy vis-à-vis other actors.

- **The capacity to implement an articulated set of actions.** Coalitions are defined as such when they have a defined action framework and seek to create change in the social dynamics. The existence of a territorial coalition does not mean that it will necessarily promote an economic growth dynamic with social inclusion and environmental sustainability. Those coalitions that do indeed transform the territory in such a way are defined as transformative social coalitions. This type of coalition has the following characteristics:

  - Most of its members are interested in achieving one of the objectives in the virtuous circle that, by agreement, becomes a central objective for the coalition.

  - It has the power to achieve its objectives. This power is derived from tangible and intangible resources—a variety of combinations between economic, social, cultural and political capital. Once in play, these resources are enough to achieve the coalition’s goals.

  - It has the capacity to generate and communicate a territorial discourse considered legitimate by other actors who eventually also assume it as their own.

Not all coalitions agree on the type of territorial dynamics needed. Case studies show, most of all, that coalitions vary according to how they handle the growth-versus-social-inclusion dilemma. Coalitions can promote growth processes, advance redistributive mechanisms or focus on improving social inclusion and/or the capacity of agency of territorial actors. But the number of cases in which these goals are achieved, all at the same time, is very limited. In the RTD Program we found three types of coalitions:

- Coalitions that focus on economic growth as their main objective (i.e. in Chiloé in Chile and in Ostua-Guija in Guatemala).

- Coalitions that seek social inclusion as their main goal (i.e. in Cerron Grande in El Salvador and Jiquirica in Brazil).

- Coalitions that promote dynamics that combine both objectives (i.e. in Tungurahua in Ecuador and the South-Ocongate Valley in Peru).
Conclusions on Social Coalitions

Case studies lead us to formulate six main conclusions on social coalitions and their role in territorial dynamics:

- **The history of territorial coalitions cannot be told in black and white.** In order to understand change dynamics that favor inclusive development we must include the gray areas. Few coalitions are always successful or achieve all of their objectives. More commonly, there is a mix of successes and failures or limited achievements.

- **The origin of coalitions is related to changes in the incentives perceived by member actors.** We can talk about two types of coalitions: prospective coalitions that emerge in order to create changes in territorial dynamics when actors perceive a window of opportunity (as in the salmon coalition industry in Chiloe); and reactive coalitions, which are born as an answer to the changes that have already been produced in territorial dynamics (as in Jiquirica, where coalitions seek to take advantage of changes in national policies).

- **The complexity of change processes is a constant in all case studies.** Coalitions studied for the Program are successful in several ways: They promote institutional changes for production and commerce (Chiloe, Ostua-Guija, South-Ocongate Valley, Tungurahua), expand common believes that make medium and long-term changes in public policies possible (Cerron Grande, Jiquirica), and favor focusing public policies or private initiatives on territories where they operate (Chiloe, Jiquirica). These changes can occur through breaks that allow radical changes to take place in relatively short time periods (Chiloe). In other cases, however, changes are gradual and the breaking point cannot be easily identified.

- **On one hand, coalitions allow external change impulses to become rooted in the territory.** On the other, they permit territorially born impulses to be adopted by other actors and to gain the necessary strength to materialize. The most successful coalitions are those able to assume action strategies at several levels. In other words, coalitions that achieve their objectives can express their goals not only at the territorial level but also at the national and, eventually, international levels.
• A key characteristic of a social coalition is the capacity for agency of its members, especially of traditionally excluded actors. Coalitions tend to bet on a more-inclusive agenda as long as territories have actors with a consolidated capacity for agency. However, coalitions can become themselves catalysts for that agency by offering the space and resources for less privileged actors to identify and defend their interests, including these underprivileged groups into the decision-making process, or increasing their practical competency. However, if territorial actors have little capacity for agency, dominant coalitions can represent sectoral interests that lack inclusion, as is in Chiloe and Ostua-Guija. In these cases, a crucial element for fighting this tendency is the existence of mediating actors that can set a new path for the situation and force dominant coalitions to negotiate certain practices. Mediating actors can do this by imposing limitations on dominant-coalition activities or negotiating counter-provisions.

• Building coalition legitimacy is a very important factor. By legitimacy we mean the characteristic in which coalition objectives are accepted as valid by other territorial actors. For a coalition to gain legitimacy it is necessary to have a combination of several types of capital and the existence of a discourse or account that gives meaning to its actions. When these elements come together, it is possible for a coalition to gain a high degree of legitimacy and be included in the territorial decision-making processes.
“Half of the territories have not experienced any growth, a third of them are not able to escape poverty, and let us not talk about the almost generalized stagnation in what equity is concerned. That relatively successful 12%, however, shows us that inclusive and sustainable territorial development is possible, and that we must demand power holders to move in that direction. The challenge lies in finding well-aimed formulas that take into account the urgency of this matter—the serious needs and suffering of dozens of millions of people in Latin America”.

Julio Berdegue, RTD Program Coordinator
In interview published by the digital newspaper Equilibrium, 04/14/2012
Maps of Territorial Heterogeneity

In an effort to go beyond what national averages usually reflect, and to give a perspective on the dimension of territorial development in Latin America, the first stage of the RTD Program was to analyze changes in per-capita income or consumption, poverty rate, and per-capita income or consumption distribution during the period between the last two population censuses of nine of the 11 countries studied. The analysis was done in each of the 9,000 municipalities in all countries involved, using the data of 400 million people at two specific points in time.

In all countries, we used the same Small Area Estimates method and data from the same types of sources (national population censuses and national household surveys that include income and consumption measurements), with the exception of Brazil, where the study was based on direct measurements of household income included in the country’s demographic census. The Small Area Estimates method allows us to combine information gathered from household living-standards surveys and population censuses in order to obtain well-being indicators with high levels of spatial disaggregation.

The analysis results are included in Table 1.

Table 1. Different territorial dynamics produced unequal results in regards to growth and social inclusion for nine countries in Latin America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>In the period between the two most recent population censuses there were favorable and statistically significant changes in the territory in regards to:</th>
<th>Municipalities²</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per Capita Income or Expenditures</td>
<td>Poverty Rate</td>
<td>Per Capita Income Distribution (Gini Coefficient) or Expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Modrego y Berdegue (2012)

1 Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru.
2 Provinces in Peru and Colombia, and parishes (a municipality subdivision) in Ecuador; in other countries, municipalities and their equivalents.
The first and perhaps most significant observation is that in all countries, including those with high poverty and low growth during the period analyzed, it is possible to find territories that experienced growth while simultaneously reducing poverty and improving income distribution. During the period considered, almost all countries (except Chile) did not experience social and economic bonanzas, but even then there were several million of Latin American people that in nearly 12% of territories studied were able to increase their living standards in the three dimensions mentioned.

It is true that if we only consider Type 1 dynamics (improvement in all three indicators), most countries (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua) show very low percentages of residents living under those conditions. However, if we add type 2 and 3 territories, which experienced growth with at least one other social indicator, even in those countries we can see a significant presence of dynamics more favorable to development. These cases are enough to conclude that they are not abnormalities. In other words, growth with significant degrees of social inclusion at the territorial level is possible in Latin America.

The second observation, complementary to the first, is that this type of development is unfortunately not very common, since 12% of the municipalities house less than 10% of the population. We cannot expect the status quo to result in the type of development we all aspire to attain, and changing this trend will require the intentional action of society and the State.

Another trend worth highlighting is that success measured by the national averages and aggregates does not imply that at the sub-national level there are more municipalities experiencing Type 1 dynamics with an improvement in all three indicators. The clearest example is Chile, which in the 1990s experienced spectacular economic growth and advances in poverty reduction almost or even more impressive. However, only 2% of its municipalities (with less than 1% of the total population) showed growth dynamics with poverty reduction and more equitable income distribution. Even if we add Type 2 territories to the equation, only 40% of Chile’s population resides in territories that followed the national pattern. Conversely, El Salvador is a country that during the period considered did not have a particularly distinguished socio-economic performance; however, at the sub-national level, 11% of its territories show Type 1 dynamics accounting for 7% of the total population. The lesson here is that in countries as unequal as ours, averages tend to hide significant differences, and that a country’s aggregate progress does not necessarily mean that all or even most of its territories are benefited.

Another aspect we should emphasize is that although each country’s macro-regions include areas with more or less wealth, even in the poorest ones there are territories experiencing growth and poverty and inequality reduction. The Brazil experience, for example, is especially useful to illustrate this situation. In the northeast macro-region, an area with extensive and deeply rooted poverty, 17% of the municipalities are experiencing growth with poverty and inequality reductions, and another 22% shows growth with decreasing poverty. Among the 570 municipalities studied in Oaxaca, Mexico, a state characterized by poverty and a high
Maps of Territorial Dynamics: “A Resounding Success”

With the goal of performing a technical assessment of territorial dynamics national maps, the Program’s monitoring and evaluation team hired Dr. Peter Lanjouw, Research Manager of the Poverty Group at the Development Economics Research Group of the World Bank and one of the methodology creators that formed the basis for map creation. Dr. Lanjouw and his team gave a positive review to the results. “My general impression is that this project has been a resounding success,” said Lanjouw.

Among other things, the assessment report* highlighted the ambitious effort to systematize development information at the local level, and particularly of its changes over time. This information was not previously available and constitutes a contribution to understanding territorial development disparities in Latin America and to the design of geographically focused development policies. The results of this assessment provide significant backing to the quality and fidelity of the work being carried out by the Program as it moves forward in its research.


percentage of indigenous residents, we observed five municipalities with improvements in all indicators, and 267 in which, even though inequality did not decrease, there was a significant reduction in poverty.

In contrast, in the rich states of Sinaloa and Sonora we could not find a Type 1 municipality, meaning, one that experienced improvements in all three indicators, and only two municipalities showed growth coupled only with a significant reduction in poverty.

The following observation must be considered in conjunction with the first one, since that one speaks of a “glass half full,” while this one talks about what still remains to be done. At the aggregate level for all nine countries, the most frequently found category both in number of territories and population percentages is Type 8. In this type, both growth and social development—defined by reduction in poverty levels and income inequality—are absent. If we add Type 7 territories, in which no growth or poverty reduction were observed, and where the improved Gini coefficient is probably due to the fact that most residents have become poorer either because there was a generalized decrease in income or because the less or not poor emigrated, we can observe that 54% of the 387 million people live in territories that experienced no progress during the period considered. Although Mexico and Brazil have a lot of weight in the aggregate numbers, we observe the same preponderance of the worst types of territorial dynamics in seven of the nine countries. Ecuador embodies the most dramatic case with three quarters of its parishes experiencing stagnation dynamics (Type 7 and 8) affecting little over 40% of its population. This predominance of municipalities with stagnation dynamics is also found in countries with better aggregate numbers, such as Chile, where 40% of the municipalities—or a third of the total population—shows Type 7 and 8 dynamics. What this means is that a third of Chile’s population has not been equally benefitted from the growth dynamics observed at the national level.

Another trend worth mentioning comes from analyzing the results exclusively from a growth perspective: Less than half (42%) of the sub-national units in these countries show evidence of significant income or
consumption growth. The fact that the number of residents in these types of units is proportionally lower (36%), questions the supposedly univocal relationship between agglomeration and economic growth. While in some countries, including Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Chile, dynamics with economic growth (types 1 through 4) tend to include a larger population percentage than sub-national units, in several others, such as Brazil, El Salvador and Mexico, household income growth seems to be more frequently found in sub-national units with relatively lower population numbers.

However, in places where growth is found, it is also more probable to observe poverty reduction; meaning, type 1 and 2 territories are a lot more frequent and involve a larger population than types 3 and 4. This trend is found in all countries except Colombia, where growth dynamics without any traces of social inclusion is most frequently found and affects 40% of the population. Of the total number of territories experiencing growth, 85% also shows poverty reduction. There are countries in which the relationship is almost absolute, such as in Ecuador, where 98% of the parishes experiencing growth also showed a reduction in poverty. But we also observed that the average population in a territory where growth without poverty reduction is found is 2.5 times greater than the average population in territories where growth is accompanied by a fall in the poverty rates. This suggests that growth in territories with small to medium-size cities is more pro-poor than growth in large cities and metropolises.

The relationship between growth and income inequality reduction is a lot more elusive than the relationship between growth and poverty reduction. The comparison is established by examining Type 1 and 3 dynamics (growth with greater equality) and Type 2 and 4 (growth without improved distribution). Only 30% of the territories that increased their average incomes also had greater equality among their beneficiaries. This trend in which growth is dissociated from more equal distribution is particularly evident in Chile, Ecuador and Mexico. In all three countries, less than 10% of the municipalities experienced growth together with
a reduction in inequality, with 6%, 7% y 9%, respectively. Unlike the relationship between growth and poverty, in the growth-distribution binomial there are no differences in the population size of territories that grew with or without more equal distribution. Based on evidence in regards to the reducing effect of the pro-poor potential of economic growth that results in greater inequity (Datt and Ravallion, 1992; Bourguignon, 2003), we can assume that, faced with persistently high levels of inequality in most of the territories in the region, economic growth has lost its potential to territorially expand poverty reduction.

In six of the nine countries studied, poverty reduction dynamics without growth (Type 5 and 6) are significant: Brazil (20% of the territories and 12% of the population); Chile (19% and 16%); Ecuador (15% and 12%); El Salvador (19% and 31%); Mexico (11% and 10%); and Guatemala (25% y 23%). As we can see, the percentage of the population living in this situation is in almost all cases less than the percentage of territories overall, which indicates that this phenomenon involves these types of more rural places. One possible hypothesis is that poverty reduction in these territories is the result of social subsidies (especially government money transfer programs, either conditional or not, which were significant in Mexico, Brazil and Chile during the period considered) or of migrant remittances, which are very relevant in all the countries mentioned except in Chile and Brazil. These findings are significant because they suggest the existence of many countries in which dynamics, if not also poverty reduction political strategies, have become dislodged, at least partially, from growth economic dynamics. In other words, there are territories in which social inclusion happens through growth, and others in which social inclusion comes about due to public or private transfers. In all nine countries, for each territory that reduces poverty through growth there is another that seems to achieve it through private or public income transfers.

Another trend that deserves mention is that just as territories with significant income or consumption growth did not show better distribution, we also did not see evidence of growth in areas in which inequality increased. Two of the three territories in which inequality was reduced did not experience significant increases in average income or consumption.

Type 7 dynamics, with improvements in inequality only, is common in several countries: Nicaragua (24% of its municipalities), and Brazil and Peru (16% and 41% of their provinces, respectively). In countries such as Brazil and Peru, these dynamics are found within a context of constant or slightly greater national inequality during the period considered. This dynamic could have been present as a result of a decrease in wealth or because poverty was becoming “more equal” perhaps because people with higher income were moving to other regions in the country, rather than due to an improvement in conditions among people living in poverty.

Related to this wealth relocation phenomenon there could be an underlying process of spatial economic polarization. Program case studies in Chile show how, within a context of generalized household income growth, income of a few very wealthy municipalities tends to diverge from most of the income in other municipalities. Peru went through a process of growing spatial polarization in which inter-provincial inequality increased from 6% in 1993 to 25% in 2007.
Moving Beyond the Program…

Our territorial dynamics maps have been noticed by several international organizations.

• A team from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) used results for our study in Ecuador—carried out by the Simon Bolivar Andean University—to help define the territorial focus of a new project fighting poverty in northern Ecuador.

• Colombia’s RTD Program teams (Los Andes University), Mexico (College of Mexico) and Brazil (Sao Paulo University) used data from their respective maps to contribute to a world-wide localization study on areas with high rural poverty concentrations. This work is part of the “Strategic and Results Framework” implemented by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI, Washington DC) to guide the work done by the Consulting Group for International Agricultural Research in the upcoming years.
Polarization Studies: Taking a Closer Look at Inequalities

The concept of economic polarization allows us to analyze the degree in which income distribution organizes around homogenous and antagonist groups. Although it maintains a close relationship with inequality, polarization is a different phenomenon that can provide a complementary look at income distribution studies, useful in understanding exclusion and conflict-emergence phenomena between social groups. Using information gathered through territorial dynamics mapping initiatives, two Program studies were done: one in Chile and one in Peru.

**Ethnic Polarization of Rural Incomes in Southern Chile**

In order to analyze polarization from a geographical perspective, Rimisp Researchers Ximena Celis, Felix Modrego and Julio Berdegue employed the Small Area Estimates methodology, which allowed them to obtain fairly precise communal (municipal) estimations regarding ethnic polarization of rural population incomes. Results showed that:

- Ethnic polarization of rural incomes is a highly variable phenomenon that manifests itself very differently when compared to inequality. We found a high number of comunas with high polarization rates and low inequality, and vice versa.

- Polarization is a relatively localized phenomenon found in the southern Bio Bio region and north-central areas of La Araucania. These highly polarized areas coincide with regions in which the forest industry has been in conflict with neighboring Mapuche communities.

- Polarization is mostly found in poor comunas with a high percentage of Mapuche residents. Indigenous household incomes tend to concentrate at the lower level of a relatively homogenous poverty distribution chart. In areas with the highest income, however, we find less polarization due to greater income distribution within both indigenous and non-indigenous social groups.

- Ethnic income polarization seems to be the result of social, political and economic processes that keep indigenous groups excluded from development opportunities generated by local economic growth.

Results suggest that Chile’s southern rural economies supported by the large forest industry are particularly exclusionary of this social group. Public policies oriented toward improving living standards for indigenous households are face with two challenges: closing the socio-economic gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous groups, and reducing stratification trends within the indigenous population.
In order to achieve greater social equity, the various dimensions of exclusion and the way it operates in Chile's rural context must be recognized. Differentiated strategies with a territorial emphasis can contribute in a fundamental way to complement current national policies targeting indigenous communities.

**Polarization and Segregation in Income Distribution in Peru**

The study carried out by GRADE Researchers Javier Escobal and Carmen Ponce helps to increase our understanding about income-distribution inequality dynamics in Peru for the last three decades.

In recent years, Peru experienced the greatest crisis in its republican history, with a mix of dramatic internal conflict and hyperinflation. Strict macro-economic policy adjustments and a set of structural reforms were implemented, followed by a dictatorship and the intensification of an economic liberalization process. After returning to democracy, sustained growth and a significant reduction in poverty have been achieved. Democracy has supported the restructuration of Peru's social fabric, despite the fact that most people still think economic growth benefits achieved during the 90s and early 2000s have been unequally distributed. This perception has contributed to an increase in social conflicts mainly centered on natural-resource management and use.

The study is faced with the fact that indicators commonly used to measure inequality, such as the Gini or Theil coefficients, are helpful when measuring inequality among individuals within a society but are not sensitive to spatial segregation and polarization processes or differences between social groups. As long as inequality associated to segregation and polarization seems to have greater implications for the degree of social conflict, it increases our interest in including it in the analysis.
Employing per-capita expenditures, poverty and inequality growth numbers for 1981, 1993 and 2007, the study found that:

- Although the inequality of per-capita expenditures between individuals (measured by the Gini or the Theil coefficient) shows a slightly decreasing trend, there has been an increase in inequalities between groups, inequalities that are associated to segregation and polarization processes and associated to greater social conflict in the literature.

- There is also a long-term tendency toward spatial segregation and polarization in large cities, different from dynamics found in small cities and towns.

- This tendency toward increasing spatial polarization goes hand in hand with an increase in polarization between indigenous and non-indigenous groups; however, the same trend is not found between groups with different education levels.

The study serves to complement traditionally used individual inequality indicators with indicators that seek to include several dimensions of spatial inequality and inequality between social groups. Under this hypothesis, it is perfectly possible for favorable Gini income indicators to coexist with significant income polarization processes between social groups or national spaces.

“That a country is experiencing growth does not mean there are no other areas falling behind. Examining this issue with harder evidence helps to make it visible. With information generated by territorial dynamics maps, the RTD Program is leaving a public good behind so other people can use it in highlighting spatial inequality aspects that before, due to lack of data, had not been documented. This was done with polarization studies in Chile and Peru, which contributed new material for policy making. Social and territorial inequalities are interrelated, but require different approaches. In the same way, greater inequality is not the same as greater polarization, and also entails the creation of differentiated policies”.

Felix Modrego, Researcher at Rimisp
The 2011 Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality was completed at the end of 2011. This Report is one of the key results produced by the RTD Program through the project Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development. During 2012 there has been a tireless campaign to disseminate the Report throughout Latin America.

“A PARTICULAR PERSPECTIVE. This research deals with the issue of social inclusion from a territorial inequality perspective. The Report is organized in two sections. The first section delves into territorial inequality by tackling six development and well-being dimensions: education, health, economic dynamism and employment, income and poverty, citizen safety and gender. The analysis covers ten countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru.

The second section analyzes the role played by public policies and territorial capacities, both at the societal and local government levels, in creating and overcoming territorial inequalities. In this section there is a particular focus on:

- The role of sectoral policies. It is postulated that the same policy can contribute to the development of one territory, have no impact on another, and negatively affect a third one. To expand on this issue, we present the cases of school education policy in Chile, rural development programs in Mexico, and the Human Development Voucher program in Ecuador.

- The role and capacities of local governments. Administrative capacity indicators for local governments are analyzed because they reflect inequalities in these areas between territories.

- The role of social actors. We present two successful cases of territorial development: The “Sierra Sur Project,” a program from the Ministry of Agriculture in Peru financed by IFAD, and the experiences lived in the southern Santander provinces through the project “Territorial Solidarity” in Colombia. Both are the result of successful territorial management initiatives that integrate several actors, providing a strong citizen and democratic component. This has led to an increase in local management capacities and innovation in building development tools and overcoming poverty.

"Looking to use this knowledge as food for thought in public policy decision-making processes targeting development gaps, the Report discusses the relationship between poverty and inequality in Latin America’s regions and territories, and shows that average socio-economic indicators in each country often hide important differences between their territories or between a variety of political-administrative unites”.

Ignacia Fernandez, Coordinator of the 2011 Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality
KEY CONCLUSIONS. Among key findings and messages produced by the 2011 Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality, the following stand out:

- According to measured indicators, it is confirmed that enormous territorial inequities exist within countries in Latin America.

- Regardless of average country results, when considering education, health, economic dynamism and employment, and the gender dimension, several sub-national territories are falling significantly behind and show some common characteristics: have a smaller population size, are more rural, tend to have a higher percentage of indigenous groups or afro-descendants, and tend to be located farther away from national capitals and/or large cities. Many of the lagging territories are located in border regions.

- The least-developed areas in those countries are grouped, constituting in this way territorial macro-regions with measurements below national averages.

- There are two large types of problems at the territorial level: urban areas are affected mainly by income inequity and citizen safety issues; rural areas lag behind in access to basic services and rights, such as health and education.

- Many times, public policies implemented by the countries considered not only do not solve territorial inequalities but aggravate or maintain them. This is the case in countries such as Chile, Mexico and Ecuador.

“This report proposes that regional inequalities, especially those as great as the ones found in Latin America, are a problem for and an obstacle to development. To understand and confront territorial gaps is not only useful for territories in which current relations are not what we would like. There is an abundance of evidence pointing to the fact that unequal relations have a significant cost at the national level. Our interest is not only to find out how much poverty grows or decreases in an aggregate or average way, but also to figure out how those results are distributed within a territory”.

2011 Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality
Report Distribution

Launch Events:

- Mexico, April 24th, at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)
- Chile, May 8th, Extension Center at the Catholic University of Chile
- El Salvador, July 5th
- Colombia, August 23rd
- Ecuador, June 5th, during the “2012 Territories in Motion” Conference
- Guatemala, May 23rd
- Costa Rica, August 8th, during the 7th International Conference on Territorial Economic Development and Employment in Latin America and the Caribbean

Seminars:

- “Rural Poverty and Inequality in Latin America and Mexico” (Mexico City, April 23rd)
- “Territorial Poverty and Inequality in Latin America” (Santiago, May 9th)

Website: www.informelatinoamericano.org

Besides the full Report, this website offers complete databases for downloading with information on all ten countries studied, as well as an application for creating graphs for each of the indicators. There are also maps that reflect territorial diversity based on the different indicators, and all documents used to prepare this report and press materials are available.

Press coverage related to the Report can be found here: www.informelatinoamericano.org/prensa/medios
Project on Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America

Collaborative efforts between the RTD Program and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) resulted in a comprehensive analysis on the impact the global financial crisis has had on rural poverty in Latin America, as well as proposals on how to confront it. This project focused on nine countries with the highest poverty rates in the region (Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Colombia, Paraguay, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic) and in the two countries with the largest number of people living in poverty (Brazil and Mexico).

The Project “Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America” was coordinated by Carolina Trivelli and her research team from the Institute for Peruvian Studies, a partner organization. Based on eleven case studies and a summary report on the effects of the crisis on the region, a seminar was held titled “From Financial Crisis to Rural Social Crisis: Choices on How IFAD can Respond in Latin America”. The seminar was held in April 2009 at IFAD’s headquarters in Rome, Italy. Its main theme was to look for viable strategies and interventions –to confront the effects brought on by the crisis– both in the short term (mitigation) and in the long term (development).

The seminar was inaugurated by Kanayo F. Nwanze, IFAD’s President, and was attended by the Brazilian Minister of Agricultural Development, Guilherme Cassel, as well as other representatives from UN agencies, the Ford Foundation, Regional Unit for Technical Assistance (RUTA) in Central America and Rimisp. It also received wide press coverage in Latin America, with more than 30 related articles published.

After the seminar, IFAD decided to allocate additional resources for the publication and distribution of eleven policy summaries based on our case studies, as well as the production and distribution of the summary report both in Spanish and English. Based on these publications, three summary documents were created that included cross-national themes specifically targeting the press during a media campaign.

- The impact of the crisis on poverty in those eleven countries (in general terms);
- The impact on rural poverty in particular and its implications for family agriculture; and
- The impact of the crisis on remittances.

For additional information:

- For full access to all Spanish-language working papers from the Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America report, please visit www.rimisp.org/dtr/documentos.
- Policy summary reports and press documents are available by visiting www.rimisp.org/dtr/crisisypobrezarural
- Articles and interviews (in Spanish) published by regional media outlets are found in the Pressroom section of our website at: www.rimisp.org/dtr/saladeprensa
Some of the findings include:

The global financial crisis directly affected all countries in a differentiated way, depending on each country’s conditions and ability to mitigate its impacts. The most vulnerable populations saw their income decrease due to a shortage of jobs, a decrease in migrant remittances, and a reduction of public expenditures, in particular those related to social services.

The study on Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America drew the following conclusions:

- The greatest effects from the crisis were felt in urban areas.
- Rural poverty rates increased.
- The flow of remittances experienced a generalized decrease.
- External demand for agricultural, mining and industrial products dropped, translating into less employment opportunities.
- Countries varied widely in their ability to maintain or increase public expenditures to counterbalance the effects from the crisis.

Proposal: To design counter-crisis policies as part of more comprehensive strategies for promoting and revitalizing the rural environment.
Gender Systems in Territorial Dynamics Research

The analysis of the role played by gender systems in rural territorial dynamics was approached in partnership with Lund University (Sweden).

CONCEPTUAL REDESIGN. A conceptual and methodological framework was built in 2010 in order to guide RTD Program studies. The approach includes two characteristics that give renewed consideration to gender issues:

• The gender perspective is integral and integrative. Throughout several decades of research, all the phenomena recognized as connected to “gender” have been conceptualized as roles, relationships, restrictions, institutions and orders, among others, with each one of these aspects having a variety of suppositions and implications. Within the RTD Program context, gender was defined as “a socio-cultural system that regulates, structures and gives meaning and power to human roles, relationships and practices, and that influences development, distribution and capital use”. The idea is to avoid limiting gender studies to women roles and conditions and emphasize socio-cultural institutions that regulate practices and relationships, as well as access to assets, of all territorial actors.

• The territory as unit of analysis. Most gender research instruments and analysis frameworks are designed with the individual or household level in mind. Since the RTD Program focuses on territorial phenomena and processes, we opted for a multi-scale approach that considers gender from the individual, community, territory and national level in order to highlight territorial dynamics.

RESEARCH PROJECT SUPPORT. In 2010, research teams in Mexico, Ecuador, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala carried out case studies on gender systems in various territories. Starting in 2011, this perspective was included in all summary work for the Program, which analyzed the effects of intermediate cities, agrarian structures, markets and the productive structure, social coalitions and environmental governance as they related to territorial dynamics. Besides key reports, this research work formed the basis for a master’s thesis conducted by Latin American and European students at Lund University.

“Women’s new standing affects the social demands put upon them, as well as gender relations, and forces us to take on the difficult task of redefining [gender] roles. But even with all the contradictions, conflicts and gender inequalities that still persist, there is no doubt that the female condition -and by consequence, also the male—has irreversibly changed in recent generations and will continue to do so in the upcoming decades”.

Arilson Favareto, Academic at the ABC Federal University in Sao Paulo, Researcher at the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (Cebrap) and RTD Program Partner
Web interview for Rimisp, 03/12/2012

FIELDWORK EVIDENCE. Program research work proved that gender systems have influence over institutions that regulate territorial dynamics, as well as on collective actions of social actors, facilitating or restricting economic growth, social inclusion and environmental sustainability goals. For example:

• In Loja, Ecuador, the advantages observed in organic coffee production are due to traditionally applied complementarities between genders. Social and information networks controlled by women have been a determinant factor in labor hiring and supervision practices during key productive phases, while the organizing tradition of male farmers has helped the development of coalitions with external actors who support this new dynamic.
TRENDS. RTD Program studies document that changing conditions in recent years are making it increasingly difficult for rural men to satisfy their normative expectations of being “head of household”.

For example, research carried out in the Ostua-Guija basin in Guatemala and Chiloe shows that there are very few households in which men are the sole financial providers, since many wives and daughters are generating income in the tomato and salmon industries. In Yucatan, from one generation to the next, a significantly smaller number of men are in charge of their own family farming businesses, and a notably larger number work as employees in manufacturing companies. These men do not have the same control over productive resources, including their own labor and that of their families, as their father and grandfathers did.

Education advances for girls and women are among some of the positive trends found in the territories considered. Another one is the introduction of new gender ideas and norms, thanks to the migration to and interaction with intermediate cities, which provide an alternative to dominant perspectives. There are documented positive processes in organizations and initiatives: In some cases, men are interacting with each other in a less hierarchical manner (more horizontally); in other instances, men and women are actively participating; and yet in others, gender issues and challenges are openly being discussed.

• In Chiloe, Chile, the salmon industry saw rapid expansion with the possibility of hiring both male and female local workers. This industry ripped the benefits of including two groups (men and women) with different abilities and expectations, both useful for businesses, and who would agree to work at different pay scales.

• In Yucatan, Mexico, the activation of gender norms and practices in the territory limited and restricted the effects of sustainable and participatory development initiatives promoted by new federal legislation.
NECESSARY CHANGES TO RESEARCH INITIATIVES. Results drawn from studying gender systems highlight the importance of focusing on areas where immediate impact can be achieved: research and representation practices that shape scientific and public understanding on gender realities. In this area, there is a concern about a global tendency to consider gender issues by focusing on women. This limited view contributes to sectoral policies with obvious limitations because they exacerbate challenges related to rural masculinity. It also contributes to strong resistance for evolving into gender arrangements that allow for more fruitful political participation and reproductive work.

“Studies done within the context of Rimisp’s RTD Program show that when women have access to assets, including permanent employment, poverty levels decrease. However, generally speaking, women are not visible territorial actors, and do not have the power to place on the agenda their concerns to create and have access to livelihoods”.

Ligia Ivette Gomez, Central American University (UCA) in Nicaragua
Equitierra Magazine N°11 - March 2012

Another concern more specific to Latin America is the continued use by some researchers and institutions of inexact categories and ideological biases (such as the label “housewife” or some uses of the term “economically active population”), instead of more descriptive scientific terms used by international organizations and governments in other regions. For example, every time a census worker, researcher or agency representative uses the term “head of household” referring to the man in a dual-parent household, this person is reinforcing and legitimizing normative assumptions that take the man to be a home’s public representative, provider and resource manager. Within the contexts studied, these assumptions result in frustrations and limitations for both men and women.
Case Studies

Agricultural Systems in Loja, Ecuador
Simon Bolivar Andean University and Lund University

There were two territories analyzed—one area with coffee production and another one based on corn. Causal and conditional relationships were identified within existing gender systems and rural territorial dynamics. In the coffee growing region we observed a positive relation between female productive work in main cultivation practices and the new production and commercialization system, which has evolved into a more-inclusive gender arrangement. In the corn cultivation area, labor is markedly divided by gender and corn production is mostly exclusively done by men. This has created a highly expansive dynamic of commercial farming dependant on one crop characterized by a lack of social inclusion and, eventually, low sustainability.

Salmon Industry in Chiloe, Chile
Rimisp and Lund University

This study showed that preexisting gender arrangements facilitated the establishment of salmon production in Chiloe, and influenced the industry’s employment patterns and labor conditions. When it arrived in the territory during the 80s, the salmon industry found that due to historical practices of temporary male migration to other employment sources, women were used to doing productive work symbolically identified as “male” work, in addition to taking care of domestic chores. Households in Chiloe quickly adapted to thousands of women working in the salmon industry, a reality that contrasts with conflicts that emerged in other Latin American countries where the mass entry of women into paid work was accompanied by waves of violence and feminicide.
Governmental Policy Implementation in Yucatan, Mexico

College of Mexico, Autonomous University of Yucatan, Lund University

In the CHAH territory in Yucatan, researchers found evidence of a dominant gender system that has a significant influence on the establishment, functioning and action of Councils for Sustainable Rural Development (CDRS) through practices and customs that marginalize the formal political participation of women. The effects are clear: Analyzing a series of projects implemented by the councils in recent years, almost all of them benefit men only. This evidence implies that a system that is biased toward the political participation and economic opportunity of one group, also limits the emergence of more equitable and sustainable dynamics.

North Banks of the Cerron Grande Wetlands, El Salvador

PRISMA Foundation and Lund University

Fishing, agriculture and cattle production are the main economic practices in this territory. The study revealed that men and women are linked to these practices in different ways in terms of practices and work done, discursive titles and recognition, financial gain, and access to physical, social, natural, institutional and financial capital. Working with information on economically active population and other complementary methods, such as calendars and daily production and reproduction plans, the study showed that the incorporation of secondary and reproductive activities, both for men and women, facilitates the visualization of both roles and can lead to inclusive actions in local coalitions.
In the Ostua-Guija basin, agriculture, commerce and migration are key engines of territorial development, which is always linked to economic capital. Researchers confirmed that large farming and commercial enterprises are mostly headed by men, and that these actors have greater access to capital that lead to development. Even though young people, women and men with less capital are very involved in economic activities, they are not recognized in the local discourse or in conventional development studies. Generally speaking, they also lack equal access and use to territorial resources, including credit, agricultural land, and political and economic networks. This practice has an effect on the contribution men and women can have on development, and vice versa.

“One of the effects the RTD Program will have in terms of policy creation will be to influence institutions and policy makers so they gradually stop implementing women-focused initiatives that are supposedly neutral —while in practice they are narrow and unbalanced—and start working with conceptual frameworks that consider gender systems, which include men, women, institutions, legislations and resource distribution, as a whole. The idea is to conceive gender as an influencing force that leads to or limits territorial changes. They also need to understand that gender is a relevant dimension of development, from economic growth to political stability and environmental sustainability. In sum, that gender is an omnipresent dimension that permeates each aspect of social and community life”.

Susan Paulson, Lund University, Coordinator of the Working Group on Gender and Territorial Dynamics – RTD Program
Web interview for Rimisp, 10/27/2011
Research Evidence Gathered in 20 Territories

Based on territorial dynamics mapping, 20 territories were selected from the 11 countries in which the RTD Program was implemented in order to focus on determinant factors of the development process. These territories present economic growth dynamics with or without social inclusion and environmental sustainability in various degrees. The following section summarizes key findings drawn from these case studies.

In partnership with universities and other educational institutions in the countries where the Program was executed, direct research was carried out in 20 territories whose characteristics are summarized in Table 1. In some of the territories, besides conducting case studies, the Program also implemented complementary activities related to: capacity development for territorial management (see Section VI), incidence initiatives and specialized studies on gender systems, and the environmental dimension of territorial development (see Table 2).

“Territories” Website

To make available to the public the knowledge gathered through research projects in each territory, the Spanish-language “Territories” website was created: (www.territorios-irimisp.org). The portal offers access to territorial maps, documents for each of the case studies, photographs and other resources that feed the debate on territorial dynamics discussed here.
Table 1. Territories studied for the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Physical Description</th>
<th>Dynamics</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Size (km²)</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villamontes</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>10,922</td>
<td>23,765</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cariri Paraibano</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>7,075</td>
<td>167,428</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Central and North-Central Coastal Areas in Santa Catarina</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1,272</td>
<td>510,581</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiquirica Valley</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>12,462</td>
<td>317,054</td>
<td>46%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Chiloe</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>48%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Higgins Dry Lands</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>2,153</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Physical Description</td>
<td>Dynamics</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susa and Simijaca Municipalities</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Size (km²) 217</td>
<td>Total Population 20,799</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loja Province, Cariamanga Sub-region (coffee production)</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Size (km²) 2,705</td>
<td>Total Population 71,017</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loja Province, Pindal/Alamor Sub-region (corn production)</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Size (km²) 724</td>
<td>Total Population 20,709</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungurahua Province</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Size (km²) 3,369</td>
<td>Total Population 426,400</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Banks - Cerron Grande Wetlands</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Size (km²) 512</td>
<td>Total Population 66,782</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostua-Guia Basin</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Size (km²) 924</td>
<td>Total Population 102,693</td>
<td>Rurality % (official data) 61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Physical Description</td>
<td>Dynamics</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olancho</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Forest exploitation and lumber mills, cattle production and basic-crop agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlacolula - Ocotlan, Central</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Territory with a strong cultural identity, an indigenous population, subsistence agriculture, tourism, and mescal and handicraft production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valleys of Oaxaca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Productive transformation of the territory from henequen monoculture to a large number of economic activities (new crops, tourism, clothing manufacturing in maquiladoras, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAH (South-Central, Yucatan</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Coffee-production activities transitioning into productive diversification and higher levels of coffee certification; ecological reserve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Intensification of dairy production; international cooperation plays a central role; reconstitution of large agrarian properties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macizo de Penas Blancas</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Andean farming communities; agriculture, cattle production, fishing, commerce and small mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Region in Santo Tomas</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuatro Lagunas</td>
<td>Peru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Physical Description</td>
<td>Dynamics</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuatro Lagunas</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Andean farming communities; agriculture, cattle production, fishing, commerce and small mining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauja</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Territory with a tradition of supplying foodstuff to Lima; has lost its position in this area and finds itself reorganizing its productive activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Ocongate Valley</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Small-producer agricultural economy; its proximity to Cuzco stimulates economic diversification in the service sector.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The twenty territories chosen in eleven countries constitute a good “sample” of rural reality in Latin America. These territories house approximately 120 municipalities in the region, which is statistically low if we consider there are over 10,000 in all eleven countries studied. Nevertheless, this selection has two virtues: It represents a set of economic growth situations with poverty and inequality reduction; it stands out in the general context due to the quality of its analytical narratives that allow us to identify critical and demonstrative factors of what is required to achieve an ideal territorial dynamic”.

Manuel Chiriboga, Researcher at Rimisp
Rimisp’s Digital Newsroom, 01/24/2012
Table 2. Presence of incidence, gender, environment and capacity development activities in territorial projects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rural territorial dynamics studied in:</th>
<th>Incidence</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Capacity Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Chaco Tarijeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Cariri Paraibano</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Santa Catarina Coastal Region*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Jiquirica Valley, Bahia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Central Chiloë*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Interior Dry Lands in the O’Higgins Region</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Suarez Alto Basin and Fuquene Lake</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Loja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Tungurahua</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>North Banks of the Cerron Grande Wetlands, Chalatenango</td>
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*Studies were co-financed by the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and coordinated by Rimisp.
El Salvador

North Banks of the Cerron Grande Wetlands: Promoting Human and Natural Capital

Partner Organization: PRISMA Foundation

The territory, made up of eight municipalities (Tejutla, El Paraiso, Santa Rita, Chalatenango, Azacualpa, San Luis del Carmen, San Rafael and San Francisco Lempa) located on the north Banks of the Cerron Grande Wetlands in the Chalatenango Department in northern El Salvador, shows improvement in overall income and poverty rates from 1992 to 2007. However, only two of the municipalities in the territory (Azacualpa and Santa Rita) also show improvements on income distribution. Institutional changes having an impact on the territory are related to:

• An endogenous development agenda seeking to strengthen family production, a culture of community organization and environmental protection, implemented by local organizations and funded by cooperation projects.

• An official agenda that was agreed on externally and that emphasizes the territory’s role in relation to connectivity and as provider of regional logistical services.

DISREGARD FOR ITS NATURAL RESOURCE BASE. The improvement of territorial indicators can be attributed to remittances and investments in education, health and basic infrastructure, but not to productive or sustainable practices in relation to natural resource use, which are critical for the provision of eco-systemic services for the country, including hydroelectric energy production, and as livelihoods, including fishing, tourism and others, for some of the population.

Currently, there is not a central economic activity in the territory. The three main activities are agriculture, commerce and public services and administration, and they only account for 50% of the economically active population. National policies are inspired on the urban economy, favoring credit access to the construction and commercial sectors, and neglecting the agricultural sector. Initiatives to strengthen productive or environmental components have limited. In general terms, the State has dissociated itself from small agricultural producers, and even though NGOs and international cooperation has attenuated the effect of absentee state policies, there is not a comprehensive approach to territorial development.

SOCIAL CAPITAL. There is a strong social capital presence in the territory mainly expressed through the organizational capacity of social coalitions and also through existing institutional arrangements. A culture of participation is gradually taking root among the population in these municipalities, and multi-actor coalitions are coming together, including the Environmental
Committee of Chalatenango (CACH), the Inter-Institutional Committee of the Cerron Grande Wetlands (CIHCG) and the Association of Basin Organizations in the Grande de Tilapa and Soyate Rivers (ASOCTISO). However, due to a lack of political will to institutionalize internal proposals, these coalitions have not had enough power to make changes to the externally set political agenda so that their social capital can become part of the development engine that promotes socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable endogenous growth.

Coalitions are the greatest representation of territorial social capital; they articulate a variety of sectors around a set of common interests that take precedence over partisan ideological differences, even if they do not eliminate them. Coalitions have dealt with critical issues on livelihoods in order to secure the reproduction base of a population that had to reintroduce itself to a territory affected by war and the disarticulation of traditional productive systems. Coalitions were able to canalize cooperation and solidarity funds, have been counterparts in territorial programs and projects, and have defined their territorial vision connected to the national economic and environmental dynamic. However, they have not been able to establish an active conversation with the central government in order to present their strategic development proposals, nor has the central government defined an interactive policy with territorial social groups.

This lack of effective interaction limits the overall ability to create more strategic and consensual development visions.

The territory can achieve greater economic growth, more poverty reduction and better resource distribution as long as territorial actors have more decision-making power in territorial development policies and programs. The active inclusion of territorial coalitions in rural productive development policies and territorial development policies can strengthen the operational agenda of municipalities and other community associations, but this relationship still needs reinforcing.

**Gender Dynamics**

Through workshops on livelihoods, the project found evidence of gender roles still defining economic, social and environmental dynamics, such as land use, credit access, and access to technology and knowledge, in the wetlands territory. Systems and institutions providing social, technical and financial capital direct their resources more toward men, limiting in this way opportunities and contributions to half of the population. Special attention was given to agriculture, fishing and cattle production, noticing, for example, that El Salvador’s census forms include categories that do not reflect productive and reproductive work, both important practices for territorial dynamics and instrumental for their sustainability.

A central conclusion is the need to incorporate, in the set of research and analysis tools, secondary and reproductive activities both done by men and by women. The visualization of these roles and responsibilities can lead to the creation of inclusive actions in the local coalition platform. In fact, the project worked with relevant cooperation and organization platforms—such as the Environmental Committee of Chalatenango (CACH) and the Inter-Institutional Committee of the Cerron Grande Wetlands (CIHCG)—in order to analyze their understanding of gender and promote awareness of this dimension in their activities.
The Environment: Between Threats and Opportunities

The agro-environmental dynamic in the northern region of Cerron Grande was analyzed more closely. This analysis found evidence of simultaneous processes of environmental degradation and restoration (as in the honey producing region in the Upper Tilapa River). Even though social coalitions try to reverse degradation, the tendency toward greater environmental degeneration is still present today, especially through water contamination, loss of vegetation and soil degradation. This ongoing environmental decline is evidence of absent State institutions or, to say the least, not enough presence in monitoring those initiatives.

There is a close relationship between productive dynamics -many of which are short-term focus and not very environmentally friendly- and natural capital. Due to a lack of productive alternatives in the territory, the concentration of agricultural and fishing activities has generated strong pressures on ecosystems. This is clearly seen in fishing practices along the wetlands, which involve 2,700 fisher-people and 27 communities, and have resulted in a decline in the total amount of fish caught between 1998 and 2009, from 1.7 million kilograms to 734,000, respectively.

Nevertheless, this is not the most important challenge in exploiting resource potential along the reservoir: other factors are more significant, including high contamination coming from other territories. Currently, the wetlands serve as the receptacle for all waste coming from 18 different wastewater systems in San Salvador’s metropolitan area and the solid waste of at least 154 contamination sources.

The project FOMILENIO in El Salvador, with a goal to reduce poverty in the northern region by developing human, productive and connectivity capital, represents an opportunity for the implementation of programs and measures that lead to social equity and contribute to resource conservation and restoration.
Guatemala

Ostua-Guija Basin: Four Successful Municipalities

Partner Organization: Economic and Social Research Institute at Rafael Landivar University

The four municipalities conforming the Ostua-Guija Basin in southeastern Guatemala –Monjas, in the Jalapa Department; and Asuncion Mita, El Progreso and Santa Catarina Mita, in Jutiapa—show improvements in well-being dynamics. In this territory, the Program conducted not only research but also sought to have an impact on strengthening strategies and alliances that generate virtuous circles of poverty reduction, with greater social inclusion and environmental sustainability (see textbox).

Even though over 56% of the population’s income is non-agricultural and linked to industrial activities, commerce and services, 64% of the economically active population is involved in agriculture and mining work. In recent years, agricultural diversification has intensified, leading to fruit production, especially melon, and vegetable production, especially tomato, which generates economic dynamism because its cultivation is very labor intensive. There are also significant investments being made in irrigation technologies, pest control and modified seeds. Among all income sources in the region, remittances are not at the top of the list but the average remittance amount received by each household is almost double the agricultural income.

MAIN TRENDS. Territorial development dynamics are characterized by several aspects, including:

• Productive diversification based on comparative advantages due to its physical geography and linkages to external national and international markets.

• What differentiates this territory from others, which have also gone the external-market route and/or have diversified their production, is its articulation with an internal market supported by the presence of a stratum of small and medium-size land owners. With high land concentration and a substitutive or not complementary diversification, maybe the Basin’s history would be different.

• It is possible that the existence of small and medium-size producers, besides large land owners, and the stability and continuity of municipal institutions and policies, has led to the creation of formal and informal social alliances, agreements and networks that favor or create the conditions to make development possible: human capacity formation, including training, education, ventures, etc., infrastructure, such as roads and irrigation, and technology.

INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS. The examination of territorial institutions and actors, together with monitoring territorial actors’ platforms, confirms the importance of identifying individual capacities and articulating them in collective initiatives that promote territorial development processes. Current institutional intervention in economic development is explained by:

• An ethical approach in mediating commercial and production relations that highlights the value of someone’s word and establishes verbal
agreements that are usually upheld. This practice reduces the transactional costs for credits, both for securing raw materials as well as for selling agricultural products.

- Implied trusting relationships in a tradition of “shared” production, which also reduces transactional costs because it saves on having to draw up formal contracts and facilitates access for micro-producers to production resources.

- The possibility of establishing cooperation and trust relationships between social organizations and local governments. The delivery of collective remittances for social works in one of the municipalities serves as an example both of the potential of remittances in promoting development as well as the key role played by local governments in promoting trusting relationships.

- The potential of local governments as key players in the articulation of actors and rural territorial development processes.

- The mobilization of actors around a common interest. For example, agricultural producers have negotiated infrastructure projects, implemented with a combination of their funds and municipal financial support, for maintaining and building roads.

But territorial institutions and social capital relations are also faced with threats that obstruct territorial development processes. For example: Economic power structures captured by a variety of government levels, permeate political parties through financing opportunities, condition political decisions and control territorial security and even commercial spaces; there are limitations to “bottom up” municipal management, meaning at the departmental and national level; and, migration of parents causes discontinuity in agricultural production practices characteristic of the territory (i.e. “shared” production).

POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT. Despite some actor’s perceptions of the territory as having an active economy, with a lot of commercial activity, diversity of market products, high degree of technified irrigation, and high productivity, low poverty and an absence of significant conflict, the Program found instances with enough potential for developing into social conflict. The potential for conflict is related to struggles over power and to having influence over public institutions; to deficiencies in public services and/or social policies; to lack of safety among citizens; some issues are found within the agricultural sphere due to low salaries; and some tensions are associated to natural resource contamination and degradation.
Gender Systems and Territorial Dynamics

Based on local surveys and meeting minutes from workshops organized among women, the studies conducted in Ostua Guija led to the conclusion that the dynamism factors of agriculture, commerce and migration did not work independently from territorial gender systems.

For example, the implementation of crops for export, which stimulated greater integration of small landowners to the economic dynamic, resulted in the intensification of female labor in family agriculture. Likewise, the creation of vegetable packing companies demanded the integration of a female workforce. Both activities led to interesting transformations, such as the increase of paid work and the formalization of work spaces for women. All of this also increased the level of recognition for female work.

International migration was also identified as a transformative factor: the absence of a male figure, typically recognized as the “head of household,” has led to women taking on responsibilities in family agriculture and making business decisions or about household investments.

All the transformations mentioned above have come at a time when the national context was also favorable in regards to access to education and health services, innovations in agricultural technology, and institutional changes. However, these changes are not enough to achieve gender equity because deeply rooted territorial institutions, culturally legitimized for decades, have strengthened a system of activities influenced by cultural gender patterns that limit women’s participation in some spheres such as labor. Inequalities in access to assets and income distribution, as well as in regards to opportunities and access to political power, are other clear symptoms of this institutionalism that has grown as a bent tree difficult to straighten again. Today, and thanks to changes women have gone through, there is greater awareness of the inequalities found on a daily basis. Many women are able to clearly see the invisibility of domestic work, the obstacles they must overcome to have access to paid work, the asymmetrical power relations that prevail in their homes, and even the role they themselves play in reproducing gendered patterns.

These gender relations are not only found in the economic sphere; they are also present in social and political spaces: local organizations such as Community Development Councils, Municipal Councils and departmental governments are usually led by men. Women are usually found as active participants in community and religious organizations. This mean, they are usually found on the sidelines of groups outside the local level and have reduced access to elected or leadership posts. All of this confirms gender biases previously mentioned.

Within this context, it is difficult to find where the cycle begins; we therefore talk about gender systems that become intermingled with territorial dynamics. However, it is clear that a good starting point would be to establish a new institutional arrangement. For this purpose, it is important—but not the only requirement—to implement policies and connect all formal situations in which women participation is encouraged across spheres.

Extract from an article written by Victoria Pelaez, Researcher at the Economic and Social Research Institute (IDIES) at Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala, Rimisp website 21/02/2012
Nicaragua

Macizo de Penas Blancas Nature Reserve: Environmental Sustainability for Economic Growth

*Partner Organizations: Nitlapan Institute at the Central American University (Nicaragua), Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS – Denmark)*

The Macizo de Penas Blancas Nature Reserve is a region with a strong influence from coffee production activities, and in which are found municipalities such as El Cua, Tuma-La Dalia and Rancho Grande. Its dynamic has not shown significant changes in per capita consumption or poverty, and only the Gini consumption coefficient shows a slight decrease in inequality, probably due to a fall in coffee prices in the early 2000s. Area dynamics are strongly influenced by natural resource management activities, a sphere that is experiencing important modifications.

**FORCES FOR CHANGE.** The biodiversity, landscape and climate of Macizo de Penas Blancas have generated lucrative eco-systemic services. However, even though for years the idea that environmental sustainability hindered income generation from natural resource exploitation, this concept has lost strength thanks to the coffee crisis and a convergence of forces for change that have emerged from external and internal factors.

- After the famine experienced during the coffee crisis, cooperation, NGO participation and local alliances promoted income diversification strategies to improve food security and the linkages between small producers and markets. These interventions were accompanied by technical assistance for soil and water preservation. Some of the population reported economic benefits derived from these practices but also environmental damages due to the need to use agro-chemical contaminants for their new crops. Food security objectives are yet to be achieved.

- The crisis increased producers’ interest in new markets. Buyers influenced the actions taken by farmers in relation to natural resources and social justice, giving priority to products certified as grown under institutionalized social and environmental standards, such as salary and employment security, income reinvestment in social improvement projects, forest management and reforestation of native species, and stocktaking and caretaking of water resources, among others.

- The demand for potable water in intermediate cities and rural communities has put pressure on municipal authorities to act against the deterioration and contamination of water sources, deforestation and burns. A source for change in this sphere will come from strengthening environmental regulations.

**AREAS OF CONFLICT.** Among natural resources, land and water are main sources of conflict in the territory, as always in terms of property, planting, irrigation, use of toxic substances near water sources, etc. Controlling land is crucial to obtaining the highest financial return from the territory’s natural wealth (forest and water). Water contamination due to coffee production processes, and the use of harmful agro-chemical in the cultivation of potato and leafy greens, creates conflict between farmers
and other actors, such as urban users. There are also no agreements between actors on access to lumber and firewood as key ways to exploit forest resources in the territory.

COALITIONS AND THE WEAKEST ACTORS. Changes have been possible thanks to emerging coalitions, such as producer cooperatives supported by cooperation, that have created alliances with coffee certification agencies—just as agro-exporting groups have also done it. Other factors affecting change include international cooperation with NGOs, which encourage income diversification; councils of local leaders promoting municipal ordinances to control negative environmental impacts; local and external actors involved in the Management Committee for the Penas Blancas Nature Reserve, who advance the implementation of a territorial management plan; the Northern Municipal Association of the Macizo de Penas Blancas (AMUPUEBLAN); and urban users and communal leaders demanding regulatory standards for forest and water exploitation practices.

A challenge for the future is the incorporation of invisible actors. Currently, all initiatives are geared toward people with livelihoods at the exclusion of those living in poverty and without land. These are the ones with the least access to eco-systemic benefits; the poorest people must ask for water to their neighbors, and get the firewood needed from farms located next to their homes. Nonetheless, there are some who have been benefited from improvements in certification and have secured a decent home, latrines, clean water and rights to the use of firewood.

Poverty Reduction through Rural Community-Based Tourism

Promoting Rural Community-Based Tourism (RCT) as a sustainable strategy for poverty reduction in nature reserves is the goal of a project being implemented in the territory by the Nitlapan Research and Development Institute, in coordination with public and private entities.

At the end of 2010, advances were made in assessing the tourism potential at the Macizo and neighboring communities, with the goal of creating a tourist circuit around the reserve. The diagnosis includes those already implementing rural tourism initiatives, such as horseback riding, hiking, coffee production guided tours, lodging and restaurants, as well as those who could join in the activities, including some plantations. Within this context, a territorial tourism planning tool was created to use it when visiting each place. This tool identifies key tourism potentials and current use of these areas; the degree of horizontal and vertical integration for tourist service providers; and the most important aspects in resource exploitation and integration levels.
Advances and Challenges for Environmental Management

Among important environmental transformations experienced in the territory, two stand out: its management as a protected area of inter-municipal and national interest, and coffee production certification activities.

With the creation of municipalities in 1989, local commissions were formed that included various institutions and civil society organizations. Within this framework, a territorial management plan was created.

After the Macizo was declared a Protected Area by the national government, there was an increase in activities centered on its landscape and biodiversity as income generators both for small and large landowners. Availability of water sources located at very different altitudes but close to each other, transforms the territory into a potential generator of hydroelectricity, and leads to the arrival of public and private investment to this end.

On the other hand, municipalities and urban actors have decided to de-contaminate waters affected by coffee producing activities and the use of herbicides, insecticides, fungicides and nitrogen-based fertilizers, although this issue is still being debated.

The search for new markets and commercialization processes, which promoted certification and best cultivation, social and environmental practices, has contributed to the development of organic and fair-trade standards. Many local rural residents found stable income sources in shade grown coffee, cattle, basic crops and banana.

To know how to obtain an income with minimal or reduced environmental impact and without decreasing eco-systemic services is critical in order to generate and maintain virtuous circles. Research, experimentation and development related to income generation must be a priority for public and private actors, and the capacity development component in Rural Territorial Dynamics could focus its efforts toward this end.
Ecuador

Tungurahua: A Unique Case in the Ecuadorian Highlands(1)

Partner Organization: Andean University Simon Bolivar

Tungurahua is the only province located in the Ecuadorian Highlands that combines moderate economic growth—while during the period studied the country experienced almost no growth at all—and a reduction in poverty and income inequality rates. The province stands out from others in the Central Highlands of Ecuador as a rare case in which small and medium-size agricultural landowners have been historically dominant, while others are dominated by traditional haciendas and dependent farming communities.

Early on, this province developed irrigation and road systems, as well as dynamic linkages to commercial centers for the internal market (Quito and Guayaquil). Starting at the end of the 19th century, Ambato, the province’s most important city and its capital, would become a regional hub. By the middle of the 20th century, the city was already serving as a meeting point for a dense network of regional agricultural producers looking to sell their products.

A SOLID EXCHANGE SYSTEM. Mainly through Ambato, Tungurahua maintains close exchange ties with the rest of the country. Migration from and to Ambato originates and ends in all municipalities in Ecuador, something not seen in major cities such as Quito and Guayaquil. Migration networks to and from these cities are a lot more regional and associated with the highlands and coastal areas, respectively.

The key element in Tungurahua’s strong ties with the rest of the country is a network of street markets centered on Ambato. Demand for products warehoused in Ambato and destined for the national market, provides great stimulus for direct producers from surrounding rural areas since it reduces their transportation and intermediary costs.

The success of Tungurahua’s agricultural and manufacturing producers is due to their connection to long-distance commerce. Today, Ambato receives 254 freight trucks on a daily basis, while in Riobamba only arrive 19. This characteristic is the result of Ambato’s gradual commercial growth during the second half of the 19th century.

ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION. The second element that helps explain Tungurahua’s economic dynamics is based on the fact that this huge regional market did not led to specialized production but resulted instead in economic diversification both in the city and surrounding areas. There are here an amazing variety of small and medium-size commercial enterprises of many kinds, from agricultural undertakings to a wide range of manufacturing and handcrafting ventures.

Among such diversity, the local manufacturing sector stands out. In 2006, Tungurahua had almost double the number of economically active people working in manufacturing than the national average. The fact that by 1962

(1) The first research phase in Tungurahua was co-financed by the Project “Institutions for Pro-Poor Growth,” coordinated by Manchester University and sponsored by the Department for International Development in the United Kingdom.
the number of women employed in manufacturing was already comparatively higher than the number of men suggests that it has always been a sector with small, independent handcraft operations. Based on provincial GDP, commercial activity surpasses agricultural and manufacturing activities. Women are one of the main social groups that have promoted productive diversification processes in the region (see textbox below).

**MERCHANTS AND PRODUCERS.** The third element is the historical and close symbiosis between merchants and producers. Usually, the same families were both producers and merchants at the same time. The closeness and extension of street fairs facilitated direct access for producers to commercial activities and, although today this symbiosis has weakened, Tungurahua’s wide market network has not been monopolized by merchants with large landowning operations. This reinforces its redistributive effects: Not only is production shared by many producers, commerce is also divided among many merchants.

Even though ties between merchants and producers were much closer until the 1980s, data on wholesale markets in Ambato suggests this symbiosis is weakening.

**STATE ACTIONS.** State action was moderately relevant in three aspects. First, initial expansion of education services when the territory’s economy was starting to take off favored the entrance to commercial activities for many impoverished social sectors. Indigenous people had less access to elementary education and, therefore, they were not able to benefit from those services. Second, early construction of electrical and road infrastructure helped to integrate a large part of the territory to Ambato’s street-market network. Third, a series of protectionist economic policies in the internal market promoted some agricultural and manufacturing activities, such as fruit production, textile, leather and shoe manufacturing. These activities were already consolidated by the second half of the 20th century. Those deliberate, long-term and socially required state policies became critical complements for the consolidation of Tungurahua’s territorial economic dynamics.

There are other elements that need to be discussed besides Tungurahua’s success factors. On one hand, there is increasing economic differentiation between diversified lower areas and more impoverished indigenous regions at higher elevations, where agriculture and animal husbandry is marginally practiced. These communities have been integrated to the dominant dynamic with a clear disadvantage.

On the other hand, there is some indication of a territorial economic dynamic that is not environmentally sustainable, as evidenced by the lack of good quality water, soil over-exploitation and agricultural expansion on to paramos.

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**The Role of Women**

Tungurahua is the province with the highest presence of women in the economically active population in the Ecuadorian Highlands, and this number is much higher than the national average. At the same time, however, the difference between male and female income is one of the highest in the country. In other words, women have higher participation rates in income generation activities but are a lot less remunerated than men.

The role of women in Tungurahua is as promoters of productive diversification and economic innovation, which depends on two circumstances: social discrimination and the predominance of small-scale economic activities for self-employment and home-based work. All evidence points to the fact that, in general, women manage most new small-scale economic activities that generate less income. Male involvement and control increases when business expands, both in manufacturing and commercial enterprises.
In the mid 1980s in Chile, and during final implementation stages of its military government neo-liberal reforms, a transformative process started to take place in the southern region of the country, leading to changes in territorial dynamics for the island of Chiloe. During this process, a group of national and foreign businesspeople, together with some national state sectors, sought to take advantage of the territory’s natural capital in order to develop a salmon industry able to compete in the global marketplace.

By implementing changes to regulatory systems charged with managing natural resource access and use, traditional territorial activities were radically transformed. Until then, territorial economy had been characterized by subsistence agriculture centered on agriculture and small-scale fishing. Within a short period of time, Chiloe became an international model for salmon production, and a significant number of rural sectors began working in the industry, deeply transforming their way of life. Hundreds of businesses were established, from salmon producers to goods and service providers catering to the industry. In Central Chiloe, territory where the study was carried out, the salmon industry accounted for 15% of the workforce in 1990 and 25% in 2008.

Between 1992 and 2003, household incomes experienced an increase that surpassed the national average, with a relatively high end result. Poverty also decreased more rapidly than the national average, although income distribution, as measured by the Gini coefficient, worsened. This case is an example of a new territorial growth dynamic accompanied by poverty reduction.

CRISIS. The growth model and political-economic context in which the industry developed limited the ability of the State and territorial actors to exert control over salmon producers. The 1990s were characterized by poor regulation, and a coalition of international companies, national businesses and state agencies that directed territorial transformation was able to establish an instrumental relationship with the territory.

This situation generated critics among territorial and national social actors who expressed their grievances through conservationist and environmental groups, as well as others concerned with the environmental and cultural
effects the industry’s expansion could have on Chiloe. However, the emerging cluster economy led to most people in the territory being in support of the existing territorial transformation dynamics. As a result, cautionary voices had little effect on the territorial debate.

The viability of this dynamic, as well as the legitimacy of the salmon coalition, went into crisis when in 2007 the propagation of the ISA resulted in the loss of a large part of production. This disease unleashed a territorial crisis process, and the salmon industry began an abrupt descend. Many businesses had to close down or reduce their labor force, and a total of 20,000 people quickly lost their jobs.

The crisis also showed that, even though the dominant coalition was very capable of promoting its growth model, its capacity to internalize knowledge and adapt was very limited. The crisis also opened new negotiation spaces at the local and regional level for opposition groups. These groups became a sort of alternative coalition composed of environmentalists and local NGOs with a good contact network with the State and the international cooperation community, and it created an alternative discourse on local development. Unlike during the pre-crisis period, opposition demands started to reflect the dilemma between growth, equity and sustainability, and forced the salmon coalition to include environmental and cultural issue on the territorial agenda.

CURRENT SITUATION. The ISA virus crisis questions the territorial role played by the salmon coalition. However, it also shows the significance and irreversibility of the island’s economic transformation. The central role of salaried work within the realm of family live strategies makes it very difficult to return to the time before the boom of the salmon industry. The way in which salmon production quickly recovered three years after the crisis started reinforces its role in the local economy and society.

The salmon industry has started to develop production practices that are less aggressive towards the environment. This is in part due to pressure exerted by the local population, by increased sensibilities within the State vis-à-vis environmental risks, and especially due to the economic costs brought on by the crisis. A lack of trust is still present, but in the current recovery stages post-crisis, most actors agree on the need to reach agreements that balance the salmon industry and local population interests. In particular, the State must assume a significant role in the system and switching the industry’s expectations for self-regulation.
Gender Systems versus Territorial Dynamics

In Chiloe, gender arrangements interacted with the expansion of the salmon industry and, therefore, have helped shape territorial dynamics.

On one hand, the salmon industry accelerated territorial modernization, emphasizing new femininity and masculinity models and having an effect on daily practices, cultural concepts and gender relations. The industry gave women the chance to overcome isolation and interact on a daily basis with other women and men. As one salmon worker said, “it changed the way women viewed work, family life, money and fertility”.

On the other hand, preexisting gender arrangements that emerged during times when men temporarily migrated for work, leaving women in charge of work usually done by the other partner, actually contributed to the industry’s success. Both men and women redirected their abilities and knowledge toward industry requirements, becoming a cheap source of labor and in which female manual abilities are appreciated but not compensated.

The division of labor maintained traditional gender hierarchies, and men secured higher paid positions. Gender differences were also seen in changes experienced by both men and women in regards to cultural knowledge and social participation. Despite the fact that women are increasingly taking on leadership roles within organization, men continue to be more respected in the public sphere. Therefore, despite assumptions that men and women would achieve greater “gender equality” through equal income generating opportunities, results show that cultural patrimony and social participation in Chiloe is increasingly more differentiated by gender. In other words, the case of Chiloe shows that greater economic capital does not translate into an increase in other types of capital, such as social and symbolic capital. Gender norms and expectations are highly persistent in Chiloe, even in the context of economic and social changes such as industrialization and women integration to the workforce, and a territorial “machista matriarchy” seems to be well put, as a normative force regulating behavior between men and women.
In the early 1990s, the rural municipalities of Litueche, La Estrella, Marchigue and Pumanque, located in the interior drylands of the O’Higgins Region (SIO), were among the poorest areas in the country. The territory does not have the best conditions for high-value agriculture—it’s soils are low quality and it often experiences long drought periods—, does not have a particularly active local society, and lacks the presence of a diverse group of social actors that could serve as sources for innovation and enterprise. It also lacks internal urban centers of significance that could infuse dynamism into the rural environment. However, between 1992 and 2002 these municipalities experienced economic growth dynamics with poverty reduction and an improvement in income distribution. How could a territory without obvious comparative advantages improve its well-being indicators?

Dynamics observed in the territory can be summarized as follows:

- Public investment in public and private works with a strong emphasis on place-based assets allowed it to overcome comparative disadvantages due to isolation, lack of basic services and limited eco-systemic services for production.

- New conditions promoted private investment, which affected growth in several ways: (a) it stimulated the productive use of a previously unused resource: underground water; and (b) it linked the territory to labor and product markets both internally and externally. Both factors indicate strong private investment of extraterritorial origin and, with it, territorial productive transformation.

- Economic growth is not enough to achieve inclusive development, since a good portion of the productive resources and surplus generated goes to the external economic agents, who have more capital and greater access to information. On the other hand, with a few exceptions, small producers, who previously constituted the social and economic base in the territory, do not become part of the new agricultural system. This is the case despite significant policy efforts to provide entrepreneurial training so they could become autonomous and sustainable players in dynamic agro-food markets.

- The absence of social coalitions that could promote necessary changes in institutional inefficiencies related to underground water management leads to the over-exploitation and depletion of this resource. This leaves the territory in an environmentally and economically precarious condition (see textbox).
As counterbalance, the local society sees an increase in local jobs, income and economic and social opportunities for some groups, including women and youth. On the other hand, local actors give up control of strategic resources needed to sustain long-term productive strategies and, with it, the tools to manage their own development.

WATER, A CRITICAL FACTOR. O’Higgins is currently traveling on the same path previously taken by other territories with fruit and wine production economies in Chile’s Central Valley. However, if the status quo is maintained, its potential for growth is limited.

O’Higgins interior drylands represent a good case of de-capitalization of assets and eco-systemic services that support territorial dynamics; a sort of competitive advantage deconstruction. In particular, if necessary institutions are not developed in order to guarantee sustainable use of underground water, the territory’s new productive base is at risk.

The territory houses latent conflicts around water, a key resource for future territorial development. Mechanisms that facilitate small-producer access to underground water generally operate reasonably well. This was in part due to actions taken by the Agricultural Development Institute (INDAP) who, in response to a diagnosis of monopolization of water resources by large producers, in 2005 began an active plan to regularize water wells used by small farmers. However, institutions failed to guarantee sustainable use of this resource; there is evidence of resource depletion due to an accelerated increase in the extraction of underground water. In some areas, the situation has even affected the availability of water for human consumption.

The situation worsens due to an absence of collective action forms that could monitor processes and correct flaws. The lack of organization to manage water resources could be very much related to inequities that have restricted the participation of those traditionally excluded since the process started. This is expressed through asymmetries in access to information established within the context of the Water Code and in access inequality to opportunities for conflict resolution.

POLICY LESSONS. This case renders some reflections to guide territorial development initiatives:

• Investments on local assets can promote growth and development processes in territories that lack certain natural comparative advantages because investment can encourage the creation of linkages to dynamic markets.

• Even though there are strong critics to invest public funds in the private sphere, in some cases, and under a good focalization, this can contribute to correct inequities created by existing institutional

Incorporation of Women to Paid Labor

The increase in employment for this territory is due in large part to the incorporation of women to work done outside the home. While male employment falls by 2.7% from 1992 to 2002, female work increases by 47%. Twenty four per cent of the territory’s overall change in employment is attributable to female labor in agriculture and the agro-food industry, mainly in farming and fruit-packing companies.

Testimonies reflect that salaried work has led to some forms of valuable empowerment for temporary agricultural female workers and from other sectors. These women highlight the fact that having an income allows them to have more autonomy in their homes and enjoy a new social status in their communities. However, advancements in labor standards for temporary agricultural work are needed.
frameworks. This is evidenced by public efforts to secure access to irrigation for small territorial producers.

- Policies that are implemented within an institutional framework that reproduces social inequities at various levels, as in the case of water management, irrigation promotion, or environmental institutions, can limit or even abort the inclusive potential of territorial economic growth.

- Policies designed to foster private activity by putting economic value on territorial assets and eco-systemic services can end up killing the goose that laid the golden eggs in the presence of institutional flaws and in the absence of collective action forms needed to deal with the dilemma between economic activity and environmental sustainability.

Capacity Building

Public action can do a lot more to promote conditions for better managing development in O’Higgins interior drylands. Investment is critical, not only to improve conditions that support economic activity, but also to develop the capacity of internal actors and of the territory as a social construct. In this way, public action should focus on: providing information, strategic planning, management platforms, social leadership, participatory capacity and agreement creation, public-private coordination, and inter-sectoral articulation and between different government levels, among others.

The Project decided to make a contribution in this area. By early 2010, key territorial development demands had been identified and a multi-actor platform was being organized in order to tackle them. However, an earthquake on February 27 forced a change of plans, leading to a chance of focus to reconstruction efforts in order to support capacity building. The multi-actor platform was convened in April during a meeting that included public and private sector agents as well as civil society representatives.

As a result, a project was implemented to create the Productive Development Office in the Cardenal Caro province with the goal of articulating efforts taken by individual municipalities and the expectation of receiving funds from the National Fund for Regional Development.
Honduras

Olancho: Forest and Agricultural Development vis-à-vis Environmental Degradation

Partner Organization: Sustainable Development Network

In Honduras, only four of the 298 municipalities in the country experienced improvements in poverty reduction and income distribution inequality between 1988 and 2001. Three of those municipalities belong to the Olancho Department: Campamento, Salama and Francisco de la Paz.

In order to explain this virtuous dynamic, work was done in the territories of Campamento and Salama, as well as Concordia, another municipality in Olancho that also experienced growth but did not achieve poverty reduction or better income distribution.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT. Olancho’s economy has mostly relied on forest exploitation and wood sawmills of mainly pine trees, as well as raising livestock and cultivating corn, beans and coffee, among other crops. During the last thirteen years, both public and private investments have contributed to improving socio-economic conditions among the population. The State invested in both forest and agricultural activities through several centralized and decentralized institutions charged with implementing training and technical assistance projects. The private sector, on the other hand, invested in commercial sawmills by creating jobs, building roads for wood transportation, etc. NGOs, such as the Guayape Project, PROLANCHO, FORCUENCAS and Pastoral Social Caritas, also carried out rural and forest development initiatives.

NATURAL RESOURCE DEGRADATION. Olancho’s forest and agricultural dynamics are not free from social conflict, which in the past and also currently have several societal sectors at odds with each other. There are those dedicated to the exploitation, sawing and transformation of wood and located in both inside and outside the territory, and there are some local social groups that consider natural resources to be local capital, necessary and complementary to implementing agricultural activities.

Despite a wealth of natural resources, they are showing signs of degradation, putting at risk the sustainability of development. There is evidence of serious damage caused by deforestation and soil degradation due to ongoing forest cutting and burning activities, and because of an expansion of agricultural borders. Therefore, lumber production and forest exploitation has decreased in recent years, strengthening commercial and urban growth, as well as small-scale dairy production.

With evidence of past and present conflict situations between the forest and agricultural sectors, there is a need to create a coalition that brings together a variety of sectors and actors in the territory’s development dynamics. This coalition would serve as a vessel for agreeing on actions that may lead to truly sustainable economic, social and environmental changes.
**Multi-Actor Coordination and Capacity Development**

Even though agricultural and forest activities could be the main engines for achieving successful territorial dynamics, they currently cannot be used in this way because most local actors do not have enough capacity to mobilize resources. This is due to low management capacities and low participation rates in territorial development processes.

This is happening within an institutional context in which municipal governments have little or no control over territorial resources; with strategic municipal development plans largely biased toward infrastructure development and offering little support to promoting the territory's productive transformation and strengthening its institutions; low participation rates and follow up by territorial actors in the implementation of planned activities; lack of spaces for dialogue and forming agreements where actors can generate and promote development ideas; and the presence of a significant number of local organization that do not interact.

The Project’s capacity building component focuses on strengthening the capacities of the poorest actors, as well as on attracting traditionally self-marginalized actors, such as businesspeople, to territorial development planning activities.

To this end, the Multi-Actor Coordination Mechanism was formed. This platform has already organized its first meetings and has taken steps toward bringing actors together in carrying out joint initiatives. This space must serve to diagnose the territory from the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental perspectives, taking note of the problems, needs, potentials and limitations actors perceive. The Mechanism must also be used for designing a strategy for participant planning, follow up and evaluation of territorial development activities, as well as to manage sustainability and inclusion processes. A step forward toward this goal was bringing together local authorities, forest industry agents (who had never participated before) and representatives from the environmental movement to establish common goals.

The creation of a Strategic Territorial Development Plan at the municipal level is on the agenda, as well as the formulation of public and private investment proposals aligned with the group’s objectives.
Bolivia

Tarija: The Sustainability Challenge of an Extractive Industry

Partner Organizations: Manchester University, the Earth Foundation and the Regional Studies Center for Tarija's Development (CER-DET)

At the beginning of 2000, the Tarija Department, which houses 30% of the Bolivia's oil and approximately 85% of its gas reserves, promoted a growth strategy that sought to expand its gas exploitation activities with the goal of exporting to mainly Mexico and the U.S. This generated direct effects linked to the establishment of large-scale exploration and exploitation companies, as well as indirect effects from income generation that has given the State the ability to take action.

BETWEEN BENEFITS AND CONFLICTS. In the past decade, economic dynamics have led to:

- Greater diversification of productive activities.
- Poverty reduction, particularly related to basic needs, although this trend was already observed in the early 1990s.
- Signs of improvement in the distribution of some assets, especially in favor of indigenous groups.

However, together with these effects, economic dynamics have also reignited intra-regional conflicts related to land and natural resources. A variety of actors from the rural sector, including cattle producers, farmers, Mennonites, indigenous groups and the landless movement, and some of whom are co-participant with the local elites, have brought forward their grievances and are looking for support to their complaints.

EXPLAINING CHANGE. To understand Tarija's territorial transformation, the Project focused on two municipalities representative of the whole: Villamontes, located in the Chaco region, and Entre Rios, located between the Tarija valley and Chaco. These are the Project’s conclusions:

- Economic growth and poverty reduction in Tarija are the result of deliberate actions taken by the sub-national government who, through social policies, has generated the support needed to bring about social well-being from economic growth and vice-versa.
- New ways to bring together social and political actors have led to the formation of alliances. However, even though these new spaces have helped to leverage resources and, in some ways, modify power structures bringing in previously excluded groups, still shows weakness in the articulation of social and political capital. The gas industry’s influence on the process has been two-fold: It has allowed actors to come together in order to confront the negative effects of expansion, and the extractive industry has weaken access to financial and physical assets, allowing the entry of new actors.
The territory has experienced institutional changes designed to facilitate the extractive industry expansion, but there has also been a clear intent to articulate its benefits to the strengthening of territorial dynamics at the local and regional level. In other words, institutional change has been designed based on territorial projects, and some of the success of territorial dynamics can be explained based on decentralization and administrative de-concentration efforts. Top-down institutional change has also introduced external elements to territorial transformation processes, which have distorted territorial projects and complicated the landscape in which territorial dynamics can be environmentally successful.

Even though the expansion of the hydrocarbon industry has not produced significant environmental changes, some effects of resource degradation have been found in areas where the most-vulnerable populations reside. It is important to mention that causes of degradation go beyond effects caused by the extractive industry and the impact of territorial dynamics. The environmental aspect required an additional study, and its results are summarized in the textbox below.

The Socio-Environmental Dimension

Expansion of hydrocarbon exploitation has generated tensions between private companies and the government and between that national government and regional groups. Tensions relate to natural capital assignation and to the distribution of financial benefits drawn from its exploitation. Affected communities have also complained about the costs of exploitation on their immediate family environments, and, therefore, about the negative direct or indirect impact on ecosystem sustainability.

In order to approach the environmental dimension in Entre Rios and Villamontes, research was done on how natural capital conditions rural territorial dynamics, how the expansion of the industry changes natural capital and eco-systemic services, what conflicts originate from access and use of natural capital, and how institutional structures influence natural capital sustainability and equity of access and use.

An evaluation of environmental changes observed between 2001 and 2008 was done first. Factors studied include availability of water, forest land, land for human settlements, space for transportation infrastructure, and the degree of connectivity, the ability of an area to have agricultural production, erosion regulation, natural diversity, support for cultural diversity, mineral resources (hydrocarbons) and resilience against hydrocarbon contamination.

Then, the perceptions and values of local actors vis-à-vis changes and change factors were considered, followed by
a review of institutional and social organization elements, which reflect environmental sustainability and governance of resources such as water, hydrocarbon and land.

These are the study’s conclusions:

• Neither the expansion of hydrocarbon exploitation nor the territorial dynamics that followed have had a significant effect on environmental degradation, even though gas income has also not resulted in expected improvements. This suggests that the gas industry can be environmentally sustainable, and that improvements to the natural environment for the production of eco-systemic services depend mostly on how gas income is used.

• However, the distribution of changes among territories studied is fairly unequal and has had a higher effect on areas with an already relative disadvantage, such as faraway eastern regions in Villamontes and northern areas in Entre Rios.

Therefore, when we stop considering the environmental situation alone and include the social aspect into the discussion, conclusions are less optimistic in regards to the socio-environmental sustainability of growth strategies based on gas income.

This case study contributes to the discussion of environmental governance models, reaffirming the need to conceptualize the natural environment on a wider sense that includes focusing on the natural capital and eco-systemic services, as well as the social and power relations that determine the use, exchange and transformation of natural assets.

Among policy implications derived from this study, two stand out. First, natural assets and eco-systemic services must be considered as extra-economic elements that require social and state regulation. Second, underlying tensions and conflicts between local groups and extraterritorial actors, as well as intra-territorial conflicts, is the issue of property rights over natural resources, an element that has long been debated but received little attention in the Bolivian context, and which deserves special consideration when giving institutional definition to autonomies.
Brazil

Jiquirica Valley: The Challenge of Inclusive Growth

Partner Organizations: Natural Resources Institute - University of Greenwich (United Kingdom), Universidade Federal do Reconcavo da Bahia (Brazil), Universidade Estadual da Bahia (Brazil)

In the Jiquirica Valley in the state of Bahia, Brazil, family agriculture has consolidated the production of commercial crops in the past 30 to 40 years. In the last two decades, the territory, which includes 21 municipalities, has achieved income growth together with poverty and inequality reduction. The Project did research on factors affecting development trajectories and their implications for public policy by analyzing the territory as a whole, as well as focusing on a group of neighboring municipalities that are representative of the region’s economic and environmental diversity: Mutuípe, Jequirica, Ubaira, Santa Inês and Cravolandia.

THE DEVELOPMENT ENGINE. The list of factors fostering development dynamics in Jiquirica includes linkages between small and medium-scale agriculture to regional markets, as well as social policies — such as conditional transfers — and public investment initiatives implemented by progressive governments starting in 1995. In combination, these factors have had different effects on the various areas in the territory because of the interaction with local geographic and historical elements. In the region with highest humidity and fertility, the development process was relatively inclusive as a consequence of favorable agricultural conditions and wide access to land, together with social income transfers and public investment. As a whole, this promoted the emergence of a strong commercial sector. On the other hand, in the semi-arid regions of the territory, dominated by large landowners, a fairly stagnant process emerged due to the decrease in coffee and cattle production; the social impact was mitigated by the transfer of federal resources and spontaneous emigration.

A MULTI-LEVEL PROCESS. The diversity observed in Jiquirica suggests the need to focus on interrelated process taking place at various levels:

- **Regional social and economic changes** are the result of gradual historical transformations in the economic and social power structure in northeastern Brazil. These changes are linked to democratization processes, improvements in education and increasing national and international integration. They also involve changes to ways of thinking and behavior among the poor and among younger generations in the wealthiest families, in response to new opportunities given by a more egalitarian society. This gradual process works in the background affecting more-localized territorial dynamics.

- **Local innovations** in production, market access and governance of the development process, supported by federal policies, have emerged as a result of changes in some municipalities. Social mobilization and
the increasing influence of rural unions have strengthened collective action in forested areas, giving rise to social coalitions with more participation from the rural poor. Improvements in prosperity and material conditions also contribute to the gradual emergency of a new middle class. These processes are incomplete and, even though they affected political change and innovation in Mutuipe, they have limited impact on neighboring municipalities, and do not help explain generalized improvements on development at the territorial level.

- *Inter-municipal initiatives* of local governments and civil society are at their early stages, and their success depends on the collective compromise and incentives of a wide range of territorial actors. Shared identities and goals between local governments and civil society are not strong enough to promote the creation of supra-municipal institutions, and the State has not provided a consistent judicial and political framework, nor enough incentives and resources to support this creation.

**SHARED CHALLENGES.** Despite diversity, people from the basin share a set of development challenges and opportunities:

- Improvements in income, health and education as a result from state transfers and public investment in infrastructure and services have not led to new economic opportunities, except in isolated cases. Road improvements to provide access to basic services and markets continue to be the most important development necessity for isolated rural communities.

- There are very few instances of collective action forms among producer associations or at the community level. The centralized structure of value chains for key crops has allowed local merchants to successfully expand their operations, but very little value added is captured or invested locally. As a result, towns have mostly developed into commercial and public administration centers rather than for processing and transformation.

- Since this is a river basin, land and natural resource use is interdependent throughout the territory. Soil and water degradation undermines productivity and directly affects downstream users. Despite the successes of small agriculture, sustainable land use and production are reaching their limit due to land subdivision. Agricultural policy and technical assistance to farmers are not designed with local needs in mind, and have yet to fully incorporate the environmental sustainability challenge. There are no effective planning and execution mechanisms to regulate soil use at the territorial level, and for the conservation of key resources, such as remaining forests and waterways.
Policy Implications

The municipal level of influence of the local government does not match the wider territorial level in which economic development and environmental changes occur. Therefore, it is necessary to create new institutions and policies with common territorial needs in mind. Municipalities are also faced with the challenge of joining resources and carrying out joint investment initiatives, especially in the building of roads, transportation, infrastructure for agricultural processing, education and environmental management.

The key policy implications are:

• For the Bahia government, to harmonize territorial and sectoral development policies and invest in and institutional development process that can facilitate parallel initiatives promoted jointly by municipal leaders, civil society and the State. Also, this framework must be linked to the creation of a budding, more effective and participatory system for environmental management in the Jiquirica Valley as a hydrographic basin.

• For the federal government, to direct an increasingly larger portion of public transfers to territorial development programs with accountability mechanisms, and far away from the discretionary control of municipal government leaders.

The Project also identified priority investment areas: small and medium-size agro-industries that add value to local products, in order to facilitate market access; the development of territorial brands and commercialization of goods and services generated by producer associations and small and medium-scale farmers and agro-industries; the construction of a territorial framework for promoting rural tourism, eco-tourism and agro-tourism; and technical and professional training opportunities to support rural economic development and local industries.
Contributions for the Territorial Organization Plan for Sustainable Rural Development

In early 2011, the RTD Program approved a project to strengthen the technical capacity of the Jiquirica Valley territory in Brazil in preparation for the Territorial Organization Plan for Sustainable Rural Development (PNDRS in Spanish). This Plan guides the projects and actions of the Territorial Development College, an assembly of actors from 20 municipalities in the territory, including representatives from civil society organizations, municipal governments and state agencies working in rural areas. The College is responsible for the elaboration of a Territorial Plan for Sustainable Rural Development that articulates its vision for territorial development (rural - urban and inter-urban), which gives priority to investments from the state government for its 2011-2015 Multi-Year Plan (PPA).

The Project achieved several objectives, including:

• The recognition by the Plan of real diversity in local dynamics for the entire geographic area as basis for the formulation of effective projects and plans.

• The advancement in better defining productive projects in agro-industry and commercialization, with a better understanding of needs for support in management and technical and professional training.

• The partial inclusion of challenges to the environmental management actions proposed in the Plan. After the Project, the environment has been made a priority in the PNDRS.

• The inclusion of coordination mechanisms between several regional networks and initiatives, and meeting points between civil society, the private sector and the local public leaders. The participation rate of private sector representatives in debates about territorial development continues to be low.

• The advancement of defining a permanent mechanism for technical assistance to the College in order to support the Plan’s implementation.

Project coordinators planned a series of objectives on applying research results within the RTD Program framework. Objectives included the interpretation of available data on the economic evolution of the Jiquirica Valley, and an analysis of the dynamics of several existing conditions in Jiquirica as the basis for innovative and realistic proposals. Concrete steps forward were also made to promote income diversification.
Ecuador

Loja: Two Territories under Analysis

Partner Organization: Andean University Simon Bolivar

Territorial dynamics maps created by the Program in Ecuador detected that, within a context of modest national economic growth and increase social inequality, some localities showed a completely different reality. That was the case of the Loja province, characterized by its humid valleys favorable for agriculture. Despite historically deficient spatial connections, both in the territory’s interior as well as externally, the province showed evidence of economic growth together with poverty reduction and better income distribution. What are the dynamics that led to this scenario?

MIGRATION ADVANTAGES. Between 1990 and 2006 the population growth rate in the province was lower compared to previous years due to an emigration wave, particularly to Spain, with origins in the national crisis that occurred at the end of the 20th century. This led to the entrance of remittances with an estimated total value of US$228 per month for each family (2004), double the recorded national remittance income. Among the main sectors benefitted from this income flow was commerce, public investment, construction, real estate activities, agriculture and industry. Emigration was also favored by two territorial characteristics: an education level relatively superior to the national average, with an increasing number of college-educated residents, combined with a diversified economic structure.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARISHES. Twenty eight of 89 parishes in the province, containing more than half the provincial population, experienced some type of positive change, whether in terms of economic growth, poverty reduction and/or improvements in income distribution (Bellavista, Nueva Fatima, Utuana, Cruzpamba, among them). Each sub-region in the province has specific characteristics that have influenced local economic dynamics in particular ways.

• Dependent parishes located close to or influenced by Loja City, experienced economic growth, and poverty and inequality reduction.

• The territory linked to Alamor achieved economic growth and poverty reduction, but its social equality indicators did not fare so well. This area was significantly affected by the production of hard cord, stimulated by the success of the national meat industry. This increased agricultural productivity thanks to external influence on the territorial economy that promoted a technology package designed to improve the traditional diversified system.

• In the region around Cariamanga, there is evidence of minimal changes on per capita consumption, a small decrease in poverty, and a slight worsening of social inequality. Coffee production, the territorial economic engine, was a key element in this context. Starting at the end of the 1990s, an alternative coalition of coffee producers created new and more profitable linkages to emerging organic markets.

TWO CASE STUDIES. In order to take the analysis even further, the corn producing area of Pindal and the coffee producing region around
Cariamanga were studied in more depth. Growth dynamics tied to the agricultural sector were found in both areas (see textboxes below). In general terms, corn dynamics led to greater economic growth, less redistribution, loss of local control over the economy, and greater productive specialization and environmental degradation. On the other hand, coffee-production dynamics involved lower economic growth, greater income redistribution, an increase in local control over economic processes, and greater productive diversification and environmental sustainability. In the future, two large restrictions on economic options available to both areas will gain greater significance: market weakness associated to the regions’ specializing on a few sector, and the shortage of available workers. These options question whether growth is sustainable or temporary.

Gender Systems: Corn is not Coffee

The gender dimension of coffee and corn commercialization in Loja was also analyzed within the Program’s framework.

In the coffee producing region, changes designed toward technified polyculture and associative commercialization, a product of the coalition between producers and NGOs, are related to an increase in female participation in this activity, both as part of the paid labor force and as members of support organizations. Dynamics observed in the Loja territory promote greater gender autonomy and equity by offering local paid employment opportunities, increasing the responsibilities of women involved in coffee production in labor supervision and management positions, and by highlighting their protagonist role in the process through their participation in savings funds and local savings and credit cooperatives. On the other hand, agro-diversity discourses and practices, in accordance to coffee’s greater environmental sustainability, are increasingly led by women.

However, in Loja’s corn producing region, due to an increase in productivity and profitability through monoculture, the male presence has been strengthen because temporary migration has decreased as local income has increased. Therefore, the role of women has become even more restricted to the reproductive sphere. Nevertheless, a combination of economic benefits and coalition formation indicates the beginning of a series of organizational, training, economic and agro-ecological processes where women are gaining greater visibility.
Taking a Closer Look at Dynamics in Four Coffee Producing Cantones in Loja: Calvas, Sozoranga, Espindola and Quilanga

An increase in the international price for coffee beginning in 2003 led the way to the emergence of economic dynamics potentially more favorable to local farmers.

One environmental factor is vital to taking advantage of this opportunity because the dynamics favor farmers in areas conducive to growing high-altitude coffee, in other words, only the high and humid regions in western Loja.

The most-decisive social element in potentiating benefits and making them more redistributive is the formation of a new coalition of territorial actors: coffee producers, NGOs, farmer organizations, organic coffee buyers in Europe and savings and rural credit cooperatives. These actors established and actively built a direct link to the international organic coffee market. Forming this coalition would have been impossible without the accumulation of social capital produced by previous organizational work of farmer groups fighting for land, the commitment of the Catholic Church, and a series of development and environmental programs supported by international cooperation.

The new organic market forces technological changes in coffee production and gains, which demand a much more intensive use of labor, reducing profitability for landowners but means greater local distribution of economic benefits because of salaries paid to workers. Moreover, this dynamic has the potential of creating ties with environmental protection programs in the region, such as those promoting the creation of protected areas in the sierra, including the Colambo-Yacuri National Park created in 2008, because it is based on environmentally friendlier technologies and promotes the use of agricultural and forest diversity by requiring crop combination and shade for coffee. Coffee dynamics in the territory are dependent on external factors, on the coffee market and the unmanageable way in which prices are set, but the social coalition has increased local control and power over intermediation networks and production inputs required for coffee cultivation, including local labor and organic fertilizers, energy and other locally adapted crops.
Pindal and Alamor: Corn is King

Recent history on the expansion of hard corn in Pindal and Alamor has its origins on the strong expansion of the meat industry in Ecuador during the first decade of the 21st century and the following growth on the demand of animal feed. It could be interpreted as a process of unequal interaction between farmers from a territory that had and still has a relatively equitable agrarian structure, but without strong linkages to markets, and a powerful agro-industrial complex centered on national companies and importers of production inputs.

The structural results of this interaction can be organized in three groups. First, rural farming households abandoned traditional production systems, which to a great extent are self-sustainable and diversified but are also characterized by precariousness and material poverty, and adopted an intensive agricultural model with the use of agro-chemical products and based on single-crop farming.

Second, starting in 2000, the two small towns of Pindal and Alamor saw the establishment of a set of services and companies linked to intensive yellow corn production. These new actors included agro-chemical stores and their promotion and training agents, savings and credit cooperative (CAC), banks, and transportation providers, among others. This visible manifestation of a cluster centered on corn production also transforms the urban economy and spatial connections for Pindal and Alamor.

Third, once the new technological model was established, the commercialization system became diversified due to the emergence of farmer organizations seeking to promote the associative commercialization of corn, because of the presence of new extra-regional merchants and networks of industrial middlemen linked to the company PRONACA. Although this diversification did not eliminate the traditional system dependent on local merchants and intermediaries, it did weaken it.
South-Ocongate Valley: Between a Successful History and the Beginning of Diverging Paths

The South-Ocongate territory in Cuzco has a history of relative success. In recent decades, basic household, education and health services have been expanded. Material poverty decreased between 1993 and 2005, even though it continues to be high. Even more surprisingly is the positive perception of the population on their economic situation: 56% thinks they live better or much better now than 10 years ago, while only 12% believes they are worse or much worse off than before. This perception is seen even in the poorest population, with 46% versus 15%. Changes experienced in the territory are an answer to processes that have resulted in greater political and social capital for the farming sector, stronger ties to intermediate cities, new institutional agreements for the commercialization of local products, and diversification of domestic economies.

CHANGE FACTORS. The local power base changes between 1970 and 1980, with agrarian reform leading the way. Farming communities and then able to grain control to key resources, such as land and water. The rural population gets progressively stronger, and little by little gets involved in territorial decision-making processes. All of this is coupled with a greater protagonist role acquired by municipalities in the last decade. Their budgets increase considerably and new mayors with rural roots change the municipal agenda, hire technical personnel, and bet on the promotion of productive activities, especially agricultural ones. A new coalition also emerges, which includes technical experts from NGOs and state agencies, as well as intellectuals from Cuzco and local authorities with a farming background, that give legitimacy to the new situation and project a new discourse on cultural and social revival on the territory. This territorial coalition is backed by a discourse that restores territorial identity and works as an element to make economic dynamics more endogenous. It also contributes to the development of policies favorable to local actors and associated to cultural ventures, such as traditional festivities, gastronomy and spiritual services with and Andean tradition.

Studies done by the Program in regards to territorial social coalitions identified in the South-Ocongate Valley area a coalition with great impact on territorial dynamics and designed to achieve growth objectives such as social inclusion. One of the coalition’s elements critical to its success is its capacity to promote changes in production and commercialization that favor small and medium-size producers. These changes are possible because the coalition immerses itself in intra-territorial decision-making processes. The rural population increases its capacity for agency and becomes a decisive actor in the local and territorial micro-political agenda.

(3) The work was co-financed by the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity Project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and coordinated by Rimisp.
This not only allows some of the benefits to reach almost everyone, but the rural population also gets involved in the decentralization process and gains strength because of the current political fragmentation in Peru. However, the coalition’s ability to promote development initiatives at the territorial level is still limited.

THE RURAL-URBAN RELATIONSHIP. The rural-urban relationship is a key element in explaining poverty reduction in rural areas. However, the situation in the South-Ocongate Valley shows that the rural-urban connection is not necessarily linked to the existence of an intermediate city in the territory. There are other rural-urban articulation forms that can also result in rural poverty reduction.

Urcos, the Valley’s main city, sees its population numbers decrease and looses significance as a social and economic referent. It only stays relevant in the provision of financial services, while district capitals grow in importance for daily purchases and the provision of basic services. Cuzco continues to stand as the urban model and is critical for acquiring specialized products and obtaining more complex services: emergency medical interventions, university degrees, etc.

The South-Ocongate Valley has moved toward a model that combines micro- or district level factors with macro- or regional level elements, at the expense of the meso- or provincial dimension. For now, this allows the implementation of more fluid livelihoods and greater opportunity for the territory’s residents. However, in the mid-term, growing pressure to maintain and increase individual competitive participation in local and extra-territorial markets may signal the need to reconfigure this territorial model. Therefore, the South-Ocongate region could be absorbed into Cuzco’s area of influence and lose the advancements made in regards to social cohesion.
The Relationship with Cuzco Markets

In his study on territorial dynamics in the South-Ocongate Valley, Hernandez Asensio (2012) highlights the central role occupied by Cuzco’s urban markets in the reconfiguration process of dynamics observed in the territory. He analyzes agricultural market reconfiguration processes that take place in the territory due to converging action of an increase in urban demand and connectivity improvements to Cuzco. There is also an analysis of the attempts by a variety of involved actors to reformulate exchange norms in a changing environment in which producers, middlemen, development organizations, urban consumers and public authorities intervene.

Among ongoing territorial processes a few stand out: The progressive move toward a domestic economic market, the increasing influence of Cuzco on the population’s livelihood, and cultural changes experienced in recent years that are opening up new possibilities for the goods and services produced in the South-Ocongate Valley, especially those rooted in its territorial identity.

There is evidence of increasing intervention by municipalities and development organizations, both in production as well as commercialization processes. On the one hand, these actors provide micro-credits, technical assistance and incentives to association initiatives. On the other hand, they promote changes to norms that regulate exchanges through the overseeing of transactions, imposition of access restrictions to outside producers and merchants, or the creation of new street fairs that compete with a different set of rules with traditional exchange spaces.

Currently, this municipally protected market model seems to be reaching its limitations. For some years, it has allowed some type of socialization in territorial economic improvements. However, as the economy becomes more dynamic and diversified, socialization seems less functional. In this regard, South-Ocongate faces two challenges: the complexity of production and the commercialization of specialized materials, and the incorporation of new actors. This will prove to be a challenge to institutional architecture built in recent years, which was created around the commercialization of territorial goods and services.
Mexico

Yucatan: From Henequen Monoculture to Economic Diversification

Partner Organizations: Economic Change and Sustainability of Mexican Agriculture Studies Program (PRECESAM), Center for Economic Studies at The College of Mexico, Yucatan Autonomous University.

Between 1990 and 2005, evidence of a notable improvement on well-being levels for households located in four neighboring municipalities in Yucatan (Cuzama, Huhi, Acanceh and Homun) generated interest in studying the dynamics experienced in this territory, termed CHAH due to their joint initials. Main events that help explain the increase in well-being indicators for the population are related to growth in labor demand in industrial, small and medium-size businesses and family maquiladoras established in an environment of productive diversification. They are also related to an increase in the demand for services in the rural CHAH region and in the municipal capital of Acanceh as well as Merida. Finally, well-being was also influenced by the promotion of road infrastructure and transportation services, facilitated by the region’s flat physical characteristics, and an increase in the number of productive activities done by women.

TRANSFORMATIONS. The decline in henequen mono-culture for textile production, for years at the center of CHAH economic life, had an effect on the transformation of territorial dynamics that led to economic diversification. This change from agrarian predominance to the development of new sources of income, including crop cultivation, apiculture, cattle production, paid employment in swine and poultry farms, construction, assemblage, auto repair, upholstery shops and the service sector, affected the logic organizing society and brought to the forefront generational differences on development outlooks. In the region, households with older adults, which represent the poorest sector, are more linked to agricultural activities and low levels of schooling, while “younger” households are involved in secondary and tertiary activities that are significantly more lucrative.

A key factor in the territorial development of CHAH in the last 20 years is the reduction in transactional costs for local and regional goods and labor markets, due in large part to the expansion of transportation services in and around CHAH. This factor, together with the application of traditional knowledge and improvements in health and education among the youth, has allowed the expansion of independent non-agricultural activities and paid employment opportunities. Natural resources, especially cenotes (see textbox below), also stand out as an important development factor due to their endogenous character and potential contribution to sustainable development in CHAH, as is the Maya historical and cultural patrimony for tourism purposes.

NEW ACTIVITIES. The sons and granddaughters of people who used to engage in traditional agricultural activities now have a variety of economic options besides the exploitation of natural resources, such as
working at one of several maquiladoras and factories in the manufacturing sector. For example, using knowledge previously gained with henequen manufacturing, there are now several local shops and maquiladoras that, as in the case of Huhi, are now engaged in the production of bags with synthetic fabrics. Moreover, the federal and state decision to close Cordemex, a public-sector textile manufacturing company, together with the Maquiladoras Program and NAFTA, facilitated the arrival of foreign-owned maquiladoras.

**POVERTY AND INEQUALITY.** Household poverty reduction is due, in part, to government social programs like the “Oportunidades” conditional cash transfer program, the first of its kind in Latin America. Food poverty in the CHAH area, or the percentage of households without the per capita income necessary to cover nutritional needs, is 30%, a bit lower than in the rest of rural Mexico in 2008, which was 32%. In regards to inequality, the estimated Gini coefficient in the CHAH region in 2009 was 0.33, lower when compared to the rest of the Yucatan, which was 0.49 in 2008.

Despite its positive dynamics, development in CHAH has excluded some of its population. A third of its households still suffer from food poverty, and those with older adults as head of households are the poorest. Gender inequity is also present, with women still experiencing limitations in creating independent businesses and participating in the public decision-making process.

**FUTURE OUTLOOK.** Pro-development coalitions have had and still have little influence on the transformation of CHAH. Even though there are organized, institutional, non-institutional and parental groups, most of them do not have a joint territorial development plan among their objectives. The lack of these types of coalitions could be explained to the permanence of state corporatism that inhibits their participation.

Although social public policies have played a prominent role in improving well-being indicators for CHAH residents, productive policies have had inequitable results, have not had much presence in the territory, have not been participative and have not had much regard for sustainability.

**Ecotourism**

Starting in the year 2000, CHAH’s natural patrimony, especially cenotes, has been exploited through ecotourism initiatives, generating tangible income opportunities for the population through connected services such as restaurants and transportation in bicycle taxis. If work is done to consolidate it, ecotourism can offer even more employment opportunities in lodging, sanitation, handcraft sales, and more, and it would be possible to create more locally managed cooperatives. The outcome is tied to a set of issues such as conflicts over the control and exploitation of its three cenotes, and the needs of new actors wanting to break into the field. These needs include improving existing roads and building new ones, creating coalitions that promote equitable relations in the division of benefits, training the population in ecotourism, and securing funds for project implementation.
Nevertheless, we think the territory has potential for continued growth but with greater equity and sustainability. This will be the case if necessary conditions are present, emphasizing among them an institutional framework defined by the 2001 Sustainable Rural Development Act (LDRS) and its operation rules, as well as the revival and reuse of historical knowledge and local capital. The greatest challenge is for the decentralization and co-participation objectives defined in the Act to become a reality; public financing decisions for productive and other projects must be supported by state and regional/territorial programs.

In CHAH, individual and group knowledge and experiences have had an effect on creating independent economic activities oriented toward the markets, such as trades, turkey and pepper sales, manufacturing, trucking, etc. This is evidence of the territory’s potential for development with a strong endogenous component. For this development to become a reality, it is necessary to join patrimonies and local individual and group capacities with technical assistance in the formulation of projects for sustainable businesses financed by public and private funds. Greater citizen control over public decisions, as well as the formation of pro-sustainable development coalitions, is also necessary.
Turkey and Pepper Production

Women in the territory carry out more than one activity in order to generate family income, and have been to achieve greater visibility as dynamic agents in their communities.

In 2005, women in Cuzama and Homun started raising turkeys for sale. They received support to buy the animals and the animal feed, but had to assume the construction costs for building their coops. With time, these women have integrated their spouses into the practice, especially in areas such as necessary medicines and vaccines, and also to secure markets for the sale of their birds. Currently, their main problems are related to coop maintenance issues, the lack of capital to buy feed, vaccines and medicines, and receiving limited support from municipal and state governments.

In 2007, this group of “paveras” (pavo means turkey in Spanish) decides to venture into the cultivation of habanero pepper (chile) plants, and become known as “chileras,” harvesting their product every three months and selling it in their municipalities and supermarkets. Just as they do in turkey production, these women are faced with economic challenges for the expansion of pepper production, as well as in combating the white fly pest. Today, they do not have any support in this regard, but the Yucatan government has plans to deal with these issues.

Besides turkey and pepper production, women are dedicated to other activities that provide additional income, including doing embroideries for traditional dresses such as huipiles and ternos. They also plant vegetables and fruits in their backyards for personal consumption and sale.
Brazil

Cariri Paraibano: Beyond Public Transfers

Partner Organization: Universidade Federal do ABC, Sao Paulo University

In the 1990s, one of every five Brazilian municipalities was able to achieve growth and poverty and inequality reduction. One of the regions where this trend was observed is the Cariri municipality, in the northeastern state of Paraiba.

EXOGENOUS INFLUENCE. This convergence is the result of two exogenous processes to the Cariri region. First, during the 70s and even more during the 80s, there was an acute crisis in the production systems based on cotton and cattle production managed by large landowning operations. This crisis was due to competition imposed by synthetic fabrics and other production regions, to the effects of a plague that killed most of the cotton fields, and to the failure of state support mechanisms that until then had always allowed local elites to regain power. As opposed to other areas in Brazil, this territory did not experience an economic restructuration of local elites. Moreover, starting in the 1990s, governmental programs and policies were implemented, resulting in a massive income transfer to the country’s interior. As a result, households experienced an increase in income, with less poverty and income inequality.

Even though there was a change in traditional dominant economic structures, such as the dependence of poor farmers on large landowners for employment and access to services, economic and social dynamism is not totally promising. Economic activities that are gaining traction, such as the commercialization of popular products and the dairy market stimulated by public purchases, are still small and highly dependent on the State.

EXPLANATORY FACTORS. By analyzing the behavior of local coalitions, the assets used to implement their strategies, and the institutions that regulate territorial social and economic activity, four critical factors are observed to help understand the trajectory of the rural areas: their agrarian
structure, linkages to markets, relationship with urban centers, and the characteristics of the local productive structure.

- A highly concentrated agrarian structure worked to block the ability of the poorest local population sectors to enter new activities instead of providing a cheap source of labor for cotton and cattle production.

- According to this economic structure, power was concentrated on agrarian elites, whose strategies for social reproduction did not need to value territorial attributes because they were always based on land and labor exploitation, with the surplus being sent outside the region.

- Relations with urban centers prioritized linkages to Campina Grande, a municipality near Cariri, in such a way that they did not result in a mutually dependent relationship and left the region playing the role of mere exporter while the urban center provided goods and services.

- Cariri’s productive structure remained highly concentrated, with low diversification levels. This not only made it vulnerable to crises like the cotton crisis but also left it lacking local economic, cultural and social capital to support its productive restructuring or to take advantage of opportunities brought on by the recent massive income transfers.

In situations in which even the government makes significant efforts to create new conditions, as was the case in the dairy industry, long-standing structures limit the reach and dynamism of these initiatives. On the other hand, the inflow of resources currently being experienced through income transfers improves the living standards for the poorest population sectors but have little repercussion on economic dynamics, except in the retail market and the production of goat’s milk.
Lessons in Public Policymaking

From the project in Cariri we can take at least three lessons for public policymaking in territorial development:

• First, the need to design realistic intervention strategies that interact with inherited social structures. Policies act upon highly resisting structures. It is not only about designing policies; their effects will always be the conflicting result between their intentions and the long-standing structural inertia tied to a territory’s history.

• Second, rural development policies must go beyond agricultural and agrarian policies. Even though the region has a strong rural character, a large portion of today’s economic dynamic is based on other economic activities that represent a larger percentage of income and employment generation.

• Third, a new generation of development policies for rural regions would have to take on a truly territorial focus, combining competencies, resources and abilities still dispersed in rural, urban and regional development policies. Social policies are a necessary component of governmental contributions to the region. However, even though they give dynamism to the commercialization of food products, tools, appliances, construction materials, and more, they constitute extra-territorial income. It is necessary to identify favorable supporting structures for linking new productive activities to take advantage of an initial boost, and to think about what innovations must be introduced for policies to continue to have a positive effect. This is especially important when we talk about regions without strong comparative advantages. This case study suggests that betting on economic diversification and decentralization at the local level, together with the creation of strong ties to markets and nearby urban centers, is a promising strategy.
Brazil

Santa Catarina: Culture as an Opportunity for a Sustainable Territorial Project(4)

Partner Organizations: Center on Agricultural Research for Development (CIRAD), Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

To what extent can cultural heritage become an essential element in creating better opportunities for economic, political and social inclusion in traditional communities? This is the question at the heart of a project carried out in two coastal territories in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina: the north-central coast and the south-central coast, with five and three municipalities, respectively.

A SUCCESSFUL BUT LIMITED MODEL. Santa Catarina is known by its strong economic dynamism based on endogenous growth, flexible specialization ability, and by the particular lifestyle of its traditional communities that preserve the cultural character of Azores and Madeira immigrants who populated the region. The population is mainly made up of farmers and fisher people who, thanks to their economic and social reproduction, have been able to adapt to the modernization process, alternating between temporary paid employment, the provision of tourist services, construction and manufacturing, and the commercialization of agricultural products and handcrafts.

However, an accelerated development process created significant economic, social and environmental pressures that put into question the model’s long-term survival. The pressures have translated into economic sectors progressively losing their ability to compete, in intense urbanization and demographic concentration on the coastal areas, and in social and environmental costs. Despite an improvement in living conditions, 16% of the population, or approximately two million people living in the rural coastal areas of Santa Catarina, do not generate enough income to guarantee food security.

Furthermore, there is evidence of evidence of the development model’s negative environmental impact, including intense soil use, strong use of

(4) The work was co-financed by the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity Project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and coordinated by Rimisp.
agro-chemical products, and the loss of the biological quality of water resources, among others. The model also has its limitations, to the extent that an asymmetric power relations system continues to exist between the dominant agrarian elite and rural communities with little influence on the territorial political project. This allows us to conclude that an economic model with flexible specialization is not effective enough to deal with issues of social inclusion in relation to rural communities and to preserve the coastal rural space.

CONSOLIDATED AND EMERGING DYNAMICS. The project identified three consolidated dynamics in the territory:

• Urbanization and the development of tourist, residential and industrial centers (see textbox below)

• Territorial “ecologization,” with an increasing number of parks and protected and sustainable-use areas

• Family fishing and agriculture

On the other hand, there are two emerging dynamics associated with:

• Economic development with environmental and social legitimacy (that attempts to join the first two dynamics mentioned above)

• Economic development with cultural identity, evidenced by a budding but growing number of initiatives (see textbox below)

NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE. At first look, the main territorial development factor is not its natural and cultural heritage. However, it is hard to disregard the large number of small-scale initiatives in the coastal areas in which cultural and natural patrimony is increasingly valued, enriched by recent tourist and urban development. This opens up new opportunities for the territory.
The Role of Cities

In their study on dynamics in coastal areas of Santa Catarina, Cerdan et al. (2012) include a discussion of the role played by cities such as Imbituba (pop. 39,000), Camboriú (pop. 102,000) and Itajai (pop. 172,000). These cities are formed during the colonization process at the hands of a growing number of central economic actors: small farmers-fisher people and small and medium-size merchants descendent from European immigrants. The emergence and later growth of economic actors was possible thanks to the predominance of natural resource access rules that blocked extreme concentration of land or sea access for fishing purposes. From the beginning, these cities were the main hubs for commercialization that connected the territory to larger markets in the larger cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The standing of these cities in those networks with neighboring regions and, through them, with the country and rest of the world, strengthened the power held by social actors and their capacity to articulate and negotiate con state and federal agents. In the southern Brazilian territory, the agrarian and productive structure, linkages to surrounding markets, and public investment, came together early on to create virtuous circles that led to an endogenous development dynamic that offered a greater number of opportunities to most of the population as compared to other parts of the country. During the second half of the 20th century several phenomena occurred that finally end up weakening the influence and power of agrarian elites and the influence of community institutions on the territory. First, technological changes lead to the intensification of agriculture and fishing, and a change from subsistence economy on the coastal areas to other economic forms where commercial models dominate. Second, electricity is introduced to the entire coastal territory. Finally, a road connecting main coastal Brazilian cities is built. All of these initiatives give strength to extra-territorial actors and promote economic diversification, which translates into the development of an important tourist industry, among others. Cities are the central spaces where recent territorial transformation processes have taken place.
The Emergence of Development Dynamics with Cultural Identity

The project found over 50 rural development initiatives with a cultural identity component. This is a diverse group of small-scale ventures, still with little ability to influence new political projects for rural areas. Some are promoted by federal and state public programs and policies; others by territorial governmental institutions; and yet others have emerged from the community itself, either by individual or collective action. On the north-central coast, initiatives are supported and managed by the community actors, including local leaders, women, groups of friends or Fisher people, etc. This is done in collaboration with governmental and non-governmental entities. Among the most relevant and compatible with a territorial development approaches are: the production and sale of handcrafts, shrimp and fish processing in Porto Belo, Bombay, Itapema and Camboriu, and the sale of organic agricultural products in Porto Belo. There is also a diverse set of associations and organization whose focus area varies from the north-central coastal region as a whole to individual municipalities, such as neighborhood or beach associations, productive organizations and unions. The most important NGOs operating in the area are environmental organizations that promote environmental education and integrated and participatory natural resource management models.

South-central innovation initiatives include: a new network of agro-ecological production that involves agro-forestry, dairy production, freshwater fish farming, and decentralized bio-industrial experimentation; handcraft production; and educational community-based tourism initiatives. In sum, we found evidence in both territories of the viability of innovative local systems that integrate agro-ecological production units into networks and cooperatives for sustainable fishing and aquaculture; educational community-based tourism programs and professional training initiatives targeting the rural youth and supported by several ministries; and a network of councils, community associations, and environmental civil organizations sensitive to rural territorial development proposals with a cultural identity component.

Limitations for the success of these initiatives are related mainly to their size and sphere of action. Micro-initiatives, or those lacking much connectivity to other organizations or local public actors, cannot yet be qualified as development instruments.
Mexico

Oaxaca’s Mezcal Area: Commerce with Identity(5)

Partner Organization: AC Environmental Studies Group

With an economy based on regional commerce and tourism, the districts of Ocotlan and Tlacolula, located in the central valleys of Oaxaca in southeastern Mexico, have experienced in recent decades economic growth dynamics with poverty reduction. This is due in part to an increase in employment in secondary and tertiary activities and the construction sector, to changes in local government structures and tourism and handcraft production inside rural areas, and to a continuous and long-lasting migration phenomenon. Even though some changes to the productive orientation have had negative effects on agricultural production, these districts have never stopped using subsistence agriculture.

The partial success observed in this area can be explained by several factors: money transfers to the territory, activities that make up the family economic strategy, the presence of accessible markets and intermediate cities, and available assets. Faced with changes to subsistence programs and support to agricultural production, as well as with the 1995 economic crisis, households have been able to adapt by modifying their activity pattern. Ventures focused on cultural assets have become a viable employment and income generating option.

MEZCAL’S INFLUENCE. Even though our team’s initial hypothesis included mezcal as a “dynamic” product, the economic landscape was a lot more complex, and there was evidence of other cultural assets having greater influence on the region’s economic development.

It is important to highlight that although at the regional level mezcal’s influence does not seem to constitute a rural productive engine, it does add dynamism to municipalities in which mezcal production is concentrated. For Ocotlan and Tlacolula as a whole, mezcal represented 7.36% of its non-agricultural gross production in 2004. In rural municipalities in which the mezcal’s production is concentrated, it represents 33%. On aggregate terms, the declaration in 1994 of Mezcal’s Denomination of Origin (DOM in Spanish) has not changed the industry’s influence on rural communities in the region. It has also not become a particularly inclusive industry (see textbox below).

GROWTH WITH AN IDENTITY. The area is showing evidence of economic growth with a strong cultural identity component. This is a predominantly

(5) The work was co-financed by the Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity Project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and coordinated by Rimisp.
rural territory with a high number of cultural assets, such as traditional handcraft production and archeological and historical patrimonies. There is a strong ethnic identity as well. Most residents are Zapotec or mestizo in origin, although there are also Mixteca and mixed communities. Residents identified themselves first with their community of origin and then as Oaxaquenos. Artisan production is also linked to each community since, historically, each one has specialized in some type of production: textiles, made either on waist looms and foot-pedal looms; alebrijes (brightly painted wooden figures); every-day household products such as palm mats and mortars; and mezcal. In most homes, handcraft production represents an additional income source. It is an activity mostly done by women who frequently use intermediaries to secure raw materials and take the final product to the market. The sale of handcrafts also contributes to an increase in tourism to the area.

However, the presence of economic ventures based on cultural assets does not necessarily generate equitable and sustainable growth. These ventures have led to inequitable ties between municipalities, where some become providers of raw materials and others the producers. Even though they provide inclusive employment for households with fewer assets, benefits are concentrated on those doing the direct commercialization

The Effects of Migration

Current migrants use social networks made up of family or community members with migration experience in order to relocate successfully and have access to new employment opportunities. Even though there are few households that declare remittances as their main income source, migration has a strong impact on regional productive activities and on local demand of services and employment. And that is because migration simultaneously strengthens and weakens local social capital through the new identities acquired by migrants, lack of interest in local traditions and knowledge, new distinctions generated, and the emergence of intraterritorial tensions and divisions. Remittances are mostly used for building homes, although in some cases they are also invested into starting family production projects. This is the case for many mescal producers who need a higher initial investment than handicraft producers in order to start their businesses.
while the heavy load of production falls mostly on women, without them necessarily getting greater recognition. Moreover, the ability to access markets depends on assets available to each household. This has increased the vulnerability of independent handcraft and mescal producers without a brand, and dependence to intermediaries. Aversion to risk, due to decades of crisis, indicates that the central task is to generate conditions for market recognition of products with a cultural identity. In this way, niche markets will be more easily developed, there will be an incentive for households, authorities and local organizations to invest, and the ability of those most marginalized to benefit from these opportunities will be improved.

**MAIN ACTORS.** Politically, the Ocotlan and Tlacolula region has high levels of organization and also conflict.

- The relations between rural people and state and federal entities have been highly mediated by political actors of various kinds. In 1995, reform to municipal election processes strengthened the political standing of municipal presidents, increasing their attributions and promoting their role as intermediaries between the community and state authorities. At the same time, regulatory attributions allow them to confront environmental problems. Municipalities are able to declare reserve areas, participate in territorial organization, and associate themselves with other municipal authorities on those issues.

- Artisan coalitions have also gained influence in the development of initiatives focus on handcraft production and commercialization. These coalitions are made up of local producers, individual buyers, collectors, wholesalers and national and international gallery owners.

- Handcraft initiatives have been supported by credits, training and invitations to fairs and shows from FONART, the House of Handicrafts, CDI and FONAES. In the city of Oaxaca, the Oaxacan Handicraft Institute and ARIPO have helped in the commercialization process. At the local level, municipalities have promoted product expansion and public spaces for selling products.

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**Mezcal Development with little Inclusion**

The Denomination of Origin in 1994 expanded the production area for mezcal and affected Ocotlan and Tlacolula since both districts have municipalities where the beverage is produced. One of the arguments pro-DOM was that it would improve the economic and social well-being of the producer population, mostly concentrated in the central valleys. However, new institutions and rules have been developed without input from local actors and without a territorial vision. New regulations favored intermediaries, blocked access to benefits for those with fewer resources, and has not resolved the industry’s integration issues. In a region without evidence of improvements in inequality, the dominant effect of these new rules has been the concentration of benefits into few hands.
Nicaragua

Santo Tomas: Economic Growth without Social Inclusion or Environmental Sustainability

Partner Organizations: Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS, Denmark); Nitaplan Research and Development Institute at the Centro American University (Nicaragua)

In the last few decades, economic and international cooperation policy in Nicaragua has led to the creation of an institutional framework for the promotion of investment in the dairy industry so that it will become the economic growth engine and reduce poverty. The main objectives have been to increase the number of cattle at the national level, milk production, dairy consumption, meat and cheese production and exports, and promote environmental sustainability, build roads and improve water supply systems to cattle raising areas.

Between 1998 and 2005, 34 of a total of 153 municipalities in Nicaragua experienced significant growth in average per capita consumption. Seven of these municipalities are part of the cattle producing area, and Santo Tomas stands out among them as a service center through which the “dairy route” passes and where the percentage of the population that fell below the poverty line went from 56% to 38% in that time period. Several factors had influence on the transformation of Santo Tomas (see textbox below). The Program studied the dynamics in this dairy region, including also the municipalities of San Pedro de Lovago and Villa Sandino, all located in the Chontales department.

A RELATIVE SUCCESS STORY. The success of the dairy region also has a less-shiny element:

- In environmental terms, economic growth has been accompanied by increasing deforestation associated with extensive livestock production systems and subsistence agriculture. This is due to burns of forested areas for cattle pastures and crop cultivation, as well as soil compression and the subsequent loss of fertility caused by grazing cattle over large areas. The situation decreased expectations for natural forest regeneration, and forested areas have been reduced to scrublands.
Water sources are being contaminated with by-products from the dairy industry, agro-chemicals and waste from gold mines in La Libertad and Santo Domingo, located upstream on the Mico River. According to data from the Health Ministry (MINSA), in the last 15 years water has been contaminated with cyanide, and there are an average of 3,400 cases of diarrhea every year, especially in rural areas where water from rivers and streams is used for human consumption.

When looking at the territory’s natural capital, there is evidence of a severe degradation process taking place.

INEQUITY. There is also evidence of high levels of inequity in the local context, including unequal land and political power distribution. This means that economic growth has not been a deciding factor or a sufficient condition for social inclusion. Those who better take advantage of an increase in milk demand have been landowning producers with the capacity to invest—the “non poor”. This scenario is reinforced with the opening up of markets to El Salvador and its increase for the demand of dairy products, as well as by direct or indirect public investments offered by the international community.

In the territory, at least US$2,000 must be invested by each dairy producer to meet minimum quality industry requirements. Although 41% of households in the region own cattle, and all “non-poor” households are involved in livestock production, which is one of the characteristics used to define territorial well-being, only 12% of the poorest households own large livestock.

A key process for understanding changes in territorial dynamics is related to the Sandinista agrarian reform. With this reform, land was redistributed; however, with time, large landowners have again become prominent and dominant actors, this time as modern agricultural entrepreneurs linked to the dairy industry. The other side of the coin is that many of those who benefitted from agrarian reform sold their lands and established non-agricultural ventures in the city of Santo Tomas and others in the region, migrated to agricultural border areas where land was cheaper or moved abroad. Therefore, the statistical reduction on poverty rates in the territory is a reflection of a less visible process in which the poor population was expelled.

In order to achieve inclusive and environmentally sustainable territorial dynamics, the structural capacity of democratic institutions and public management must be strengthened. This will guarantee equitable access to public investment programs and the even enforcement of the law.
In order to better understand territorial dynamics in Santo Tomas...

In the Santo Tomas dairy industry, a large percentage of actors and their organizational and economic practices are organized around land access and use, livestock and the commercialization of dairy products. They are also affected by the institutions that regulate, sanction, facilitate or authorize access and use of these resources. There are three flows of resources and actions that in the last few decades have been instrumental in the practices of social actors and help to understand the changes that have taken place in economic, social and environmental terms. These changes include growth, poverty reduction without changes to consumption distribution, and the degradation of ecological services.

• Migration flows: Through decades-old migratory waves to the new agricultural frontier, trust and dependency relations were established between the various territorial actors. Today, these relations make possible the application of extensive cattle production based on the seasonal migration of livestock.

• International cooperation flows: Through the use of public institutions, such as city offices, and private entities, such as cooperatives, a collaborative system was established to provide the necessary infrastructural and organizational conditions for reactivating cattle production. Public interest issues, such as the environment, democracy and good governance, and social inclusion, were also added to the governmental agenda.

• Private investment flows: Starting in 1988, private investment increased the region’s capacity for dairy production.

Currently, with the capitalization of cooperatives and private dairy companies, extra-territorial relations with the national government and international institutions have gained more importance than intra-territorial connections.
Peru

Cuatro Lagunas: The Role of External Actors

Partner Organization: Group for the Analysis of Development - GRADE

Located in the southern Cuzco sierras in Peru, the territory of Lagunas is characterized by its traditional farming economy with low levels of currency use, few linkages to regional markets, a Quechua speaking population, low education levels, and economic activities tied to agriculture, cattle production, fishing, commerce and small mining ventures. The area, which includes the districts of Mosocllacta, Sangarara, Pomacanchi and Acopia, in the province of Acomayo, and the districts of Pampamarca and Tupac Amaru, in Canas, has historically experienced the highest levels of monetary poverty in the country. However, in the last 15 years, its per capita expenditures increased, living standards improved, and the percentage of households with unmet basic needs decreased.

INTERNAL ACTORS – IDENTITY GENERATORS. There are five predominant actors in Cuatro Lagunas: farming communities, specialized committees, district municipalities, international cooperation and non-governmental development organizations, and state programs. Farming communities are the main actors in the social and economic life of the territory, since from the legal point of view they own most of the resources: land, pastures and water. Moreover, they are a key dialogue partner for the State in the application of poverty-relief policies and in the delivery of basic services.

Currently, many of the functions regulating productive activities have been left to the specialized committees, some of which are nominally dependent on community leadership organizations. However, communities continue to be a primary source for the definition of identity. Among the most important committees in Cuatro Lagunas is one made up of irrigation workers, who play a key role in water distribution activities.

District municipalities also play a relevant role. Due to the lack of strong provincial municipalities, they are the ones who interact with the population on a day-to-day basis, especially in regards to managing public resources and making changes to the regulation and assignment of those resources.

EXTERNAL ACTORS – CHANGE AGENTS. A model rural development initiative in the Peruvian highlands was the Micro-regions Rural Development Project (PRODERM). Its implementation promoted technological change as the central mechanism to improve agricultural productivity and intensified the natural resource base. In this way, farming communities were able to see their incomes increase. PRODERM strategies were implemented in the territory between 1979 and 1991, initially exclusively with financing provided by the Dutch government. Starting in 1986, the European Community also provided funds for the project. Interventions totaled US$25 million and were used for the construction of infrastructure for irrigation, drainage, roads, agricultural, and transformation facilities, including warehouses, cattle dipping vats and mills. The program confirmed that some learning
processes generated by PRODERM and other institutions with significant territorial presence, helped strengthen social capital among new generations of local actors. These learning processes include greater awareness of ecosystem fragility, the importance of water as a productive and scarce resource, and the preservation of the environment in general. Starting at the end of the 1990s, small and medium-scale projects to convert dry lands into irrigated lands start to appear throughout the territory.

Extra-territorial investments and the emergence of other actors and institutions considered as more agile by the territorial population, especially in regards to economic and productive activities, have decreased the power of communal institutions. For instance, the exponential budgetary increase of district municipalities and the implementation of a Participatory Budget have open up new spaces for specialized committees and other territorial actors in project planning initiatives. This empowerment dynamic was introduced, once again, by an external actor: the central government.

**FUNDAMENTAL TRANSITIONS.** During the last three decades, there are two significant transitions occurring in Cuatro Lagunas. Both transition processes are strongly associated with changes to the relative price structure, produced by the Peruvian economic crisis of the 1980s:

- The first transition occurs during the 1980s when subsistence economy, with a high animal husbandry component, transforms into an economy based on the intensified use of agricultural land and with a higher degree of market integration.

- The second transition occurs in the 1990s, when an economic system with a significant percentage of agricultural activities becomes more diversified and the agricultural component loses importance.

In this second transition, there is also a productive reorientation from agriculture back to livestock. This is a process that originates in changes to the price structure and relative costs in the early 1990s, with the collapse of cheap credit, cuts to subsidies for raw materials used in agriculture, and an increase in fuel prices. The change in orientation was supported by public and private institutions that in recent years have created incentives for improvements to sheds and better pastures. Intensive cattle production is seen as a more secure way to achieve in a relatively shorter period of time an increase in family income. As consequence, large land areas that used to be used for agriculture are now used for grazing.

**Opportunity Inequality**

Despite finding evidence of economic growth and a reduction in unmet basic needs during the last two decades, there is also evidence of increasing opportunity inequality in the territory. There is a common discourse among the population in relation to the importance of initial conditions when new individual or collective production strategies are being implemented, as well as the awareness these differences are raising in an increasingly differentiated process both between and within communities. The main change factor is the success of cattle production that, even though it offers individual and collective development opportunities, is not necessarily within reach for everyone and worsens tensions for the use of resources, especially water.
Peru

Jauja: From the Boom of the Paper Industry to Growth with Caution

Partner Organization: Group for the Analysis of Development – GRADE

The Jauja territory, in the Junin department, was historically considered a privileged space in the Peruvian highlands thanks to its articulation with Lima by a central road and railway system, the fertility of its soil, and a long tradition of small landowning operations in a fluid context of employment and land markets. In the early 1980s, when industrialized potato and milk production were at their peak, everyone agreed that provincial producers enjoyed natural advantages for exploiting those instances in which the Lima market needed to expand. In fact, the demand from Lima and the exports market has experienced great dynamism thanks to the national growth rate, which has reached 5% or more in the last 15 years.

However, after the boom of the paper industry in 1980s, Jauja’s grew at a rate below the national average, and its population dynamic shows clear signs of stagnation, with a significant number of jaujinos migrating to Lima, Huancayo and other cities. The total population has been decreased by 1% annually between 1993 and 2005, while the national population grew 1.6% in the same time period.

WHAT HAPPENED? There are at least four explanations:

- The emergence of other territories that gain competitive advantage in relation to Jauja. The territory’s comparative advantages are affected by the interruption of cargo railway services at the end of the 1980s, and increasing competition with other potato producing regions that improve their ties to Lima markets and implement innovations in crop variety and water management, among other factors.
- The absence of an intermediate city with enough standing to cause an increase on demand from the surrounding rural areas and with wider economic diversification. This challenge is hard to overcome. The linkages created by a dynamic activity must result in other linkages that also give dynamism to the entire territory. Jauja, the most important city in the region with 30,000 residents, is not able to produce this effect.

- The presence of weak social coalitions characterized by the absence of political elites associated to an economic elite, high administrative political fragmentation that limits collective action, and weak institutions that hinder regulation of natural resource access and intensity of use in a way that is compatible with sustainable and inclusive growth. There is also increasing environmental vulnerability due to intensified productive activities and the impact of climate change (see textbox below).

THE POTATO TAKES A FALL. Expansion dynamics during the 1980s that centered on potato production for consumption markets in Huancayo and Lima, and that were based on technological changes and intensified natural resource use, lost their dynamism both because of the national economic crisis and increasing environmental vulnerability, as well as due to the emergence of other potato suppliers for the Lima market. This loss of competitiveness forced territorial producers to diversify their economic activities. Although no other activity replaces potato production as the territorial development engine, studies show that new ventures to create linkages with dynamic markets in the territory, including artichokes for exportation, and the capiro or indigenous potato for the chip industry, have at best created market niches to which some producers can have access.
Environmental Degradation and Climate Change

In the territory, several environmental factors coexist, including: significant levels of natural resource degradation, increasing shortages of water for agricultural use, high risk of flooding due to inadequate protection and evacuation systems for river water, and increasing lack of climatic predictability associated to global changes. This situation creates conditions for the worsening of environmental vulnerabilities. The budding economic dynamism that emerge post-1980s put higher pressure on natural resources, especially water resources. This increased pressure is associated to the nature of more profitable activities, such as cattle production, which uses pastures as a key component, or artichoke for export, which requires technified irrigation systems. In a territory historically tied to dry-land agriculture, and where institutions that regulate water access and use are just sprouting out, this greater demand on water for irrigation creates conditions for increasing conflict. Water conflicts in the territory also have an urban layer, since the community of Qeros, from which water flows for consumption in the city of Jauja, has been demanding payment from the city for water rights. Even though farmers are trying to adapt to new conditions imposed by climatic change, the margin of action and probability for success of these strategies are highly conditioned by the amount of natural resources available and their ability to exploit opportunities given by territorial institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising that economic diversification beyond agriculture, as well as temporary or permanent migration, become viable options for the least poor in Jauja.
Colombia

Susa and Simijaca: Internal Growth with and Internal Engine, Unequally Distributed

Partner Organizations: Economic Development Studies Center (CEDE) at the University of the Andes, in collaboration with the University of Rosario

In the Colombian department of Cundinamarca, the municipalities of Simijaca and Susa located 120 kilometers from Bogota in the Ubaté Valley, an important dairy producing region, experienced economic growth together with a 19% and 16% reduction in poverty, respectively, as well as lower inequality (Simijaca 6% and Susa 4%) between 1993 and 2005. However, the wealth and benefits derived from growth are concentrated in the lower areas (mostly in Simijaca) where large landowners dominate, and to a much lesser extent in the highlands region (Susa) characterized by small producers. This unequal distribution has deepened existing gaps between municipalities.

The project emphasized the role of history, geography and social institutions in determining territorial configuration, wealth distribution, social coalitions and productive processes. To this end, 53 interviews were conducted with key actors in the communities, 17 life stories were recorded and two focus groups organized. Data was processed from the Colombian Longitudinal Survey, implemented by the University of the Andes, as well as 407 household and community surveys in 22 veredas (a Colombian administrative unit at the municipal or parish level).

THE INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL FACTORS. Changes that led to an income increase for Susa and Simijaca residents are mostly linked to external factors and not to intra-territorial dynamics:

- First, its close location to the national capital, soil fertility in lower areas, and the sustained growth of milk prices in the country created a favorable context for the consolidation of the milk industry in the territory.
- Second, the transition from agriculture to livestock production in the highlands accelerated because of the consolidation of the milk industry and the uncertainty of agricultural incomes, due to the price variability of agricultural products, the high price of raw materials, and the risks associated with planting crops.
- Third, the lack of safety in western Boyaca, the geographic closeness to Simijaca, and an increase of income for migrants to this city, worked as an incentive to migrate there.
UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT. Although changes experienced in both municipalities during the time period considered led to increases in income for the territory’s residents, historical divisions between the lower regions and the highlands, the creation of new territorial identities for urban and rural areas, and the geographical advantages of Simijaca over Susa, produced an unequally distributed prosperity. Some of the data that highlight these differences include:

- Although both municipalities have a high percentage of mini-landowners, in 2010 in Simijaca, the average lot size was 2.20 hectares, while in Susa it was 1.67. In Simijaca, dairy production was 12 to 16 liters per cow per day; in Susa, it was 8 to 12 liters. Moreover, milk prices are higher in the lower areas.
- The average household income in Simijaca is 1.5 times higher than in Susa. Per capita expenditures have the same ratio.
- Infrastructure, the national social offering, economic opportunities, greater participation in the goods and financial services market, and some household characteristics like social capital, are also stacked up against Susa when compared to Simijaca. This municipality also enjoys a social network with higher density.

Women in Simijaca spend a greater amount of their time in income generating activities, including doing agricultural activities on their plots or those of others, than women in Susa, although both municipalities are characterized by traditional gender relations.

HOW ARE THESE DIFFERENCES EXPLAINED? Residents in the lower areas, which have better access routes and more fertile soil, consolidated their position as dairy farmers by adopting new technologies, establishing a direct link to the agro-industrial complex, and improving cattle breeds. The highlands region was tangentially benefited by this consolidation with the increase on milk demand and by slowly adopting new technologies, which encouraged the transition from agriculture to livestock production. However, its lower milk quality, location far away from milk collection centers, which forces highlands producers to depend on intermediaries, and low association rates in the region, have become an obstacle to capitalizing on new profits generated by the dairy industry.

Moreover, the migration of people from western Boyaca has concentrated in Simijaca, because of its geographic closeness, greater availability of institutions, and better disposition toward immigrants. This immigration flow has contributed to growth with higher investment, urban expansion, and commercial dynamism in urban areas, as well as an increase in violence and social conflicts. About 10% of Simijaca’s 11,000 residents are migrants from other cities, while in Susa this number is only 3.7% (with 9,800 total residents).
Environmental Threats

According to the perceptions of people interviewed, both municipalities share similar environmental issues:

• Water contamination and the reduction of the reflection on the Fuquene Lagoon are perceived as the main problem. Some residents even estimated that the extraction of water from deep water wells by dairy companies has decreased the availability of water in the highlands area and aggravated soil degradation.

• Carbon mining has caused indiscriminate tree cutting and air pollution.

• Potato cultivation is associated with an expansion of the agricultural borders to paramos, to inadequate waste disposal practices, and to excessive pesticide spraying.

• Soil overuse and its effects on lower fertility is one of the concerns mentioned over and over again by residents.

• Climatic problems, such as global warming and the Nino phenomenon, have also affected production.

All these issues are seen as a threat to dominant productive activities in the municipalities.
The Knowledge Legacy: Over 100 Publications

Over a period of five years, Program researchers have poured concepts, findings, reflections and proposals into a series of publications that included nearly 120 working papers, ten books and several articles being prepared for publication in international specialized magazines.

<table>
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<th>Books (in Spanish)</th>
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| El territorio de senderos que se bifurcan: Tungurahua (*A Territory Where Paths Bifurcate: Tungurahua*)  
| De Yucatán a Chiloé. Dinámicas territoriales en América Latina (*From the Yucatan to Chiloe. Territorial Dynamics in Latin America*)  
| Ciudades intermedias y desarrollo territorial (*Intermediate Cities and Territorial Development*)  
| Mercados y desarrollo territorial (*Markets and Territorial Development*)  
| Coaliciones sociales y desarrollo territorial (*Social Coalitions and Territorial Development*)  
| Gas y desarrollo. Dinámicas territoriales rurales en Tarija – Bolivia (*Gas and Development: Rural Territorial Dynamics in Tarija – Bolivia*)  
| Los dilemas territoriales del desarrollo en América Latina (*Dilemmas of Territorial Development in Latin America*)  
| Dinámicas de género y masculinidades en los territorios latinoamericanos (*Gender Dynamics and Masculinities in Latin American Territories*)  
| Informe latinoamericano sobre pobreza y desigualdad 2011 (*2011 Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality*)  
Working Papers

All working papers are available in Spanish (unless otherwise noted by the English title) at www.rimisp.org/dtr/documentos.

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SECTION FOUR: COMMUNICATIONS

“The Program has generated a significant number of ideas, illusions, actions, documents, answers, which we must make available internally to network members and also externally, to a variety of decision making and opinion making institutions”.

Mid-review Process of the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program.
Communications Strategy

From its initial conception, the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program has considered communications a central component of its strategy to facilitate collaboration between Program partners, share results and, in particular, to interact with decision makers and the Latin American community interested in rural and territorial development.

Following the recommendation of the Advisory Council, a communications strategy was developed in 2009. This strategy focuses in four areas:

- **Management and Governance.** Oriented toward facilitating communication among members of the Program Coordination Unit (PCU); informing the Program Advising Council (PAC); and informing funding agencies in order to offer enough elements to give follow up to the Program and make relevant decisions.

- **Collaboration.** Seeks to inform Program partners and collaborators, encouraging their participation in the different components and activities, and giving them the space necessary to perform virtual tasks in support of dialogue, feedback, joint initiatives at a distance and summarizing results.

- **Information Sharing.** Considers the elaboration and spread of communication products and services organized according to the needs and characteristics of the various audiences; establishes permanent contact with regional media outlets, and positions the Program as a reliable source of current and quality information for the press.

- **Influence and Impact.** Implies the elaboration of communication products and services that support influential and effective Program strategies and Program partners in various public action dimensions and levels.

This communication strategy gives support to programmatic needs through a multi-audience, multi-purpose and multi-media platform. With this in mind, audiences were prioritized according to the Program’s target goals, dividing them into primary and secondary audiences. Primary audiences are those with whom the Program frequently interacts and for whom specific communication products and services are designed; secondary audiences are wider and more diffused and, therefore, the Program has access to them through existing general media outlets, both conventional and digital.

The most important communication tools used are:
- Program website (www.rimisp.org/dtr), together with other digital tools and social networks such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter and Flickr.
- Equitierra Magazine
- Documents: progress reports, working papers, policy briefs, and annual reports, among others.
- Media campaigns
- Program Newsletter
Program Website

The Program website (www.rimisp.org/dtr) is the most important communications platform, and supports its content and interactions. Its optimization and actualization, and the improvement of its positioning in online search engine results, has become an ongoing effort.

The RTD Program website has received approximately 250,000 visitors between April 1, 2009, date in which data was first collected, and May 31, 2012 (see Table 1), or about 200 daily visitors.

Starting in 2010, our digital presence was intensified with the use of online media and social networks to share studies and activities implemented by the Program. In 2011, this presence was consolidated through the use of and integrative digital strategy for website publications and the update of our digital social networks. In this way, we were better able to position a variety of our digital products.

The Blog Red Prensa Rural (www.redprensarural.com) has received 132,000 visitors since it was first introduced in 2008. We have published 284 entries during its 44 months of online life, or an average of seven entries per month. The 284 blog entries have sparked a total of 208 comments.

The Improvement Challenge

A technical analysis of our Program website conducted by an external evaluation team in mid 2011 resulted in a few recommendations for improving this digital tool.

Between 2009 and 2011, there was an increase in website traffic, but also a decrease in the time spent on our site and the number of pages visited per visitor. The evaluation team found some weaknesses that can put the security of the system at risk, and pointed out some characteristics that slow down processing speed or make navigation more difficult. It was recommended we implement a general review of our website in order to make improvements based on these findings. During the first half of 2012, Rimisp began a redesign initiative for the Program website.
Rimisp’s **Twitter** account is two years old and has shared over 2,300 tweets. During June 2012 the account reached the 1,000-follower mark.

Rimisp’s **Facebook** page has a total of 1,000 friends.

And in Rimisp’s **Flickr** account there were a total of 3,000 photos uploaded through June 15th, 2012. These photos illustrate Program activities, territories in which case studies were implemented, and Program publications. This digital outlet has received over 100,000 visitors.

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<thead>
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<th>Table 1. RTD Program website visitors, 2009-2012</th>
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<td>April - December 2009</td>
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<td>2010</td>
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<td>2011</td>
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<td>January - May 2012</td>
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**Program Website Pages with the Highest Number of Visitors**

- Homepage (32,050 visitors)
- Working Papers Index Page (30,418 visitors)
- Crisis and Rural Poverty Index Page (22,028 visitors)
- Crisis and Rural Poverty in Guatemala Section (6,060 visitors)
- Intermediate Cities Page in the Working Papers Section (5,636 visitors)
## Top 5 RTD Program Working Papers (Number of Downloads):

<table>
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<th>Working Paper</th>
<th>Number of Downloads</th>
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Geographic Origin of Visitors:

• The countries with the highest number of visitors to our website are: Chile, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador. In general terms, over 50% of the visitors are coming from South America, 25% from Central America, and 5% from Europe.

• Most visitors are Spanish-speaking, but about 10% are English speakers, and 2.5% speaks Portuguese.
Equitierra Magazine was launched in August 2008. This electronic publication was designed to generate debates and discussions on rural issues across Latin America. Its publication is a joint effort of the RTD Program and the Rural Territorial Dynamics with Cultural Identity (RTD-CI) Program, and is made possible with funds provided by the Ford Foundation.

“To accept our individual and collective quota of responsibility in inequality means to think and act with freedom. We are making Equitierra available in order to provide our two cents toward that end and to improve understanding of a wide audience about current challenges in the rural world”.

Editorial Committee, Equitierra Magazine Nº1, August 2008

The magazine promotes a renewed focus on rural development that incorporates factors such as geography, natural resources, economic systems, market dynamics, institutional frameworks and social actors and movements. It targets a wide and diverse audience belonging to governmental and non-governmental organizations, cooperation agencies, academics, students and communicators interested in rural issues.

Some of the themes developed during the past four and half years include the food crisis, climate change, growth dynamics, inequality and poverty, all based on findings from the Program’s innovative research studies, initiatives and ventures with cultural identity in rural areas of several countries in Latin America. Themes also include studies on success stories in rural Brazil, the impact of the global financial crisis on rural poverty in the region, urban-rural linkages, Peruvian gastronomy and territorial development, rural poverty, rural world innovations, natural capital exploitation, gender systems and territories, small producers vis-à-vis globalized markets, the experiences of territorial development
dialogue platforms in Central America, the Andean community and *rurality* with a territorial focus, the articulation between extra-territorial investment and local strategies, functional territories, the Rural Territorial Development Platform with Cultural Identity, rural dialogue initiatives and more.

The magazine, including its opinion pieces written by researchers and partners, has become a powerful tool to share RTD Program issues and findings.

According to an analysis conducted in 2009 by the consulting firm Digital Partners, which evaluated all digital products developed by Rimisp, *Equitierra* was positioned as a significant communication reference tool for the Program, and it also contributes to positioning the organization as a whole. According to the study, readers rated the magazine’s content and articles as of “good quality” and as a contribution to the analysis of territorial development in Latin America. Moreover, they gave a very positive rating to the magazine’s graphs and visual presentation, and appreciated the hyperlinks that allowed them to connect to new documents that take a more in-depth look at issues. Visitors also appreciate the images and videos that complement Equitierra’s articles.

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**Equitierra in Numbers**

*12 Issues published between August 2008 and July 2012, with a new edition every four months*

* 50 Articles
* 36 Opinion pieces
* 12 Interviews
* 5,300 Subscribers
* 11,993 Downloaded PDF documents (or 15% of the total number of downloads at our RTD Program website)
Massive Content Distribution

RTD Program content and information distribution is also done through e-mail blasts. Some of the products that are sent via e-mail are Program reports, Equitierra Magazine (sent to 5,300 subscribers), the RTD Newsletter with key Program results, and a series on Policies for Territorial Development (see textbox below) that was first published during the last quarter of 2011 and with a dedicated webpage at (www.rimisp.org/dtr/politicasterritoriales).

- By May 2012, ten newsletters and five issues of the Policies for Territorial Development Series had been sent to 2,755 subscribers in an e-mail distribution list.

- The average percentage of people who opened the newsletter was 37.2%. The Series message was opened an average of 39.5% of the time.
Policies for Territorial Development Series

To give greater visibility to the RTD Program and position its policy and public action proposals, the series on Policies for Territorial Development was implemented during the second half of 2011. Through this Series we seek to share key Program findings, giving guidance to public policies and strategies developed by decision makers and other interest groups.

The Series promotion initiatives are part of a media strategy that also includes promoting press articles and opinion columns.

By mid 2012, the Policies for Territorial Development Series had published:

- **Proposals for Territorial Development**, based on the partial synthesis of Program results gathered by the end of 2010.

- **Policies with a Territorial Focus: Identifying Potential Beneficiaries**, which proposes key elements for potentiating the impact of territorially-focused policies.

- **Private Investment Projects in Territories. Paths to Mitigate Conflict and Potentiate Their Impact on Development**, which addresses the impact of these investments and offers proposals for the private sector and State initiatives as a guarantor of natural-resource access and use in an equitable and environmentally sustainable way.

- **Linkages of Rural Territories to Dynamic Markets. Growth with Greater Inclusion**, which analyzes aspects that influence the ability of rural territories to create inclusive linkages with dynamic markets, and the role of local governments and public decentralized agencies in contributing toward this end.

- **Money Transfers in Territories: the Palliative Effects of Poverty on Development Tools**, which investigates the effects of conditional money transfer programs spreading throughout Latin America, and under which conditions they can contribute to inclusive territorial development.

Visit the Series webpage at [www.rimisp.org/dtr/politicasterritoriales](http://www.rimisp.org/dtr/politicasterritoriales)
The Program in the Press

RTD Program activities and products have had a significant presence in the Latin American media. Between February 2008 and June 2012, there were 214 publications in print, digital and radio outlets that mentioned the Program. The following table summarizes these publications per country:

TABLE 1: PUBLICATIONS PER YEAR

- Year 2008 was 109 mentions
- Year 2009 was 101 mentions
- Year 2010 was 81 mentions
- Year 2011 was 80 mentions
- Year 2012 was 69 mentions (until June)
TABLE 2: COUNTRIES IN WHICH ARTICLES WERE PUBLISHED

All Program mentions in the press from 2007 to 2012 can be read by visiting: www.rimisp.org/dtr/saladeprensa

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<td>Venezuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
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<td>Others (Europe and Canada)</td>
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Media Campaign for the “Crisis and Poverty” Series

Among media campaigns implemented through our overall communications strategy, the one launched for the project “Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America” stands out. This campaign included the publication and distribution of a summary document both in Spanish and English.

Based on these documents, a media campaign was implemented with the creation of three syntheses that included transversal themes relevant to all eleven countries:

- The impact of the crisis on poverty in all 11 eleven (in general terms).
- The impact on rural poverty in particular and its implications for family agriculture.
- The impact of the crisis on remittances.

The media campaign on Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America achieved significant success. By the end of 2009, there were 10 lengthy and detailed articles published in major media outlets in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Colombia, which at the same time led to the publication of related articles or the reproduction of original pieces in other traditional and online media outlets.
“One of the most perverse and lasting types of inequality in Latin America is related to the place where one is born or lives. Perhaps the most critical element in changing this adverse birth condition is the implementation of participative processes in the territories in order to build a different future. During the 2012 RTD Program Conference, many examples were presented that proved that territories were especially successful when transformative social coalitions were present. These coalitions included a variety of actors that, either explicitly or implicitly, were able to create a common agenda to overcome those initial obstacles”.

Manuel Chiriboga, Researcher at Rimisp
In opinion column written for El Universo (Ecuador), 06/10/2012
“Territories in Motion” Meetings

The annual “Territories in Motion” meeting was organized four times between 2009 and 2012. This forum provided an exceptional opportunity to share advances made by the RTD Program and nourish its research initiatives by holding debates between Program partners and collaborators, guests from regional and international organizations, students, researchers and academics, and representatives from national and sub-national governments, NGOs, and the media.

2012 Territories in Motion (May 2012 - Quito, Ecuador)

In the 2012 symposium there were approximately 200 participants and 80 presentations, half of which were selected through a public contest among 300 papers submitted. Selected presentations were organized according to the following themes:

- Employment, Growth and Competitiveness: 18 presentations, 22%
- Social Exclusion, Poverty and Lagging Territories: 8 presentations, 10%
- Citizenship and Quality of Democracy: 11 presentations, 13%
- Socio-Environmental Conflicts: 18 presentations, 22%
- Food Security, Agriculture’s New Role and Territory: 4 presentations, 5%
- City and Territory: 12 presentations, 14%
- State Modernization and Quality of Public Management from a Territorial Perspective: 12 presentations, 14%

In addition to these presentations there was also a keynote speech made by Ms. Carolina Trivelli, the Development and Social Inclusion Minister of Peru, and presentations made by seven panel members in three plenary sessions:

- Conditions for socially inclusive economic growth: Territorial Perspectives
- Assessment of rural territorial development policies
- Assessment of territorial development in Ecuador and the Andes

For additional information (in Spanish), please visit: www.rimisp.org/dtr/encuentro2012
The goal of the 2011 meeting, in which 125 people participated, was to learn more about the factors that make possible to achieve socially inclusive and environmental sustainable economic growth in rural territories. It also focused on the strategies, policies and other forms of public action that can stimulate and support successful territorial dynamics. The agenda included:

• A session on Territorial Development in El Salvador and Central America
• A conference on how to manage territorial development in a centralized and sectoral state - This event was led by Jaime Toha, former Agriculture, Energy and Public Works Minister of Chile.
• A presentation by Martin Tanaka, from the Peruvian Studies Institute (IEP), titled “Social Actors and Political Processes at the Territorial Level.” Tanaka offered a conceptual approach on coalitions that can be used for analyzing each of the 19 case studies carried out by the RTD Program.

There were also parallel workshops on topics such as: territories and their linkages to dynamic markets, productive structures, natural capital and the use of and access to natural resources, social coalitions, public investment and intermediate territorial cities.

For additional information (in Spanish), please visit: www.rimisp.org/dtr/encuentro2011
2010 Rural Territories in Motion (March 2010 - Bogota, Colombia)

This event served as a forum for updating project achievements, stimulating dialogue and relationships among partners, and focusing on future Program efforts. There were about 150 participants and their presentations included topics such as:

- The Territorial Factor in the National Environmental Strategy for El Salvador
- Territorial Management of Tungurahua’s Provincial Government
- The Rural Development Experience in Mexico
- Regional and Territorial Development in Colombia
- The Territorial in Rural Development Policies in Spain
- Territorial Development and Food Security

A special homage was paid to the International Development Research Center (IDRC) for its 40th anniversary.

The 2010 conference received significant press coverage, including 20 articles and interviews in media outlets in Colombia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Canada, Ecuador, Mexico and Chile.

For additional information (in Spanish), please visit: www.rimisp.org/dtr/encuentro2010
2009 Rural Territories in Motion (March 2009 - Antigua, Guatemala)

More than 100 participants from 12 countries in the region, and a few from Europe and North America, gathered during this conference. Its goal was to take an objective look at those territories and experiences taking a favorable path identified as territories where further study would be conducted with the Program’s framework. Conference activities included:

- Sharing results on the territorial dynamics maps created by the Program in 11 countries.
- Presenting case studies carried out in four territories in Peru, Brazil and Chile on strategies implemented by the local population to increase the value of products and services with cultural identity.
- Analyzing strategies to promote rural development in Brazil (Citizenship Territories) and Canada (Rural Development Policies in the Quebec Province)

There were 30 articles related to the 2009 conference published in print media from Central America, Mexico, Brazil and Uruguay.

For additional information (in Spanish), please visit: www.rimisp.org/dtr/encuentro2009
Organization of International Conferences

International Seminar on Intermediate Cities and Territorial Development (May 20th & 21st, 2010 - Lima, Peru)
Over half of the urban population in Latin America lives in intermediate cities and small urban centers, many of which have had growth rates that surpass the population average and even those of urban centers with more than 500,000 people. This trend was the motivation behind the conference organized by the RTD Program and the Architecture Department at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, bringing together ruralists and urbanists in search of a territorial development capable of securing socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable growth in Latin America. Presentations were published in the book “Intermediate Cities and Territorial Development,” edited by Jose Canziani and Alexander Schejtman.*

Latin American Journalism Conference on Rural Development (June 16th & 17th, 2008 - Itatiba, Brazil)
This event was organized by the RTD Program and sought to find out more about the interests and needs of journalists in order to improve coverage and news related to rural development, and identify possible mechanisms for dialogue and regular and systematic information exchange on this topic between Latin American journalists. The Rural Development Journalist Network was created after this event, as was the Spanish-language blog Rural Press Network: www.redprensarural.com

Latin American Conference of Governors, Mayors and Prefects for Rural Development (Mayo 12th & 13th, 2008 - Santiago, Chile)
With the participation of over 20 regional authorities, from more than 10 countries, this conference was the first Program effort to take the discussion on new tools for territorial development to the local government level. These new tools are being applied in Latin American countries to achieve growth with equity and deal with the effects of international crises, such as the food crisis. Leaders at the event approved the creation of a Latin American Cooperation Network to systematize horizontal the rural territorial development dialogue between central governments. For more information, please visit: www.rimisp.org/dtr/encuentrogobernadores.

Ibero-American Rural Dialogue:  
The Food Crisis and Rural Territories

Rimisp was a member of the organizing committee for this event, which was prepared in conjunction with the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Ministry of El Salvador, the Office of the Ibero-American Secretary General, the Ministry of Natural, Rural and Ocean Environments in Spain, the Program for Territorial Management Cooperation, the Network of Sub-National Governments for Rural Territorial Development in Latin America, and FAO’s Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean.

On September 16th, 2008, over 70 representatives from various public and private institutions in Ibero-American countries gathered in San Salvador (El Salvador) to debate alternatives for solving the food crisis affecting the region and the rest of the world. At the end of the dialogue process, a document was created with recommendations for public policy makers at the state and national levels. This document was presented during the 9th Ibero-American Conference for Agriculture Ministers in San Salvador on September 17th, and, later, at the 18th Annual Summit for State and Government Leaders in San Salvador, which took place October 29-31, 2008. www.rimisp.org/dialogo

Rome: Dialogue on Policies that Benefit the Rural Poor

The seminar “Enabling Pro-Rural Poor Policy Dialogue in Latin America and the Caribbean” was held on October 4th and 5th, 2011, in Rome, Italy. The meeting was organized by IFAD’s Latin American and the Caribbean Division and Rimisp, with the goal of offering proposals for improving development policy dialogue, particularly in regard to overcoming rural poverty.

Participants included those associated with policy implementation, including representatives from Rural Dialogue Groups in Mexico and Colombia, Rimisp, and other IFAD-backed initiatives, as well as those that examine policy dialogue mechanisms, such as Laudemir Andre Muller, Brazil’s Secretary of Family Agriculture; Jose Sialer, Director of the Sierra Sur Project in Peru; and Stanley Vera Prieto, Minister of Agriculture for Ecuador.
Intercontinental Debate on Rural Transformation in Emerging Economies

New Delhi Conference. As part of its initiatives to promote international relations for the RTD Program, Rimisp provided support to the conference “Rural Transformation Dynamics in Emerging Economies” (April 14-16, 2010, New Delhi, India). The conference welcomed over 200 participants from key emerging economies -India, China, Brazil and South Africa- and from Argentina, Chile, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Vietnam and Zimbabwe, The Netherlands, France, Canada and the United Kingdom.

This event was organized by the Planning Commission, Government of India; the Institute for Human Development, India; the Ministry for Agrarian Development from Brazil; the Economics Department at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil; the Advisory Council’s Center for Development Research, China; the Department for Rural Development and Agrarian Reform, South Africa; the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); and Rimisp, which coordinated the International Secretariat responsible of organizing the conference.

The conference was inaugurated by the President of India, Pratibha Devisingh Patil, and included approximately 80 presentations about experiences and innovations in these four emerging economies.

New Delhi Declaration on the Rural Transformation of Emerging Economies:

In order to act for the benefit of rural societies, participants during the Conference proposed an agenda based on three pillars. First, heavy investments are needed to ensure inclusive, sustainable and diversified rural development. Second, there is a need for adequate governance systems, institutions and policy processes. Finally, improvements must be made in the efficiency and efficacy of public policy and programs in order to close the gap between costs and results.

You can see the complete declaration by visiting this English-language link: www.rimisp.org/dtr/conferenciaindia (in English).

Cape Town Conference. After the conference in New Delhi, it was recommended to holding having these types of events. IFAD, as the conference sponsor, was committed to supporting a follow-up event, which came together in the seminar “Policy Dialogues for Sustainable Rural Development: Creating Agency in Rural Areas” (February 18 & 19, 2011 - Cape Town, South Africa). Organized by the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform in South Africa, IFAD, the offices of the World Bank in Pretoria, and Rimisp, this seminar welcomed 80 participants and served as a forum for debating problems and solutions for rural development in emerging economies.
Active Participation in International Forums

Throughout the implementation of the RTD Program, participation of its researchers and partners in international events has been strongly encouraged in order to share and present for discussion all study findings, enriching perspectives, promoting debates of its concepts and topics, and sharing its results at many levels and with many audiences. Some of the events in which the Program participated include:

International Virtual Congress “Reflections for Rio +20, the Green Economy and Socio-Productive Inclusion: the Role of Family Agriculture” (April 9-30, 2012)
This Congress, organized by the Ministry of Agrarian Development of Brazil and the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Cooperation (IICA), was a preparatory event to gather technical inputs for strengthening institutional positioning within the framework of the Rio +20 Conference on Sustainable Development. Dr. Julio Berdegue, RTD Program Coordinator, participated by doing a presentation on the determinants of rural territorial development dynamics in Latin America. His presentation was included as part of the reflections in the section Axis I: Sustainable Rural Development.

Third Annual Conference - The Chilean Society for Regional Studies, SOCHER (October 2011-Concepcion, Chile)
Benjamin Jara, Research Assistant for RTD, gave a presentation on “Cities giving Dynamism to Territories” as part of the project “Cities and Rural Territories” carried out in Mexico, Colombia and Chile, and that is one of the summary projects implemented by the Program.

Permanent Seminar on Agrarian Research - SEPIA 14 (August 23rd-26th, 2011 - Piura, Peru)
In this seminar, Dr. Berdegue gave a presentation as part of the International Round Table on the “Determinants of Rural Territorial Dynamics.” Raul Hernandez, partner of the Program and Researcher at the Peruvian Studies Institute (IEP), gave a presentation on “The Territorial Spin on Peruvian Social Sciences: An Assessment of Development, Rural and Territorial Studies.” Our partners Patric Hollenstein and Pablo Ospina, from Simon Bolivar Andean University in Ecuador, and Jose Poma, from Loja University in the same country, also gave a presentation titled “Rural Territories and Globalization: Territorial Fragmentation in the Loja Province”. Another Program partner, Ana Victoria Pelaez, from Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala, gave a presentation on “Gender and Rural Territorial Dynamics” at another round table. This presentation was supported by research findings of work done by Pelaez, Patric Hollenstein, Susan Paulson and Julie Claire Mace.

Third Annual Conference on Economic Geography (June 28th-July 1st, 2011 - Seoul, South Korea)
RTD Researchers Leonith Hinojosa (Open University, United Kingdom), Javier Escobal (GRADE, Peru) and Benjamin Jara (Rimisp) presented work developed within the Program framework on “Growth and Social Inclusion in the Andes,” “Spatial Polarization of Well-Being in Peru” and “Places to Develop Territorial Policy,” respectively.
Annual Rural Research Workshop (May 5th, 2011 - Ottawa, Canada)
During the inaugural session at this event, organized by the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation, Dr. Julio Berdegué, RTD Program Coordinator, gives a presentation based on the work “From Policy to Research and Back Again,” written in collaboration with Ignacia Fernandez.

2011 Annual Meeting - American Association of Geographers (April 2011 - Seattle, USA)
Susan Paulson, Professor at Lund University and Coordinator of the Working Group on Gender and Territorial Dynamics, presided over a round table discussion on “Gendered Policies.” Together with Rafael Vaisman, she also gave a presentation on “Gendered Political Participation in Yucatan, Mexico: Dynamics of the Councils for Sustainable Rural Development,” which included a summary review of the RTD Program and its focus on gender, as well as a presentation of study findings in the CHAH territory.

Annual Conference of the Chilean Society for Public Policy (January 2011 - Santiago, Chile)
During the Second Annual Conference of the Chilean Society for Public Policy, four Program staff presented their work. Claudia Serrano, Rimisp’s Executive Director, gave a presentation to the decentralization panel on “Territorial Development Policies in Chile.” Ignacia Fernandez talked about “Poverty and Municipal Heterogeneity” as part of the public policy and regional development panel. Rodrigo Yanez examined “Environmental Institutions and Local Participation” as part of the environmental panel. And Benjamin Jara shared the work on “Communities Dependent on Natural Resources in Chile: Identifying Cases for Focusing Rural Territorial Development Policies” within the section on public policy and productive sectors.

Fifth International Conference of the Nordic Latin American Research Network - NOLAN, “Society, Culture and Nature in Latin America: New Political Tendencies” (November 10th-12th, 2010 - Copenhagen, Denmark)
Members of the research team on gender dynamics in Chiloe gave a presentation on study findings. In the session on “Gender, Migration and Identity,” Julie Claire Mace, from Rimisp, and Teresa Bornschlegl, from the post-graduate program on Culture, Power and Sustainability at Lund University, talked about results with other researchers, professors and students. Susan Paulson, Professor at Lund University in Sweden, and Coordinator of the Working Group on Gender and Territorial Dynamics, was responsible for a plenary session on gender, race and the environment. This international conference gathered over 150 participants from European, Latin American and North American universities, European research centers, Nordic and Latin American NGOs, foreign relations ministries, and Latin American embassies.
Program Exchange with Lund University

Results gathered while carrying out gender studies in Chiloe were also presented at the end of 2010 to a group of 50 professors and master’s degree and PhD students at Lund University. This group provided feedback as members of the University, who is a partner in the Program’s work on gender. The relationship between the Program and Lund University is based on work done by Professor Susan Paulson, who also coordinates the Working Group on Gender and Territorial Dynamics, and on the participation of five postgraduate students from Lund that over several months did research on this subject alongside other partner organizations in Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Ecuador and Chile.

2010 International Virtual Conference “The Role of Family Agriculture in Development and Food Security” (September 15th-October 15th, 2010)

This seminar was organized and directed by the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Cooperation (IICA) from their Uruguay headquarters. It was supported by Rimisp, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Rural Forum, the National Institute for Agrarian Research (INIA in Uruguay) and the Cooperative Program for Agro-Food and Agro-Industry Technological Development (PROCISUR). The event sparked international debates and a reflexive process, with the support of digital media to communicate and connect over 1,000 researchers, technicians, officials from public and international agencies, rural people and organizational leaders, among others.

Alexander Schejtman, a Researcher at Rimisp, was responsible for the opening speech in which he talked about the reach of family agriculture in Latin America. Dr. Julio Berdegué, RTD Program Coordinator, also participated to provide feedback on presentations about Technology and Family Agriculture. For additional information, please visit: congresos.iica.org.uy/sitio/home.html
Representatives from RTD Program research teams in (Brazil) and Chiloe Central (Chile) Arilson Favareto (Universidade Federal do ABC) and Eduardo Ramirez (Rimisp), respectively, presented research findings during the panel on “Recent Evolution of Income, Poverty and Inequality Indicators in Latin America and Its Causes.” The event also provided the opportunity to further examine general research results for projects in Nicaragua, Ecuador and Peru. The SOBER conference is Brazil’s most important meeting about rural issues and every year attracts hundreds of economy, sociology and rural management professionals.

27th Conference of the International Association of Agricultural Economists, IAAE (August 2009 – Beijing)

This academic forum is the most important global event on agrarian economy and policies, and it is organized every three years. This time, the RTD Program organized a mini-symposium on rural territorial development in Latin America with the presentation of four works derived from Program research:

• "Rural Territorial Dynamics in Latin America" by Julio A. Berdegue (Rimisp – Latin American Center for Rural Development).


• "Understanding Rural Territorial Dynamics in Latin America: A Methodological Framework" by Alexander Schejtman (Rimisp – Latin American Center for Rural Development).

• "Territorial Dynamics in Chiloe Island, Chile” by Eduardo Ramirez and Felix Modrego (Rimisp – Latin American Center for Rural Development).
7th Annual Conference of the OECD on Rural Development
(October 13th-15th, 2009, Quebec, Canada)
During this conference organized by the Organisation on Economic Co-operation and Development, the RTD Program organized a workshop titled “Rural Territorial Dynamics and Policies in Latin America.” Rimisp Researcher Manuel Chiriboga gave a presentation on economic growth, poverty and inequality changes at the territorial level in the 11 countries studied for the Program.

2009 and 2010 LASA Conferences
The events organized by the Association of Latin American Studies (LASA) are one of the most important forums on multidisciplinary research in the Social Sciences. In the 2009 event “Rethinking Inequalities” (Rio de Janeiro), the RTD Program organized two panels in collaboration with its partners, including presentations of five of its works on the territorial dimension of inequality in Latin America:

- “O surpreendente desempenho do Brasil rural nos anos 1990” (The Surprising Performance of Rural Brazil in the 1990s) by Ricardo Abromovay (Sao Paulo University) and Arilson Favareto (Univ. Federal de ABC)
- “La importancia de la desigualdad territorial en Chile” (The Significance of Territorial Inequality in Chile) by Eduardo Ramirez and Felix Modrego (Rimisp – Latin American Center for Rural Development) and Andrea Tartakowsky (Ministry of Planning).
- “Spatial Patterns of Growth and Poverty Changes in Peru (1993-2005)” by Javier Escobal and Carmen Ponce (GRADE)
- “Territorial Inequalities and the Governance of Land and Water in Nicaragua” by Helle Munk Ravnborg (Danish Institute for International Studies) and Ligia Gomez (Nitatapan Institute)
- “Rural Territorial Dynamics, Extractive Industries and Inequality in Bolivia” by Anthony Bebbington, Leonith Hinojosa and Denise Humphreys Bebbington (Manchester University)

At the 2010 LASA conference in Toronto, the Program had the opportunity to present final findings of five of its first research works: Projects implemented in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua were presented during the panel on “Territorial Development in Latin America.” The presentations included:

- “Crecimiento económico y reducción de la pobreza en Nicaragua” (Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction in Nicaragua) by Tomas Rodriguez (Central American Micro-Finance Network - REDCAMIF)
- “Dinámicas territoriales y formación de territorio en contextos de expansión de industrias extractivas en Bolivia” (Territorial Dynamics and Territory Formation within the Context of Extractive Industry Expansion in Bolivia) by Leonith Hinojosa (Manchester University)
- “Dinámica Territorial en Chiloé, Chile” (Territorial Dynamics in Chiloe, Chile) by Eduardo Ramirez (Rimisp–Latin American Center for Rural Development)
- “Desarrollo Territorial en Tungurahua, Ecuador” (Territorial Development in Tungurahua, Ecuador) by Patric Hollenstein (Simon Bolivar Andean University)
SECTION SIX: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

“Policies are often blind to their territorially differentiated impact; they usually declare themselves to be neutral while they are clearly not. We want to show that territory matters, and that not taking it into account erodes the capacity of public policy to make an impact. This means we need policies that emerge from the territory itself, that keep in mind the needs, natural wealth and characteristics of each particular region, and that take responsibility for the public institutions in each place. (...) What we really want is to produce social change, and this requires dialogue with decision makers at every level: national authorities, sub-national governments, development agencies, multilateral agencies, all actors implementing change dynamics in the territories. We are faced with the challenge of deploying not only good ideas but also proposing instruments and operational methods we have learned about through experience. During this phase, the end of a cycle, we feel prepared to implement and support these evidence-backed processes”.

Claudia Serrano, Executive Director - Rimisp
In interview for Rimisp's News Portal, 02/04/2012
The RTD Program supported six country projects to develop capacities in territorial management. Four territories are located in Central America: Macizo de Penas Blancas, in Nicaragua; Chalatenango, in El Salvador; Ostua-Guija, in Guatemala; and Olancho, in Honduras. This work was the responsibility of Program partners including the Nitaplan Institute at the Central America University in Nicaragua, the Salvadorian Development and Environmental Research Program (PRISMA), Rafael Landivar University and the Sustainable Development Network, respectively. In South America, work was carried out in two territories: Tungurahua, Ecuador, through representatives from Simon Bolivar Andean University and the provincial government; and in the O’Higgins region in Chile, with Rimisp as the implementing institution.

Capacity building programs face a variety of realities in each territory (see textbox below), with individual change priorities, so methodology and research instruments must be adaptable. However, in all cases, the plan included the following:

Using applied research to generate evidence for capacity development, including identifying the most relevant actors and their role in the territory.

Strengthening multi-actor platforms in the territory. The makeup of these spaces varies, but they generally include local governments, social and economic organizations, representatives from private enterprises, civil society organizations and others with regional relevance. In some of the six territories support and reinforcement was given to existing platforms, as was the case in Tungurahua and Chalatenango. In others, the construction of new platforms was promoted, as in Ostua-Guija, Macizo de Penas Blancas and O’Higgins. These dialogue spaces proved to be effective in gathering proposals and putting together programs of work. The depth of reach between the various work plans reflects territorial differences in social capital and leadership.

Creating a territorial development plan. This plan is the result of a concerted vision among social actors of the future they wish to see in their territories.

Formulating project proposals to finance public goods. Strategic plans are only useful if they lead to effective investments, reason why local actors were encouraged to create a project portfolio and connections with possible funding sources.

Strengthening organizations of people living in poverty or socially excluded, so that they are able to better participate in the previously mentioned process.

LESSONS LEARNED. Work done directly with local actors led to the identification of some key aspects to keep in mind when dealing with territorial management.
Territorial leadership is a critical element to ensure territorial development processes are sustainable in the long term. In most territories, leadership was assumed by municipalities. Municipal associations or coalitions have become basic articulators, providing political space and opportunities to organize. This is especially important in Central American countries, where provincial or departmental governments are weak, and also in Chile, where regional governments do have power and capacity of action. Examples of this are the municipal coalition in Guija, Guatemala; the Municipal Association in the Interior Drylands of O’Higgins, Chile; and the Municipal Association of Northern Penas Blancas (AMUPEBLAN) in Nicaragua. In Ecuador, leadership was assumed by the provincial government in Tungurahua. In all cases, there is evidence of the need to not only have a plan but also a political articulator in order to establish a dialogue process with regional and national agencies.

The task of accessing funds for territorial development initiatives is strengthened as central themes are identified, key actors are added to the solution process, and a work agenda has been created. However, there are often difficulties to reach an agreement between those with a territorial vision and governments with a sectoral political and budgetary approach. Therefore, it is necessary to learn to manage frictions between sectoral and territorial approaches, as well as develop the capacities of collective, private-public and governmental actors that can bring together, intermediate and negotiate between both logics. These capacities are necessary for two reasons: They are a path to finding resources to be invested in projects the territorial community has prioritized, and they also serve to regulate and condition external investment. This last point is increasingly important. For example, the territorial board in Ostua-Guia highlights the “lack of transparency in public and private investments that lead to natural disasters, as in the case of road and bridge construction.” An interesting example is the identification of projects to provide water to populations in Macizo de Penas Blancas, as part of an environmental plan. Territorial leadership, aware of these projects, has been able to secure funds to make them a reality.

A key aspect of territorial development is reaching agreements with the most economically powerful actors. It was a constant challenge in all territories to secure the regular participation of the most economically powerful actors in dialogue and negotiation processes with other societal sectors. In all cases, it proved to be an obstacle without adequate resolution. The issue is that actors with greater economic power use institutional weaknesses in their favor and employ informal norms and practices.
that are very effective in gaining direct access to politicians that make decisions in their benefit. Mechanisms used include family and social or political relationships, clientelism, or corruption. When economically powerful actors can make sure of these practices, they do not need to or are forced to establish dialogue or agreements with other actors in multi-actor platforms. Therefore, institutional development, including principles as basic as equality before the law, unbiased public decisions, or the reduction of corruption are factors that increase the viability of territorial development.

It is necessary to implement mechanisms to identify specific incentives that motivate the most powerful actors to participate in establishing agreements with other territorial development agents. Despite difficulties and restrictions previously mentioned, it is possible to include powerful actors into the territorial development process, even if this is done to a lesser degree than hoped. In Macizo de Penas Blancas (Nicaragua), advances were seen negotiation processes with large coffee producer to install treatment systems for waste waters derived from coffee cleaning activities, and in reaching an agreement for coffee producers to fund the creation of a group of community forest rangers to protect natural reserves. In Olancho (Honduras) a mediation process took place between historically antagonist groups: lumber companies and environmental organizations.

Another challenge requiring greater attention is the integration to these processes of the most vulnerable and socially excluded social sectors. The problem stems from youth, women, indigenous people, and households living in extreme poverty, among others, generally having very low or no levels of organization and representation, lacking power, and being “invisible” to other agents involved in development processes. To achieve greater representation and effective participation, a systematic effort is needed to organize, have access to information, generate awareness, and articulate social mobilization demands and collective action. Without satisfying these conditions, the presence of the most excluded groups in multi-actor platforms is only a formality, since they lack the power and capacity to be heard and influence collective decision.
A Differentiated Approach

• TUNGURAHUA, Ecuador - Work here focused on supporting the preparation of a Competitiveness Agenda for the department and on implementing its agricultural component, especially in relation to value chains most important to small producers.

• CHALATENANGO, El Salvador - The emphasis was placed in developing a new environmental management system. Work was implemented through the existing Environmental Committee of Chalatenango (CACH), and through a new platform, the Inter-institutional Committee of the Cerron Grande Wetlands (CIHCG). Projects were created and implemented to promote small-scale fishing, sustainable agriculture, protected areas, environmental tourism, water improvement and wastewater treatment projects. A new territorial development plan was also created, which focused on the environment, and rural community tourism - a valued community activity - was added to the legal and national tourism agenda.

• OSTUA - GUIJA, Guatemala - First, work was done to build a new multi-actor platform and to agree on basic principles for territorial development. From this, a territorial development plan was created that included specific actions and result indicators focused on four strategic objectives: the environment, productive development, education with values and gender equity.

• MACIZO DE PENAS BLANCAS, Nicaragua - In this case, a task force was created to put together a detailed plan on necessary changes to productive systems, such as discouraging extensive cattle farming, ending plantations of coffee grown under sunlight, etc. The plan also included regulations to address polluting production processes, including coffee effluent, animal slaughter runoff and other byproducts. Conservation of spaces that generate environmental systems was also added to the agenda. A strategy was later designed to influence normative change in both the urban and rural sectors and achieve legislative changes with the goal of improving environmental sustainability in the territory. Finally, several projects focusing on the plan’s objectives were implemented.

• O’HIGGINS, Chile - The task force was mainly integrated by municipal governments. The initial plan had to be altered after the damaging earthquake in February 2010, which besides causing deaths also destroyed several home and damaged a large part of the territorial infrastructure. The inter-municipal platform prepared a plan for investing in the territory, which was presented to the regional government.

• OLANCHO, Honduras - This territory presented the most unfavorable initial conditions among the group of six. The area has a long history of polarization and conflict between social actors, including between the forest and lumber sectors and environmentalists. Within this difficult context, the task force prioritized building social and dialogue bridges between marginalized social groups on one side, and entrepreneurs and powerful actors on the other. A dialogue group was established that included agents from the lumber and forest industries, representatives from environmental organizations and other local actors.
A Proposal for Territorial Management Processes

As a result of field work done in the six countries, as well as from research carried out by the RTD Program and other contributions, a territorial management proposal was created.

The proposal focuses on fundamentals and necessary conditions to achieve rural territorial development, and what a program must include to make it territorially focused. It also explains the minimal socio-political conditions necessary to see results, and the phases and key activities needed to promote and affect the type of change that leads to development with greater social inclusion and sustainability.

The territorial management proposal places special importance on acting based on evidence on dynamics that create territorial mobility. Identifying and understanding real change processes is considered vital to the implementation of effective management initiatives.

There are many factors that come together to generate certain dynamics in a territory, but trying to influence all of them at the same time eventually leads to failure. Hence the importance of identifying and prioritizing issues of influence and desired changes. This element draws a significant difference with traditional rural development programs that are not informed by solid evidence and knowledge.

A second critical component of this proposal is the actors. In this concept we include all forms of individual and collective action related to politics, society or the economy of a territory. The task is not only to identify these actors and how they organize and mobilize, but also to understand the relations between them, their conflicts, alliances and coalitions. A central element of the proposal is to facilitate dialogue and agreement opportunities. Also, in order to generate desired changes it is necessary to identify and act upon the capacities actors need to improve the quality and effectiveness of individual and collection action forms, networks, and innovation and social initiatives.

The third component is creating conditions to exert influence at different levels, so that proposed territorial changes have enough visibility, understanding and support from political, economic and social authorities at the regional and national level.
Promoting Influential Initiatives

The Program sought to improve its capacity to support concrete changes in territorial management and public policies. In mid 2010, with this goal in mind, the Incidence Fund was implemented. The Fund is a competitive mechanism that assigned resources to initiatives presented to Program partners in order to achieve changes in one or more public action areas associated to Program objectives.

Program partners presented ten proposals for competition; five were selected, including:

- Nitaplan Institute presented a proposal with the goal of influencing the Policy on Sustainable Rural Tourism based on experience gained in the territory of Macizo de Penas Blancas in Nicaragua.

- PRISMA, in El Salvador, wanted to influence the public agenda and tourism legislation during its elaboration process so that it would recognize community-based rural tourism. This was done based on experiences gained working in capacity development in Cerron Grande (Chalatenango).

- The Peruvian Studies Institute (IEP), working in the territory of South-Ocongate Valley in Peru, was trying to introduce rural territorial development with cultural identity into the local government agenda, taking advantage of the election season for new district, provincial and regional authorities.

- In Tungurahua, Ecuador, Simon Bolivar Andean University wanted to contribute to the creation of a competitiveness agenda with three priority chains within the context of a development strategy created by the provincial government.

- Rimisp’s proposal in Chiloe, Chile, sought to introduce policy proposals to the sustainable territorial development plan.

“Rimisp’s contribution has been significant. It has allowed us to back with evidence a series of assessments we had already made. In fact, an initial assessment made in the publication A Territory where Paths Bifurcate confirmed what we knew. [Rimisp] is also helping us confirm concepts such as citizen participation and, also, what cooperation means. When there are contributions, agreements, suggestions and nothing is imposed, that means cooperation”.

Fernando Naranjo, Prefect - Tungurahua Province, Ecuador; RTD Program Partner
South-Ocongate Valley: Opening the Way for Cultural Assets

RTD’s Incidence Fund supported the project “Rural Territorial Development with Cultural Identity” in the South-Ocongate Valley taking advantage of new technologies to exert influence on the public agenda. Using the “Map of Goods and Services with Cultural Identity in South-Ocongate” (www.mapavallesurocongate.com), debates ensued on the potentiality of cultural assets in the territory within the context of local and regional elections held on October 3rd in Peru.

Led by the Peruvian Studies Institute and working with several organizations, including the NGO Jesus Obrero Association (in Cuzco), the UN Regional Center for Safekeeping of Immaterial Heritage in Latin America (CRESPIAL), the Puno-Cuzco Corridor (a program of the Ministry of Agriculture), grassroots organization and municipalities in five districts, public debates where organized with candidates for mayor in four districts and one southern province in Cuzco. Between 350 and 600 people attended the events, which were transmitted by radio in both Quechua and Spanish during September 2010.

As a parallel event, authorities from the Offices for Local Economic Development at the municipal level were given an orientation booklet on prioritizing cultural assets and their role in territorial development strategies. The idea is to distribute this booklet and work on this issue with the newly elected authorities starting in 2001.
Macizo de Penas Blancas: Regulations for Environmental Sustainability

With the goal of improving environmental sustainability in the territory, the impact strategy focused on achieving changes in municipal norms and generating mechanisms necessary for their enforcement. Results include:

• The Inter-municipal Ordinance for Municipal Market Services in the municipalities of Waslala, El Tuma La Dalia, Cua, Rancho Grande and Bocay, an agreement to organize and operate municipal markets in AMUPEBLAN municipalities.

• The Inter-municipal Ordinance for Municipal Flee Market Services in the municipalities of Waslala, El Tuma La Dalia, Cua, Rancho Grande and Bocay, a set of norms for slaughtering animals.

• An agreement with coffee producers with participation from municipalities, the Ministry of Natural Resources (MARENA), the National Police, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture (MAGFOR), with the goal of regulating the treatment of coffee effluent.

Tungurahua: Supporting Competitiveness Agenda and Agricultural Strategy

At the end of 2010, a territorial project was implemented with the support of the Program’s Incidence Fund in order to contribute to capacity development Tungurahua. The project was led by the Simon Bolivar Andean University in association with the provincial government in Tungurahua, CORPOAMBATO and Tungurahua’s Agricultural Strategy Committee.

The initiative joins forces with the capacity development project in Tungurahua beginning in October 2009, and contributes to the execution of a Provincial Agricultural Strategy through an evaluation of achievements and limitations. This is done in order to improve supporting methodologies for associative work of agricultural producer associations in six chains or consortiums of small farmers. It also provides continuity to consulting work previously done to support the design of a Competitiveness Agenda in the province.

A technical team was organized for the implementation of the Agenda, and several meetings were held with representatives of prioritized productive sectors (textile, metal-mechanics and shoemaking). Motivational and socialization activities were also defined.
Chiloe: Policies for Sustainable Rural Development

Throughout 2010, with the support of the Program’s Incidence Fund, authorities were contacted at the Regional Administration Office, Regional Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Office of the Sub-secretary of Regional Development (SUBDERE) for Chiloe, Provincial Government Office, Municipal Association of Chiloe, and other actors involved in small-scale fishing, tourism, handicrafts, farmers, and salmon-industry workers and producers, among others, in order to create policy proposals for sustainable territorial development.

In December of that year, in a joint effort with the government of Chiloe and SUBDERE, a dialogue session was convened to present research findings and to begin gathering territorial development proposals for the province. At the same time, press articles were published that made reference to this strategy.

Putting together research results and input from the dialogue process, a territorial strategy was created and discussed, which will incorporate the salmon industry as a central player and will include the labor union SalmonChile. Even though this strategy was not directly adopted by the industry, its contents positively influenced future decisions made by SalmonChile in designing and implementing a strategy to connect to territories in Chiloe and also to other places where the industry operates.

El Salvador: Giving Way to Community-based Tourism

One of the change factors identified in Chalatenango was productive reorganization, which must be implemented together with good natural resource management. One of the productive activities seeking expansion was Community-based Rural Tourism (CRT). The strategy was to incorporate CRT in the political agenda for tourism in El Salvador and in programs, projects and plans of State institutions.

This was achieved with the strengthening of the National Board on Community-based Rural Tourism whose actions, among other things, have caused the National Plan on Family Agriculture and the Foreign Relations Ministry to prioritize and support CRT initiatives. These institutions and other allies, such as the Technical Department of the Presidency and some universities, have built bridges between CRT representatives and initiatives like the Program for Family Agriculture, the Productive Development Strategy and the Live Communities Program, and included them in policy dialogue spaces like the Rural Dialogue Group (RDG).
At the end of 2008, the RTD Program held several talks with universities in Central America and Andean countries. These talks led to the creation of a Network of Rural Territorial Development Postgraduate Programs.

The Network initially had six members and currently includes nine master’s programs (see textbox below). In March 2009, gathered in Antigua, Guatemala, network members defined basic program contents under the project “Improving Postgraduate Education on Territorial Development.”

The Network is characterized by an exchange of knowledge, experiences, methodologies and good practices that strengthen academic offerings; the use of knowledge management to influence territorial change; and having an impact on public policies in order to produce change and contribute to the entire policy-making process.

One of the Network’s objectives is to improve the quality and relevance of curricula. To this end, it has considered implementing internships for professors at prestigious universities, inviting professors from those institutions to universities belonging to the Network, and organizing summer programs in centers that do relevant work.

Through a competitive process between postgraduate programs, five professors received support to engage in internships:

- **Ligia Blanco**, from the National Autonomous University in Nicaragua (UNAN), spent time at the Department of Industrial Economy at Basque Country University in Spain to consolidate her master-level studies in microeconomics.

- **Romulo Sanchez**, also from UNAN, spent time at the Latin American Studies Institute in Berlin’s Free University to strengthen his master-level studies in development theory.

- **Rafael Granados**, from the National University of Costa Rica (UNA), spent time at Rovira and Virgilio University in Reus, Spain, in order to support his master-level studies in natural resource economy.

- **Luis Fernandez**, also from UNA, spent time at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, to dedicate additional academic efforts to the study of territorial development.

- **Luciano Martinez**, form FLACSO Ecuador, spent time at Paul Valery University in Montpellier, France, to focus on territorial development.

**SUMMER PROGRAMS.** Events to exchange experiences and share presentations and discussions on specific coursework required by participating master-level programs.
In June 2009 in Quito, Ecuador, the first summer program was inaugurated. It welcomed three visiting professors from centers of excellence and focused on a summary presentation of study plans of all Network master’s programs and on examining three of them in detail. The analysis was based on the document “Analysis Framework on the Relevance of Master’s Programs for Territorial Development in Central America and the Andes” (Mora, 2009, RTD Program Working Paper N°36). The analysis focused on how to switch from a curriculum focused purely on rural development to one with a territorial development focus. It also examined how to connect teaching and research in master’s programs, what assessment modalities are adequate, what are the collaboration experiences with other academic programs in different countries, and what works best for this field of study.

In September 2010, Managua, Nicaragua, hosted the second summer program. This event began with a discussion on key elements for a territorial approach (intermediate cities, access to markets, innovations in agricultural chains, institutions and more) and their incorporation to master-level curricula. Participants also examined how to strengthen ties between doing research and teaching, as well as the relationship between food security and territorial development within the current regional context and an increase in food prices, brought to the forefront especially in countries and territories where people are living under poverty conditions. In regards to the teaching-research relationship, processes and trends in Spain were compared against others in Europe and Latin America.

With the Network’s support, two master’s programs on territorial development were created, both with a rural development focus: one at the National Autonomous University in Nicaragua (UNAN – CUR Matagalpa) and another one at FLACSO Ecuador. Moreover, the Central American University in El Salvador reformulated the curriculum for its Master in Territorial Development, as did UNAN in Nicaragua for its Master in Sustainable Rural Territorial Development.

Latin American Network of Rural Territorial Development Postgraduate Programs

- **Master in Local and Territorial Development**, FLACSO (Ecuador)
- **Master in Rural Territorial Development**, FLACSO (Ecuador)
- **Specialization in Rural Development**, National University (Colombia)
- **Master in Rural Development**, National University (Costa Rica)
- **Master in Local Development**, Central American University Jose Simeon Canas (El Salvador)
- **Master in Sustainable Rural Development**, FLACSO (Guatemala)
- **Master in Rural Development**, Central American University (Nicaragua)
- **Master in Public and Development Economics**, Autonomous University (Nicaragua)
- **Master in Rural Territorial Development**, Autonomous University (Nicaragua)
Policies and Dialogues for Overcoming Rural Poverty

The project “Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development” (www.rimisp.org/cambiopobrezarural) is a central component of the RTD Program. Its objective is to support the creation of public agendas and policies on poverty and rural development. This objective is achievable through the following channels: creating networks of people and institutions interested in participating in knowledge-sharing and dialogue activities to influence rural strategies and policies; doing policy analysis work; encouraging political dialogue and having political-communicational impact; and providing support to policy implementation initiatives.

RURAL DIALOGUE GROUPS. Rural Dialogue Groups (RDGs) are central to the project in the four countries in which they operate. RDGs were established in Ecuador and Colombia at the end of 2010, and in Mexico and El Salvador in January 2011. Each group is led by two people, one representing the government and another one from the social sector, with the support of a Technical Secretary. RDG participants include decision makers from the political sector, business people, social and NGO leaders, and intellectuals and academics.

Each group defined their priority issues and agreed on an organizational form to give continuity to its work:

- RDG Mexico focused its first efforts in strengthening ties with decision makers to later work on creating a concerted public-policy proposal on rural poverty, with the goal of sharing it with the country during the 2012 electoral process.

- RDG Colombia decided to divide its work into two issues: income generation and institutions. It has dedicated significant efforts to contributing to the preparation of a “General Legislation on Land and Rural Development” and to promoting debates about this law.

- RDG Ecuador dedicated its agenda mainly to collaborating in the design and implementation of a Strategy for Rural Well Living, through the elaboration and discussion of territorial diagnoses to guide an intervention proposal in priority regions. This work is being done in close partnership with the Coordinating Ministry of Social Development.

- RDG El Salvador started its work by becoming a space for the exchange and analysis of key initiatives and strategic proposals promoted through government initiatives. This was done with the goal of generating impact on rural territories and of advancing an agenda for policy analysis and territorially focused work.
ACTIVITIES. In terms of policy analysis and influential activities, each RDG has taken different paths through the combination of strategies such as creating specific diagnoses and studies, reviewing national and/or international experiences, organizing forums and events, meeting with members of the executive and legislative branches, doing field visits, creating alliances with other organizations, and participating in the formulation of national plans or legislative initiatives on rural subjects, among others.

Besides work done in each country, efforts have also been made in connecting experiences across all four RDGs. In March 2011, during the annual RTD Program conference in San Salvador, a meeting was organized between the four technical secretaries and the Program Coordinating Unit. Each group presented their achievements, agendas and initial objectives.

Lastly, the project includes a support component for the implementation of policies. This component attempts to provide the necessary conditions to take policies beyond analysis and dialogue and to stimulate and support policies currently being implemented.

The Rural Dialogue Group project is co-financed by IFAD and IDRC through the RTD Program.

Supporting Documents

When the goal is to influence strategies for overcoming poverty, it is important to ask what types of policies seem to have the greatest impact. In order to answer this question, subject-matter documents were prepared that, as a group, analyze current information on the main strategies used to generate assets in rural households, as well as existing public policies to potentiate these assets. The following related documents were published in 2011:

- Tendencias y perspectivas de la agricultura familiar en América Latina (Trends and Perspectives in Family Agriculture in Latin America) - Maletta, Hector.
- El empleo rural no agrícola y la disminución de la pobreza rural. ¿Qué sabemos en América Latina en 2010? (Non-Agricultural Rural Employment and Rural Poverty Reduction) - Dirven, Martine.
- Pobreza rural y los programas de transferencias condicionadas en América Latina y el Caribe (Rural Poverty and Conditional Cash Transfer Programs in Latin America and the Caribbean) - Rangel, Marta.
- Migración, remesas y desarrollo. Estado del arte de la discusión y perspectivas (Migration, Remittances and Development: State of the Art of Discussion and Perspective) - Stefoni, Carolina.
- Estrategias de sustento de los hogares rurales y su evolución. Análisis de cuatro países latinoamericanos (Subsistence Strategies for Rural Households and their Evolution. Analysis of Four Latin American Countries) - Bentancor, Andrea y Modrego, Felix.
- Gobernanza para el desarrollo local (Governance for Local Development). Jorquera, Daniela.

Based on these documents, policy summaries were also created. www.rimisp.org/cambiopobrezarural/documentos/marcoconceptual
Rural Dialogue Group - Mexico

This group was created on January 19, 2011, and led by the Chancellor of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Dr. Jose Narro Robles, and by the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Rural Development, Fishing and Food (SAGARPA), Mr. Francisco Mayorga Castaneda. Its Technical Secretary is Mr. Jose Antonio Mendoza, and the Group has approximately 40 members.

Its list of accomplishments includes the creation of a proposal on public policies to accelerate the fight against rural poverty in Mexico. The fact that UNAM’s Chancellor decided to head this proposal, gives it a higher degree of influence. The Group has also brought together and provided dialogue space for a variety of societal members with different interests but joined in the believe that rural poverty is a national priority challenge due to social justice reasons and because overcoming it will mean greater development for the society, economy and national policy as a whole.

WORK AREAS. RDG Mexico has worked on five areas:

• Agree on a public-policy proposal to accelerate the fight against rural poverty, since seven of every 10 people in Mexico suffer from poverty and some 50% of these are considered indigent. This proposal draft was presented to RDG members on October 13 with the title “Elements for Public Policy Designed to Overcome Rural Poverty, Modernize the Rural Regions and Much More.” Its final version was completed during the first half of 2012.

• Generate analysis documents and proposals related to anti-poverty rural and agricultural policies. These analyses were created by specialized researchers with a long professional trajectory and public recognition –some members of the RDG—and were presented and discussed by the group in April (see textbox below).

• Create Rural Dialogue Groups in other states in Mexico, especially in those with the highest poverty rates. This has already been achieved in Oaxaca and Guerrero (see textbox below).

• Participate, through its members, in discussion forums on rural poverty.

• Share with Mexican society the work done by the Group in Mexico, through the use of communications tools like monthly newsletters detailing Group activities, and through daily summaries from the Office of the Technical Secretary that include media articles on poverty, inequality and conditions in rural Mexico.

These activities are complemented with conferences to present the project “Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development” before members of the National Agricultural Council (CNA), the Association of Mexican Secretaries for Agricultural Development (AMSDA) and members of the group “Mexico Confronts the Crisis: A New Path Toward Development;” working sessions with rural development commissions in Congress; meetings with academic and governmental personalities; and workshops on rural poverty.

Marked by the electoral process that will lead to a presidential change at the end of 2012, the Group’s work has focused on having impact on the presidential candidates, political forces, the executive and legislative branches and the society in general, bringing attention to anti-poverty public policies.
Rural Dialogue Group - Oaxaca

Created in May 2011, this RDG organized around four subjects: finding innovative alternatives to ensure the availability of financial in the rural environment; promoting business information exchanges; expanding perspectives on what means to be successful for private, public and social enterprises; ensuring the inclusion of the eco-territorial conditions and cultural aspects of communities as indicators in planning and programming of State rural policies; and, rebuilding that dialogue inside legislative initiatives and governmental strategies for rural poverty reduction.

One of the first projects born from RDG Oaxaca was a cooperation agreement between the Department of Agricultural, Forest and Fishing Development and the Autonomous University Benito Juarez in Oaxaca (UABJO) to facilitate scientific research and technology transfer, as well as the creation of diagnostic tools and civil and academic advisory brigades in rural communities.

Rural Dialogue Group - Guerrero

This group was created on April 27, 2012 in Chilpancingo, the capital city of Guerrero, in an event organized at the Autonomous University of Guerrero (UAGro). It has 30 members, and its Technical Secretary is Raul Fernandez, Director at the “Ignacio Manuel Altamirano” Institute for Social and Political Research at UAGro.

The first task of this RDG will be to characterize the Mountain region with economic, social, political agricultural, environmental and governance indicators. Based on these findings, a transversal socio-political coalition will be created to work from a territorial perspective and with the objective of confronting poverty and other related factors, but also to generate development and unleash potentialities with local, state and national benefits.
Public-Policy Proposals for Accelerating the Fight on Rural Poverty

RDG Mexico created a document expressing its opinion and proposals on how to overcome poverty from a public policy perspective.

Among other things, it proposes the need to tie social policy with economic policy; give social security to informal employment, including the three million day laborers (many who are intra-national migrants); decentralize social policies focused on overcoming poverty; greater transparency and effective accountability; and, analyze and redirect social programs, including Oportunidades.

The document emphasizes the importance of deliberately considering national territorial integration in macro-economic policy with the goal of reducing territorial inequalities, affirming that the differences that currently exist between the north and the south are big and tend to grow.

“The document where all RDG conclusions are reflected shed a new light or nuances on the rural poverty issue, but it still needs to be complemented with what other RDGs have done in El Salvador, Colombia y Ecuador, to see if Mexico is an extreme case of inequality or if, within the Latin American context, there are some common patterns and similar behaviors. This would shed even more light on the subject. The other point is how to move from diagnosis to operation to action. This would be even more difficult, but I think we should try it in order to take full advantage of a highly qualified group of people, so knowledgeable of the subject and who surely have more concrete proposals to fight this problem”.

Francisco Mayorga Castaneda, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Rural Development, Fishing and Food (SAGARPA), member of RDG Mexico
In Web interview for Rimisp, 01/26/2012
“Besides reading and discussing the executive summary, we should examine how RDG members can multiply to promote the discussion at the national level. We have very localized and favorable spaces: first we have universities, since this is a UNAM-backed initiative it has the power to multiply itself; and also we have rural development districts, state advisory councils on rural development, and the regions with highest poverty”.

Hugo Andres Araujo, member of RDG Mexico, former Secretary General of the National Confederation of Farmers (CNC)
In Web interview for Rimisp, 01/25/2012

Documents

- Consulta Nacional México (National Consultation - Mexico), Rolando Cordera.
- Pobreza Rural en México: algunos elementos de debate (Rural Poverty in Mexico: Some Elements for Debate), Jose Antonio Mendoza.
Available in Spanish at: www.rimisp.org/cambiopobrezarural/mexico/documentos

“One of the challenges in 2012 will be to deploy all energies of our RDG to present to the three presidential candidates, and to those wanting to win a seat in the Senate, the public policy proposal that came as a result of our work in 2011. The end goal is for the 2012-2017 National Development Plan (NDP) to include a section on rural poverty that defines mechanisms and instruments needed to confront it. It would be ideal for the winning presidential candidate to adopt our proposal, and for the RDG to become a consulting group for the new president to have direct influence over the NDP”.

Jose Antonio Mendoza Zazueta, Technical Secretary for RDG Mexico
In Web interview for Rimisp, 01/26/2012
Sixty two percent of Colombia’s rural population lives in poverty. RDG Colombia has implemented analysis and politically impactful initiatives in favor of anti-poverty strategies. All of this was done during a time in which the country is going preparing a legislative plan on “Land and Rural Development,” which has become a central focus for the group.

This group was created on December 23, 2010 during a meeting presided by the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Juan Camilo Restrepo, and the Technical Secretary, Santiago Perry. From the beginning, the group was divided into two task forces, one on income generation and the other focusing on institutions in the rural sector. These were considered to be the most pressing issues within the Colombian context, together with the land issue which already attracts the attention of several working groups.

**KNOWLEDGE AND EXCHANGE.** Throughout 2011, several activities were oriented to learning more about Colombia rurality and exchanging experiences:

- Recent economic studies done on poverty were examined, most of which were done by RDG members, and relevant experiences on poverty reduction and rural development were highlighted, both in the national and international context.

- The program National Federation of Colombian Coffee Producers for small producers was analyzed during a meeting with leaders of this organization and farmers that shared their success stories.

- Several group members visited the southern department of Santander to gain first-hand knowledge of the territorial development experience taking place in that area. The Santander experience combines high rates of participation with a successful model of economic solidarity.

- Five international experts were invited to visit the country and meet with group members to share knowledge on poverty reduction in South Africa and Brazil.

“The group has contributed to putting new issues and visions in the public and governmental agenda, and for this to start to become a reality in government policies and political proposals. In the case of the Legislation on Rural Development, four members of our group were called in by the Minister to be part of a panel of experts that helped formulate the new legislation project. Issues such as a territorial approach to development, comprehensive income generation projects for rural communities living in poverty, and human and social capital are some of the achievements of this new law. Even though it was not only the result of work done by the group, it is clear that the role RDG Colombia played was instrumental to this debate”.

Santiago Perry, Technical Secretary for RDG Colombia
In web interview for Rimisp, 12/27/2011
IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICIES. Several initiatives stand out:

- The most relevant influential activity was the RDG participation in the discussion and definition sessions for the General Legislation on Land and Rural Development that the government will present to the legislature in 2012 (see textbox below).

- The group met several times with representatives from the National Planning Department to have an impact on the formulation of the government's Development Plan.

- World Bank representatives, who prepared the new competitiveness program for small agriculture, met with the group members to gather their input and proposals.

- The group met with the Director of the Social Action Program at the Office of the Presidency with the goal of exchanging ideas.

- RDG Colombia organized the International Seminar on Rural Poverty Mitigation Experiences in collaboration with the Society of Colombian Farmers (SAC), as part of the National Agrarian Congress.

GENERAL LEGISLATION ON LAND AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. After an initial draft of this legislation was criticized by many, including the RDG and other specialized sectors, a series of meetings and public forums were held to gather contributions for the creation of a new outline. Four members from RDG Colombia, including the Technical Secretary, were invited to participate in directly creating the new text. Being part of this debate allowed the group to create alliances with other institutions that share this same interests, such as AECOM (an organization that executes public policy programs with funding from the United States Agency for International Development, USAID), Oxfam and the Monitoring Commission for public policy related to forced displacement, among others. The group maintains collaborations with these institutions in order to promote wider debate, both in regards to the General Legislation as well as on poverty and rural development in general.

RDG Colombia was able to have a positive influence on the restructuration of the legislative project, especially in regards to its reach. The initial draft

“The creation of the Group has helped to promote reflexive and critical dialogue initiatives, the coming together of public, private, academic and community actors within a context of valuable contributions, which in past years was dependent on high government officials. There had been a lack of spaces to meet in order to share values, concepts, needs and interests of those of us who have been part of managing and understanding rural development in Colombia. The group has provided an environment in which the principles of collaboration, information and communication have had an effect on each of the members and their institutional sectors, providing a wider vision on the challenges and perspectives for improving living standards and the well-being of rural communities and territories in Colombia. We have even been able to learn about international experiences in seeking alternatives to overcome poverty and marginalization. I am referring here to the contributions of Brazil and South Africa in particular, which have allowed us to understand the need to reevaluate the role the State and public policy play in counteract the effects of the free market.”

Manuel Perez, Professor at the Javeriana Pontifical University and member of RDG Colombia.

In web interview for Rimisp, 02/08/2012
was mainly focused on solving land conflict issues. The new version included a rural development perspective with a territorial focus, and also incorporated substantial changes to the so called “rural development areas,” defined from Bogota and other public offices. These areas eventually incorporated rural development programs with a territorial approach and can be proposed by any territory in any region of the country. Comprehensive income generation projects for poor communities were also included.

“The Rural Development Law seeks to achieve better land distribution. We have proposed for the Law to also consider the rural as a whole. So with this in mind, an important chapter has been added on social, human and productive capital, as well as about improvements in the productive sector and public and social services”.

Santiago Perry, Technical Secretary for RDG Colombia
In interview for Equitierra Magazine N° 11, March 2012

Publications

- La pobreza rural en Colombia (Rural Poverty in Colombia), Santiago Perry
- Informe Consulta Nacional sobre Pobreza Rural (Report on the National Consultation on Rural Poverty), Luis Arango Nieto
- Consulta nacional sobre prioridades en pobreza rural en Colombia (Rural Consultation on Priorities related to Rural Poverty in Colombia), Santiago Perry

Documents available in Spanish at:
www.rimisp.org/cambiopobrezarural/colombia/documentos
Regional Realities

In 2012, RDG Colombia concentrated on learning more about regional realities, focusing its efforts in some of the departments with the highest rural poverty rates, and in interacting with new authorities in order to promote specific and viable proposals on inequality reduction. Therefore, two regional RDGs have been created:

The Rural Dialogue Group - Caribbean Region met in May in Barranquilla to examine several relevant experiences on rural development. The experiences, based on population participation and territorially focused, were shared by rural community leaders. The group also planned to organize an event in July 2012 to meet with high government official on pressing issues for the rural population in the coastal areas of northern Colombia. This region is in need of economic and social reconstruction projects after hard winter conditions had a particularly damaging effect on people living in poverty and small producers.

The Rural Dialogue Group - Huila meets in the city of Neiva in southern Colombia. The group organized a rural development forum that had over 160 attendees belonging to a variety of social and political sectors, academia, labor unions and governmental organizations. This high attendance rate is proof of the strong interest that exists in the region in participating in discussions about the Legislation on Land and Rural Development, and the desire of rural actors to construct development models within the territory and not from Bogota. The group has shared its intention to give follow up to the legislation project, to the new Mining Code and to an upcoming Environmental Legislation. All three instruments are of high importance for this territory.
Ecuador has a high poverty and indigence rate (42% and 18%, respectively) and is considered the 5th poorest country in the continent. In this country, the RDG was created in early December 2010 and currently has 50 members, from small farming union representatives, university officials and representatives from the export sector, to researchers, agro-industry leaders and national private agricultural agents. The group’s Technical Secretary is Mr. Manuel Chiriboga.

From its inception, the group has also joint efforts with other societal sectors to generate knowledge through studies and diagnoses on realities in the Ecuadorian rural world. First, within the context of the Good Rural Living program (Buen Vivir Rural, BVR), the group was able to introduce the need to define priority territories for the implementation of rural development and poverty reduction policies. The Coordinating Ministry for Social Development (MCDS) defined a total of 11 priority territories on the basis of an initial proposal presented by RDG Ecuador through Rimisp. The group also proposed the promotion of initiatives to generate income and infuse dynamism to the local economy through three specific actions: improve territorial governance, identify investments that are currently not being used, and prioritize effective investments for each territory.

GOOD RURAL LIVING STRATEGY. The end goal of this national strategy is to transfer the design of medium and long-term public actions to local territorial actors with the idea that they will be the ones to propose alternatives and options for rural development and overcoming poverty. In this context, RDG Ecuador seeks to make sure actions transcend the idea that the rural context is exclusively agricultural.

Within this environment for exchanging ideas, members of the group have highlighted the need to implement territorial development councils and strategic plans in each of the priority territories; generate institutional and organizational reforms in the public sector associated with rural development; establish agreements between the various actors involved in productive chains; and, support productive ventures and micro-enterprises. These strategies form the basis of the group’s main impact, as a contribution of proposals for decision makers and for defining specific policy actions targeting poverty.

KNOWLEDGE GENERATION. The work of RDG Ecuador has had several concrete results. The first established, through a study, public-policy priorities for reducing rural poverty. This research document proposes “clues” of action from the perspective of nearly 60 local and national actors. Among these clues are: improving access to education; designing quality public policies for both independent and salaried small rural households; and, increase the involvement of the private sector, NGOs and international cooperation as a central component of rural development.

Another results achieved by the group has been the creation of territorial diagnoses in regions around the Andean paramo, in provinces of the central highlands and in two key regions in the coast, Guayas and Los Rios. Besides coming together in a map that reflects rural realities in these territories, the work also confronts the quality and efficacy of
public intervention vis-à-vis local needs and strategies in territorial rural development.

PLANS FOR 2012. In accordance to priority issues identified at the end of 2011, RDG members were divided into three task forces for 2012 with the goal of debating and defining public-policy proposals to be considered by current decision makers. Sub-groups will work on:

• The importance of education for the rural sector.

• Strengthening agricultural public institutions.

• The importance of productive chains in reducing poverty.

Members of the group rate education as the basis for every development initiative, and have made it their goal to identify mechanisms for connecting ancestral understanding and inherited productive knowledge passed on from generation to generation with new technologies adapted to rural realities.

In relation to productive chains, there is a need to create mechanisms that make participation initiatives viable for all actors involved in production, based on the characteristics of each production chain and each territory. In early 2012, meetings were organized on “Productive Chains for Banano and Rice,” while experiences and methodologies were shared for the “Corn, Animal Feed, Aviculture and Swine Chain,” with the idea of establishing an Agreement on Competitiveness in the Production Chain, which will serve as a reference for other economic sectors.
Dialogue Initiatives with Government Authorities

- In March 2012, the Vice-Minister of Rural Development, Miguel Carvajal, invited members of RDG Ecuador to present their public-policy proposals on rural development, but more so those that can contribute to reducing rural poverty. The invitation was made in the context of creating an inter-sectoral committee on rural development together with the Office of the National Secretary of Planning and Development (SENPLADES) and the coordinating ministries on Social Development (MCDS) and of Production, Employment and Competitiveness (MCEC), with the goal of designing joint policies for the rural sector.

- In May, during a group meeting, the new Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishing (MAGAP), Javier Ponce, presented the guidelines for the design of rural and agrarian development policies in Ecuador, to be in place until 2013. Mr. Ponce asked the group to define and present a proposal for short-term rural development goals for the country. The Minister also qualified RDG Ecuador as the best space for articulating all relevant actors and proposed establishing a permanent dialogue for strengthening relations between Rimisp and MAGAP and with RDG Ecuador.

Publications

- La institucionalidad para el desarrollo rural territorial en el Ecuador (Institutions for Rural Territorial Development in Ecuador), Miguel Andrade
- Las prioridades de política pública para la reducción de la pobreza rural en Ecuador (Public Policy Priorities for the Reduction of Rural Poverty in Ecuador), Patric Hollenstein y Diego Carrion
- Territorios para el Buen Vivir Rural (Territories for Good Rural Living), Technical Secretary, RDG Ecuador
- Diagnóstico de pobreza rural en Ecuador y respuestas de política pública (Diagnosis of Rural Poverty in Ecuador and Public Policy Answers), Manuel Chiriboga and Brian Wallis

Publications are available in Spanish at: www.rimisp.org/cambiopobrezarural/ecuador/documentos
Faced with an environment in which 30% of the country’s population lives under poverty conditions, a million people are indigent, and high unemployment rate, RDG El Salvador has focused its efforts in generating valuable information to close knowledge gaps and contribute to strategic thinking on territorial development.

The group was created in January 2011 and convened by the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (MAG), the Office of the Technical Secretary for the National Presidency (STP) and the Salvadorian Program for Development and Environmental Research (PRISMA). Its Technical Secretary is Ileana Gomez and the group has 18 members, including representatives from the government, international cooperation agencies, universities, research institutions and the private sector.

The RDG has promoted improved understanding of challenges faced in regards to poverty and development in rural areas. Its contributions have helped shape the design and implementation of public policies targeting the promotion of sustainable change processes. As a focus of analysis, it has placed emphasis on the coastal areas of the country, particularly Bajo Lempa, and in the semi-central departments of San Vicente and Usulutan, of great interest due to their organizational, economic risk and environmental history.

CONTRIBUTIONS. The reach of group activities during 2011 was seen at three different levels:

- Advances were made in reflecting on and enriching public policies and programs with strong national impact, such as the National Plan for Family Agriculture, the Development Strategy for the Coastal-Marine Areas and the National Program for the Renovation of Ecosystems and Landscapes (PREP), among others.

- RDG El Salvador became a dialogue platform on territorial development in the Bajo Lempa region in Usulutan - San Vicente, with the protagonist role played by local actors. This platform provided the foundation for establishing medium and long-term governance guidelines.

- The group has encouraged coordination among state institutions and this has led to making advances in the formulation of joint approaches that contribute to optimizing resources and efforts in the territory at the institutional, technical and human level. An example of this is the articulation between the Plan for Family Agriculture and PREP for the reduction of risk and adaptation to climatic change. This articulation has led to improved interventions in coordination with the leadership.

CLIMATIC CHANGE AND SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE. RDG El Salvador adopted this issue as priority in its work agenda. It seeks to contribute to strengthening capacities of adaptation and response to this phenomenon, especially for the most vulnerable communities in the country, and highlights the need for cultural transformation as one of the biggest challenges. In May 2011, the group, in coordination with the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MARN), organized the forum-workshop “Rural Poverty, Restoration of Ecosystems and Climatic Change: Implications for Territorial Governance in El Salvador,” in order to learn more about PREP goals in reducing risk and adapting to climatic change. The group has also joined efforts to mobilize international
capacities, including receiving expert support in formulating and analyzing proposals, plans, programs and investments focused on rural poverty and climatic change.

In February 2012, RDG El Salvador organized the forum-workshop “Sustainable Agriculture for Restoring Ecosystems and the Rural Landscape,” in which discussions took place on the reach of PREP initiatives related to ecosystems and productive activities, particularly those designed to promote and expand sustainable agriculture.

2012-2013 WORK PLAN. In designing its 2012-2013 work plan, the group considers some of its main challenges the generation of research and assessment initiatives on public policies being implemented by the current government. In this regard, the Technical Secretary is encouraging the academic sector to retake its role as knowledge generator and to implement those evaluation initiatives. The academic presence in the group is composed by the Jesuit University “Jose Simeon Canas” (UCA), the State University of El Salvador (UES), the Salvadorian Foundation on Economic and Social Development (FUSADES) and the rural development program CATIE.

The first talks on programs and projects have been held with this sector, and its contributions suggest including the issue of competitiveness of small rural enterprises and the exploration of their ties to private businesses, whose interests could include creating alliances with rural territorial actors. Other suggested subjects for future discussions include women participation as protagonists in development, as well as inclusive or community-based tourism. Moreover, researchers and academics in RDG El Salvador consider it important to establish methodologies for evaluating public policies and improving their efficacy.
SECTION SEVEN: MONITORING AND EVALUATION

“An impressive and regionally unique combination of scientific output and policy influence has emerged at Rimisp over the past four years – much of this progress would not have occurred without the IDRC grant, which I view as cost-effective. Scientifically, the Rimisp-RTD project has undertaken a body of research on rural territorial dynamics that is unprecedented in LAC as regards its geographic scope, its uniformity, and its depth. The research approach adopted by the Rimisp-RTD that focused on territories that experienced growth in per capita income is scientifically justifiable. The volume of scientific output to date has been impressive and the quality of most of the work is high. Looking forward, while the preliminary round of site-specific and synthesis work will be concluded by mid-2012, much important work will remain to be done, and continuity in research focus will pay scientific and policy-influence dividends”.

Since 2008, ongoing monitoring initiatives conducted by the Monitoring and Evaluation Unit, studies commissioned by this Unit and external evaluations have become an important source of feedback to the Program. Some of these efforts are mentioned below.

2009 EVALUATION. At the end of 2009, half-way through the implementation of the RTD Program, the Monitoring and Evaluation team carried out a comprehensive analysis in five strategies areas:

- The development of theoretical elements to understand rural territorial dynamics
- The emerging network of partners and collaborators
- The work on capacity development to promote more equitable and sustainable rural territorial dynamics
- The challenge of establishing contact with and exerting influence over opinion leaders and policy makers
- The action of the Coordination Unit

In regards to advancing initiatives, it was observed that the RTD Program showed substantial accomplishments in 2009, despite this being a year clearly affected by the global financial crisis. With a variety of experiences in all countries involved, and counting on the decisive efforts of national teams, the Program achieved a superior level of execution with 80% of its initiatives implemented and several more ongoing projects.

Among other things, monitoring activities determined that while teams had received and given significant systematic support for their research efforts, a similar result had not been accomplished in regards to having an impact on policies. An emerging network was also identified, but this network lacked solid connections, despite being well received as a valuable tool by research partners. The capacity development component was also found to be seriously behind Schedule and having a conceptual deficiency. Recommendations were made and challenges identified in all Program areas.

EVALUATING THE NETWORK. At the end of 2009, the Monitoring and Evaluation Unit decided to explore the “network collaboration” component of the Program. The study, coordinated by Gabriela Sanchez Gutierrez, focused on six areas: participation, relations, communications, incidence, organization and performance, resources and dedication, and value added.

In general terms, the study found that the Program included a diverse group of actors with different degrees of identification and involvement that, until then, gravitated mostly toward research activities. There was, therefore, inequality in the degree of development of its various components, with...
public presence and policy-influence initiatives still in their beginnings, even though some activities had started to be implemented in these areas.

It was concluded that the network had great consolidation and development potential as a highly regarded space in rural development research and analysis. In particular, according to most people polled and interviewed, the network had been able to generate trusting relationships, credibility and solidarity among network partners and 120 collaborators. These characteristics were considered instrumental in creating a shared vision on territorial development.

The study also found that even though partners and collaborators had a positive perception of the network, there were also improvement opportunities in quality, frequency and intensity of connections and communications tools, in order to move from a mono-nodal network (dependent on Rimisp) to a multi-nodal one (with a greater number of independent relations between two or more partners).

**MID-TERM REVIEW.** The Mid-term Review (RMT in Spanish) required by IDRC funding was initiated at the end of 2010. The review coincides with the final evaluation for the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAP), another funder, and covered a significant portion of the work done in Central America. The RMT is an innovating process that combines the rich knowledge of people with exceptional information to the objectivity of an external perspective.

The first part of the process included a self-evaluation organized by the Coordinating Unit. This evaluation was supported by a solid review of existing evidence and the many –though not all– documented experiences, as well as on prominent and concerning aspects analyzed by coordinators of each of their work components to date. By hosting three workshops, interviews with partners and an exhaustive background and document review, the Coordinating Unit analyzed Program achievements and shortfalls. The Monitoring and Evaluation Unit acted as the “guardian” during this process, bringing up new questions that led to greater precision and a
more balanced analysis. A preliminary self-evaluation report was also shared with Program partners to generate feedback.

The second part of the process involved an external review of the self-evaluation report. A panel of experts assessed the validity and rigor of the self-evaluation and made observations on the Program’s relevance to date. Members of this panel included specialists on RTD issues and other related subjects: Dr. Jose Emilio Guerrero and Dr. Rosa Gallardo Cobos from the University of Cordoba (Spain), Dr. Francisco Rhon, President of FLACSO, and Dr. Gonzalo de la Maza from the University of Los Lagos (Chile).

Some common elements found in many of the positive results identified were: the Program's flexibility, funders who were not risk-averse, excellent administrative adaptability, and the ability to generate additional and significant resources. On the other hand, some of the challenges have been: the fragmented design of the components, delays in strengthening territorial capacities, and the communications area.

2011 EXTERNAL EVALUATION. In 2011, the International Center for Development Research hired an independent external evaluation team to assess the Program. The team included Dr. Steve Vosti (Professor in the Department of Agricultural Economy and Natural Resources at the University of California, Davis) and Dr. Vanesa Weyrauch (Specialist in Public Policy for the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equity and Growth, CIPPEC, Buenos Aires).

The evaluation focused on three areas:

- The Program’s scientific and intellectual contributions
- The Program’s political influence and impact
- Results and effects on Rimisp’s organizational development and of the network of partners

This assessment included interviews with over 100 people (Rimisp staff, Program partners, governmental authorities, and rural development experts in Latin America and other regions), field visits in four of the 11 eleven countries studied for the Program, the review of a large number of technical documents and reports, and an online survey that had over 500 respondents. Full evaluation reports are available in English at www.rimisp.org/dtr/informes

The synthesis document highlighted the Program’s main scientific products and results and indicated that these contributions are considerable both in quality and quantity. In regards to policy influence, the report found that, even though there are still initiatives in progress, the results and effects are already significant and can be examined from the territorial to the international level.

In regards to organizational development, the evaluation team found that Rimisp has implemented important changes in its governance, management and administrative activities, and that today the organization is more solid, bigger and more diverse, with an increasing number of women being part of its leadership and research teams. The network of partners received a very positive assessment, highlighting its broad
reach and diverse make up (with over 180 organizations from 11 countries) as well as its efficacy.

**Besides all these positive conclusions, the evaluators also made three recommendations:**

- **First**, they indicate that after the Program ends in June 2012 there will still be a lot left to do, and that to this end, three lines of actions could be considered. A. Continue and expand research activities on some of the new questions that have emerged in the past five years. B. Promote new alliances with the goal of providing advisory services on public-policy design. C. Use existing results to generate methods, tools and training curricula in Latin American countries.

- **Second**, the team found that Rimisp has become a reference organization in Latin America, but that its influence is much lower in other regions of the world. They recommend investing on communication strategies, improvement of Internet tools, translating products and content into English, and in the selective participation of Rimisp in international events of strategic importance in order to widen the Center’s reach and influence. They also recommended Rimisp not to expand its work to other developing regions.

- **Finally**, the team found that Rimisp needs to design and implement a new funding model. They point out that the international community continues to distance itself from Latin America. Therefore, Rimisp must prioritize the diversification of its funding sources, emphasizing national and sub-national resources in Latin America. To achieve this goal, Rimisp will need to develop new intra-organizational capacities.
SECTION EIGHT: PROGRAM ACTORS

“Today, the region has a knowledge base that, without a doubt, we did not have a few years. This is a Program that has something to show; there has been a historical break on thinking about regional development, and the moment has arrived for taking more meaningful actions. To this end, we can count on a second great result from the Program, the partner network, an invaluable tool that must be kept active.”

Ruben Echeverria, President of Rimisp’s International Council
At the 2012 Conference “Territories in Motion”
Rimisp: A Developing Organization

In its 20th anniversary in 2006, and based on an institutional evaluation conducted by Dr. Anthony Bebbington, Rimisp started to reflect on its achievements to date and on changes needed to become an international caliber knowledge center. Through this process, several specific organizational development objectives emerged to guide the organization during the next five years.

Within this context, the International Development Research Center (IDRC), with whom Rimisp has had a long and fruitful relationship, gave its support to this transformation agenda and donating funds for the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program.

Therefore, one of the Program components was designated as “Rimisp’s Organizational Development,” seeking to improve management and governance systems for the institution, to innovate and to train its human resources, together with program development and strengthening its regional coverage.

During the Program’s external review at the end of 2011, consultant Vanesa Weyrauch* turned in her evaluation on institutional achievements reached by Rimisp, summarizing them in five points.

First, Rimisp has implemented new governance mechanisms, which include:

- The creation of an International Board integrated by experts with renowned experience in rural development and that offers strategic guidance to its most relevant organizational issues.
- The establishment of the position of an Executive Director as the authority in charge of management. This post has triggered new internal processes to strengthen strategic planning, management and administration systems, policy influence, fundraising, monitoring and evaluation, and quality control.
- The creation of a Technical Committee, integrated by researchers leading ongoing projects.
- The creation of an Administrative Manager position and the Administration Commission to consolidate and continue promoting improvements in terms of financial information and administrative management.

Second, and related to the latter, Rimisp has enhanced its financial information and administrative practices. First, it hired the firm Deloitte to carry out a diagnosis to define risks and critical points of the accounting system, provide recommendations and then verify implementation of changes in terms of efficiency, efficacy and precision.

Third, the organization has been able to pave the way for a new and more diverse generation of researchers by incorporating 20 new professionals with different backgrounds. This led to increased female participation, incorporation of researchers with new areas of expertise, and interest of several members in improving communications at different levels and through diverse media.

Fourth, Rimisp it currently has a larger and stronger regional presence. This is mainly due to the intensive and effective work done through its Latin American network of more than 180 partners and collaborators in 11 countries. Due to a distinctive pass-through policy by which Rimisp derivates significant funding to its partners, the institution has been able to grow a very diverse and vibrant network of researchers, policymakers, private companies and civil society organizations interested in rural development.

Fifth, communications has been significantly enhanced through the creation of a Communications Unit that participates in the Technical Committee so as to fulfill a strategic role and the development of successful communications products, such as the publication Equitierra with more than 5,000 subscriptions and a revamped website with more than 8,000 unique visits per month.

“The RTD Program has contributed to the methodological maturity of our studies, offering, as well, a connection to other processes in the region. This has translated into contacts and relations with institutions that do research or focus on strengthening local actors. It has also allowed us to take a closer look at research on territorial dynamics and has become a reference concept on coalitions that let us understand the importance of these spaces in development agendas”.

Ileana Gomez, Researcher at PRISMA, El Salvador
In web interview for Rimisp, 04/30/2012
A One-of-a-Kind Network

The RTD Program evaluation at the end of 2011 emphasized the effective work of the regional network of over 180 partners and collaborations across the region as one of its most valuable products.

In its report for the IDRC, independent consultant Vanesa Weyrauch highlights that “since 2007, this network has extended its reach (both in terms of quality and quantity), constructed a sense of clear direction and promising results, and increased scope and depth of shared learning.”

Weyrauch adds that “this network is a very valuable institutional asset, not only for Rimisp but for its members, donors, international organisms, etc. as well. This is mainly due to the diversity of its participants (including their very impressive research skills) and capillarity (several members have privileged access to the ‘ears’ of policymakers and policy analysts), the wide array of interventions it can enable, the platform it becomes for promoting a common vision of rural development and for seeking innovative solutions, and the cross-fertilization and shared learning opportunities.”

According to Weyrauch, this is a one-of-a-kind network because “it combines formal and informal relationships in a very peculiar manner which turns it into what other evaluators have already described as a porous mechanism, by which the frontiers between Rimisp and this network are not clear cut.”

At the end of 2011, the network included 52 partners and 150 collaborators. Partners are organizations of various types that have a direct relationship with the Program to define and execute initiatives. Usually, they have or have had a short, medium or long-term contractual relationship with Rimisp to implement RTD Program activities. Collaborators, on the other hand, are organizations that participate in the Program through network partners.

In interviews conducted during the external evaluation, several network members indicated that this platform is heterogeneous and inclusive. This feedback was consistent with survey findings: three quarter of the members are evenly distributed between three types of organizations: NGOs (24.8%), government (23.9%) and academia (26.3%). Remaining members belong to the private sector (12.7%), international organizations (7.6%) and community organizations (4.8%). The results show progress made in relation to previous evaluations that had found limited relations with national and sub-national governments. The external evaluation found, however, that there are still low involvement rates from the private sector and social movements, which also play an important role at the territorial level.

SHARED VISION. Evaluations, interviews and the survey show that, since the Program's inception, network members have started to share a predominant belief that a shared vision has been increasingly developed, as well as a common understanding, toward rural development.

The survey also showed that a large majority of people agreed network objectives include “building a rural development vision” (89.1%) and “sharing research” (89.7%). There is also a strong perception between members about goals to “develop capacities” (76.9%) and “contribute to the design and implementation of public policies” (77.6%).

“Most of interviewees agreed that without Rimisp´s existence and its network strategy, the rural development landscape in Latin America would be today fragmented, with diverse organizations working at the national and local levels, and less opportunities to share experiences and conduct collective efforts”.

Vanesa Weyrauch, Independent Consultant, RTD Program Evaluator
Qualify the network’s performance according to the following functions

This graph was created based on answers given to Program evaluators who surveyed 523 people in 18 countries in Latin America, Europe and the US.
Training and Coordination Activities

For five years, the Program organized numerous meetings to facilitate capacity development, dialogue and collaboration between partners and guests. These meetings played an important role in constructing a collective actor that promotes territorial development in Latin America. Some of these meetings include:

- First Analysis Workshop on the advances of Scouting Projects as part of the Program’s research component. Granada, Nicaragua - April 2008.
- Training for Project Coordinators as part of the Program’s research component. Lima, Peru - August 2008.
- Meeting of the Coordinating Unit. Cauquenes, Chile - August 2008.
- Second Analysis Workshop on the advances of Scouting Projects as part of the Program’s research component. Salvador de Bahia, Brazil - September 2008.
- Meeting of the Coordinating Unit. Zapallar, Chile - December 2008.
- Meeting of Research Teams to review final results of four Scouting Projects and advances made on 15 regular projects, together with capacity development, communication and incidence, and the environmental dimension of territorial dynamics. Lima - November 2009.
- Meeting of teams carrying out capacity-development projects in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Ecuador and Chile, and Coordinating Unit members. Quito - June 2009.
- Meeting of team coordinators in charge of territorial projects for the Program, IDRC personnel, and members of the Coordinating Unit, to begin summarizing information on 19 research projects, six capacity-development projects, six gender and territorial dynamics projects, and five analysis Project on the role of natural capital in territorial dynamics. Santiago - October 2010.
Participant Institutions - Rural Territorial Dynamics Program
Approximately 500 people participated in the RTD Program. Of these, 170 authored research studies:

Ricardo Abramovay
Daniela Acuna
Juliana Adriano
Francisco Aguirre
Marcela Alvarado
Tania Ammour
Diego Andrade
Jesus Arellano
Maria Alejandra Arias
Eduardo Ballon
Luis Baudoin
Eduardo Baumeister
Anthony Bebbington
Javier Becerril
Julio Berdegue
Andrea Betancor
Diana Bocarejo
Teresa Bornschlegl
David Bradford
Naim Bro
Lucilla Bruni
Antônio Marcio Buainain
Rolando Buitrago
Glória Camacho
Misael Campos
Adinor Capellesso
Fernando Carriazo
Diego Carrion
Rafael Cartagena
Edgard Castillo
Antonieta Castro
Sinda Castro
Helio Castro Rodrigues
Ximena Celis
Claire Cerdan
Carlos Chiapa
Manuel Chiriboga
Juan Pablo Chumacero
Mauricio Chumacero
Carmen Contreras
Eduardo Cordeiro
Guido Cortez
Maximiliano Cox
Ninoska Damianovic
Carlos de los Rios
Pedro Juan del Rosario
Manuel Delgado
Oscar Diaz
João Fabio Diniz
Martine Dirven
Maria do Carmo D’Oliveira
Carina Emanelsson
Javier Escobal
Elías Escobar
Alejandra Espana
Ivet Estrada
Sergio Faiguenbaum
Arlison Favareto
Manuel Fernandez
Ignacia Fernandez
Maria Aparecida Ferreira
Manuel Flores
Martiza Florian
Rosario Fraga
Maria Frausto
Paulo Freire Vieira
Ricardo Fuentealba
Ligia Gomez
Ileana Gomez
Cynthia Gonzalez
Jose Graziano da Silva
Irene Guijt
Karl Hennermann
Carlos Hernandez
Raul Hernandez
Leonith Hinojosa
Patric Hollenstein
Ana Maria Ibanez
Esteban Jara
Benjamin Jara
Christian Jaramillo
Daniela Jorquera
Jorge Katz
Jessica Kisner
Jakob Kronik
Ricardo Lagos
Renato Landin
Carlos Larrea
Ana Isabel Larrea
Maíra Leonel
Anaïs Lesage
Horacio Lovo
Julie Claire Mace
Paola Maldonado
Hector Maletta
Benjamin Martinel
Berman Martinez
Cesar Martinez
Silvia Matuk
Jimena Mendez
Francisca Meynard
Felix Modrego
Jorge Mora
Wilfredo Moran
Julio Morrobel
Helle Munk Ravnborg
Enrique Murguia
Henrique Dantas Neder
Ilana Nussbaum
M. Rose Olfert
Jorge Ortega
Pablo Ospina
Leticia Paredes
Susan Paulson
Aglair Pedrosa
Ana Victoria Pelaez
Juan Jose Perfetti del Corral
Martin Pineiro
Mariana Policarpo
Jose Poma
Carmen Ponce
Carolina Porras
Bruno Portillo
Julian Quan
Eduardo Ramirez
Julio Ramirez
Mariela Ramirez
Claudia Ranaboldo
Marta Rangel
Wilmer Reyes
Juan Francisco Rocha
Isidro Soloaga
Valdirene Rocha Sousa
Jorge Rodriguez
Lorena Rodriguez
Tomas Rodriguez
Wilson Romero
Maria Angelica Ropert
Tomas Rosada
Alicia Ruiz Olalde
Beatriz Saes
Melissa Salgado
Ximena Sanclemente
Alejandra Santillana
Alexander Schejtman
Valeria Serrano
Yolanda Solana
Fernando Soto Baquero
Carolina Stefoni
Andrea Tartakowsky
Jaime Toha
Ana Lucia Torres
Carolina Trivelli
Marcelo Uribe
Rafael Vaisman
Rodrigo Valenzuela
Sergio Vera
Manuel Villa
Melissa Vivacqua
Ximena Warnaars
Wladimir Wrborich
Johanna Yancari
Rodrigo Yanez
Antonio Yunez Naude
Pedro Zapil
Molvina Zeballos
Integrated by representatives from the academic, political, social and business world, RTD Program’s Advisory Council has had 14 participants, including ex officio members from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAP) and Rimisp. The Council offered advice to the Coordination Unit and Rimisp on the following issues:

- Regional and national relevance of the Program
- Focalization and criteria to decide on alternative directions for the Program
- Process and product quality according to international standards

The first Advisory Council session was held in March 2008 in Montevideo, Uruguay. Together with the internalization of the Program and its components, members talked about the conceptual framework and methodological design of the components on applied research and capacity development. The Council also analyzed a proposal for the 2008 Annual Work Plan presented by the Coordinating Unit, and recommended some adjustments. Throughout the year, six of the 13 Council members participated in at least one Program activity, according to their individual expertise and interests.

The second meeting took place in March 2009 in Antigua, Guatemala. Besides reviewing the 2008 Annual Report and the Work Plan and Budget for 2009, the Council also worked on the component of applied research and various complementary study choices, which emerged based on results from the first phase. The Council also worked on the Program’s influence strategy. Lastly, the Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy was presented, as well as the pre-conditions and suppositions critical to achieving Program expectations.

The third meeting was held in March 2010 in Bogota, Colombia. During this event, members had an in-depth debate on how to improve the Program’s public-policy influence efforts. They also analyzed perceived difficulties on how to ensure the network works autonomously, without the Program as a mediating agent between partners and collaborators.

The fourth conference was held in March 2011 in San Salvador, El Salvador. Emphasis was placed on focusing Program efforts in systematization and participatory synthesis, planning influential activities, strengthening the partner network and designing a communications strategy. One of the agreements reached was to generate documents that reflect key findings from the last three years, and to design strategic communication products targeting specific audiences.

The fifth meeting was held in June 2012 in Quito, Ecuador. During this event, members of the Council tightened loose ends to improve the Program’s final summary report and highlighted the key strengths of research findings as well as areas to work on in the future. These areas include the ethnic component and private-sector actions in territorial dynamics. Recognizing that the Program’s main contribution is to generate analysis-based ideas on what works and what does not work in regards to rural territorial development, the Council emphasized the challenge of exerting influence so that its knowledge contributions are integrated into concrete policies and programs.

Moreover, in March 2012, a special workshop was organized for members of the Advisory Council in order to analyze the external evaluation of the RTD Program, which was commissioned by IDRC. During this event, members also discussed a proposal for a project that gives continuity to the Program’s work.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution/Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eligio Alvarado</td>
<td>Dobbo Yala Foundation, Panama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Kaimowitz</td>
<td>Ford Foundation, Nicaragua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monica Hernandez</td>
<td>Alternative Foundation, Ecuador</td>
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<td>Miguel Urioste</td>
<td>Earth Foundation, Bolivia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hubert Zandstra</td>
<td>Independent Consultant, Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosalba Todaro</td>
<td>Women Studies Center, Chile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regina Novaes</td>
<td>Brazilian Socio-economic Research Institute - IBASE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Alberto Fuentes</td>
<td>Public Finance Ministry - Guatemala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jorge Katz</td>
<td>Independent Consultant, Chile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lazaro Cardenas</td>
<td>Ex-governor from the state of Michoacan - Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merle Faminow</td>
<td>Ex officio Member, IDRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brent Rapson</td>
<td>Ex officio Member, New Zealand Aid Programme - NZAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Escobar</td>
<td>Ex officio Member, Rimisp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia Serrano</td>
<td>Ex officio Member, Rimisp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All members of the Advisory Council participate at a strictly personal level; therefore, their institutional affiliation is only shown for informational purposes.
Program Coordinating Unit

More than 20 people took part in the program coordination unit during the five years of operation.

Daniela Acuna
Environmental Area
(Since September 2009 – until December 2010)

Francisco Aguirre
Capacity Building Coordinator
and NZAP Project
(Since May 2009)
(20% time)

Rosamelia Andrade
Communications Coordinator
(Since July 2008 – until June 2010)

Julio A. Berdegué
General Program Coordinator

Lucía Carrasco
Administrator

Manuel Chiriboga
Researcher and Adjunct Capacity Building Coordinator
(20% time)

Gilles Cliche
Adjunct Project Coordinator NZAP
(Since January 2009 – until December 2009)
(1/2 time)

M. Ignacia Fernandez
Adjunct Coordinator, Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development Project
(Since June 2010)

Ricardo Fuentealba
Researcher Assistant
(Since June 2010)

Benjamin Jara
Researcher Assistant
(Since August 2010)
Monica Maureira
Communications Coordinator
(Since July 2010)

Daniela Miranda
Researcher Assistant,
Knowledge and Change
in Rural Poverty and
Development Project
(Since June 2010)

Felix Modregro
Researcher and Applied
Research Coordinator
(1/2 time)

Irene Guijt
Coordinator
(Until December 2010)

Roberto Iturralde
Researcher
(Until December 2010)

Julie Claire Mace
Communities of Practices
and International Networks
(Since March 2008 - until
November 2010)

Jacqueline Montero
Administrative Assistant
(Since September 2008 – until
December 2009)

Dania Ortega
Administrative Assistant
(Since January 2010 – until
May 2011)

Mariela Ramirez
Researcher Assistant and
Adjunct Postgraduate
Education Coordinator
(Since March 2008 – until
June 2011)

Diego Reinoso
Communications Assistant
(Since September 2008)

Pablo Torres
Administrative Assistant
(Since June 2011)

Alexander Schejtman
Researcher and
Postgraduate Education
Coordinator
(20% time)

Julie Claire Mace
Communities of Practices
and International Networks
(Since March 2008 - until
November 2010)

Jacqueline Montero
Administrative Assistant
(Since September 2008 – until
December 2009)

Dania Ortega
Administrative Assistant
(Since January 2010 – until
May 2011)

Mariela Ramirez
Researcher Assistant and
Adjunct Postgraduate
Education Coordinator
(Since March 2008 – until
June 2011)

Diego Reinoso
Communications Assistant
(Since September 2008)

Pablo Torres
Administrative Assistant
(Since June 2011)
SECTION NINE: FINANCIAL REPORT
2007-2012 Income and Expenditures

In the box you will see the summary of income and expenditure of the Rural Territorial Dynamics program between the years 2007 and 2012. The income correspond to the agreements with the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), through the Knowledge and Change in Rural Poverty and Development Project, and the project financed by the New Zealand Aid Program (NZAP) destined to the activities in Central America. Rimisp profoundly thanks the support of these and other organizations to the program.

**Table: 2007-2012 Income and Expenditures (US dollars)**

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<td>Real</td>
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<td>1,471,901</td>
<td>1,596,107</td>
<td>1,105,539</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDRC</td>
<td>503,278</td>
<td>2,367,323</td>
<td>1,969,110</td>
<td>2,089,784</td>
<td>2,126,690</td>
<td>1,471,901</td>
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<td>1,105,539</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZAP</td>
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