

MEMORANDUM

To: Bernard Berelson and Richard Sheldon

FORD

From: Allan R. Holmberg and Edward A. Suchman

Subject: The Vicos Research Proposal

The purpose of this memorandum is to make explicit in summary form a number of features of The Vicos Research Proposal which, although present in the original proposal, may have been obscured by details of the research design.

I

First it is important to stress the fact that our purpose in undertaking this research is wholly scientific. We feel that the merits of the proposal rest largely on its potential contribution to theory and method in the behavioral sciences and that its humanitarian aspects—for example, the promotion of well-being among the population of Vicos—are to be regarded only as a by-product of the study rather than as its central focus. In other words, these applied aspects of the project might be better viewed as the substantive base around which the design is built. We believe, however, that this feature adds to rather than detracts from the study as a whole for it makes possible a contribution to sound practice as well as to better theory.

II

The conceptual and methodological potential of this study springs on the one hand from the favorable position occupied by Cornell both in the Vicos area and in Peru as a whole and on the other hand from the nature of the field laboratory itself. As to the first point, we are already in a very strong position on the matter of research and experimental access to the

community. As to the second, the conditions found in Vicos are ideal for the kinds of research we wish to conduct. It is a real world, one which provides us with an opportunity to check the research findings of the laboratory in a meaningful context. Moreover, it is a foreign culture, somewhat isolated from the main streams of modern influence. This makes it an ideal setting for a cross-cultural test of generalizations emerging from research findings based on data gathered in the United States. Finally—and this is a central point—the community itself is about to undergo a crucial change in one aspect of culture—patterns of land tenure—which enables us to take advantage of an unparalleled situation to study the effects of this change on other aspects of culture. It seems to us that all of these conditions add up to an ideal environment in which to conduct the proposed research, that is, to test and control the effects of ideational intervention on social organizations and value systems of real communities, the cultures of which are founded on assumptions and imperatives which differ substantially from those characteristic of American society. As a practical matter it should be added that research of this kind actually costs less to conduct in Peru than it would in the United States.

III

One of the questions that might be raised in connection with this proposal is why intervene at all? Why not just let the change in pattern of land tenure occur and simply observe what effects it will have on the economic life, the social organization, and the value system of Vicos? In answer to this question we would like to state that under the least favorable research conditions this is precisely what we would make every effort to do. But this would provide us with little more than a check on what we already know, namely,

that Vicos would probably evolve into one of the community types of the area with which we are already familiar. While this in itself might be a finding of interest, we have made no secret of the fact that we regard these community types as dysfunctional in terms of modern democratic values and contrary to the direction in which the people of Vicos and the Peruvian nation would like to move. Thus we are presented at Vicos with an unusually favorable opportunity to do much more than observe. We can actually experiment with the dynamics of small communities not only for the purpose of checking existing generalizations about social change but in an attempt to find generalizations as to the way in which these communities may reach new levels of integration in the modern world.

IV

Mentioned in the proposal are a number of broad areas of behavioral science to which we hope to make substantial theoretical contributions. Among the most important of these are (1) the dynamics of intergroup relations, (2) the formation of leadership patterns, (3) the development of community identification and cohesiveness. Since we propose, in this phase of the research, to adopt the method of ideational, rather than technological, intervention in the study of the developmental process of the community we also expect to develop and enhance the conceptualization of the relationships between the communications process as a whole and other aspects of the social system such as education, social organization, and values. More specifically, the experiments mentioned in the proposal are only some examples of the kinds of research we plan to carry out in order to test the effectiveness of various communications patterns on real social issues such as, for example, the effects of movies and other mass media (now absent from Vicos) on the whole process of

education, on the reduction of tension in inter-group relations, on the formation of positions of responsibility and leadership in community life, on the broadening of community perspectives of the outside world, and on the development of personal images of self-respect. While it is impossible to predict just what the results of each of these experiments will be, we believe they all add up to a considerable potential for new discoveries in the dynamics of the social process. At the same time, they provide a different cultural context within which existing generalizations about such matters may be checked.

As now envisioned, research findings would be presented in an over-all report which we would hope to publish in a series of special studies. The direction of the project would be shared by Holmberg (2/3 time) and Suchman (1/3 time).

V

One final point to which some reference should be made is the possible effect on the research results of the presence of "outside" investigators in a relatively small community like Vicos. We are aware that this is always a problem in a study of this kind but do not consider it an insoluble one. Awareness of the possibility serves to alert the investigators to the need to take every precaution in the design of studies and the analysis of results to determine the extent to which such an effect may be operative, and to correct for it in any generalizations that are made.

VICOS RESEARCH PROPOSAL

The project outlined in this proposal is a request for funds to further develop and demonstrate a novel method of strengthening both the scientific and policy results of a community study. The primary site is Vicos, an hacienda in the highlands of northeastern Peru, inhabited by Quechua-speaking Indians who have had a minimum of contact with modern industrial civilization. Through a previous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, basic observational and some experimental studies have already been made, as well as action initiated by Cornell University. Since 1952, Cornell has had an unusual arrangement with the Peruvian Government whereby the entire hacienda of Vicos is administered by the University through the Cornell-Peru Project, the director of which occupies the traditional role of Patron, or boss of the whole operation. (This means that Cornell maintains control of a labor force of more than three hundred men (one adult member of each family) for three days of each week in addition to other perogatives traditionally associated with the status of patron.)

As originally conceived, the Cornell-Peru Project consisted of a modest program of experimental intervention and study at Vicos, particularly in the area of technology. ~~At the same time, the project was to include a program of research in the area of social organization.~~ At the same time,

provision was made for a number of observational studies of the effects of regional developments on Vicos, particularly ^{of} the influences of new industrial installations which are located at some distance down the valley and which are only now beginning to affect the community, in part because of Cornell's influence. Studies were also made of several ~~nearby~~ ^{other} communities ^{which are} located near Vicos but differ ~~from~~ from it in economic and political organization.

The present conception of the project represents a new approach which ~~has~~ taken shape as a result of a review of results to date which was conducted by a team at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford during 1954 and early 1955. The Director of the Cornell-Peru Project, Professor Allan R. Holmberg, was at the Center for the purpose of taking stock of the accomplishments to date and making plans for the future. Through him various colleagues became interested in the project (particularly Dr. John Kennedy of the RAND Corporation and Professors ^{2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100} Lindbloom and ^{Hardd} Lasswell of Yale).

The present proposal is an outcome of their joint experience which included a field inspection of Vicos in the spring of 1955.

AIMS

~~One of the significant features of this site is~~ The significance of Vicos as the site ~~is~~ for the proposed study lies in the ~~substantial~~ ~~structural~~ ~~changes~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~expected~~ ~~continuation~~ ~~of~~ large scale changes which have begun and will continue

to affect the entire surrounding area. The valley in which Vicos is situated, the Callejon de Huaylas, is one of the largest and potentially richest in ~~the~~ Peru and is now undergoing considerable industrialization because of heavy investments by the Peruvian Government in smelting plants, transportation systems and hydroelectric power. ✓

At the same time, ~~the~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ slower and less dramatic changes have been affecting the ~~xxxxx~~ people of the area. People have gone to the coast for seasonal labor and men have been drafted into the army for two-year periods. These people have returned to their villages with new ideas and experience of the "outside" world, as well as with some new items of technology. They have been the advance guard of the various aspects of modern civilization which must inevitably ~~xxxxx~~ affect the Andean villages with greater scope and intensity.

In this respect, Vicos and the other communities of the valley are not radically different from isolated rural villages throughout the world which are beginning to feel the impact of modern civilization with accelerating forces ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ and to participate increasingly in the affairs of the national society ~~xxxxxxx~~ of which they have been dormant segments until now. ~~xxxxxxx~~ This process of modernization,

the incorporation of the ways of the larger society in the life of the village, appears inevitable to observers and to many, also seems essential for the development of strong, free nations which can assume active roles ~~in~~ on the international scene. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated in many areas and particularly in Vicos, that the process of modernization is considered desirable by the people involved in it. Village workers in various parts of the world have found that these people ~~look to~~, when presented with the opportunity to do so, look toward the outside for solutions of their economic and health problems; ~~and eagerly~~ take advantage of educational opportunities offered; and adopt the forms of recreation presented by the larger community.

At the same time, there is no assurance that these people ^{be able to} will/participate in national affairs on a basis of equality, ~~although the people wish to do so~~. Because there is evidence that they wish to do so and because we maintain the position that it is in their interest to do so, and in the interest of creating strong, free nations, we ~~state~~ define democratization as the twin goal to be desired along with the aim of modernization.

These goals are not new ones. Existing programs of assistance to underdeveloped areas have sought to further these aims. What is new here is

the method for reaching the goals. Programs such as TCA have placed the emphasis upon technical assistance to the less developed countries with the implied assumption that ideological change and development will accompany technological innovations. ~~and~~ ~~These~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~points~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~proposal~~. In this proposal, ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~emphasis~~ ~~is~~ ~~placed~~ ~~upon~~ ~~technical~~ ~~assistance~~ we emphasize a technique of maximum educational intervention and minimum material intervention. It is our conclusion that the reliance of many ~~programs~~ development programs upon material changes has meant the failure to make full use of the means by which people may be prepared to understand, to desire and to participate intelligently in change. We do not view the broad goals of modernization and democratization as products to be fed into a community but as processes which must rest upon an internal dynamic of the village. The failure to ~~create~~ stimulate such a local ~~a~~ force generally means the termination of the development process at the time that the project personnel leave the scene of operations. It is our ~~main~~ intention to foster a maximum of self-reliance in the community of Vicos, through a process of education, so that local people and their leaders will be equipped to pursue and direct a course of self-development following the withdrawal of project staff members in the terminal year of the program.

* ~~Further~~ Another reason for the need to stimulate conscious community

leadership for the realization of the goals of ~~the~~ modernization and

democratization at the local level may be found in the social context

surrounding Vicos. (~~Again, this is a characteristic of many other less~~

~~developed areas of the world~~) It has often been assumed that ~~the process~~

a program of introducing the technology of the larger society to a rural

community will involve the absorption by the latter of democratic goals from

the surrounding social context. In the case of Vicos and again, in many

other less developed areas of the world, the members of the larger society

are not equipped to impart such goals or, if they envision these aims for

themselves, have no desire to share them with ~~the occupants~~ the occupants

a

of lower social category. We do not assume, therefore, that contact with

the surrounding society will mean the encouragement of democratic goals, or that there will be no opposition to village development in the environment.

processes

Rather, these must rest upon the goals ~~of~~ and values of the villagers themselves

the project

how

and/~~it~~ must ~~be~~ demonstrated ~~that~~ these desires on the part of the community

can be fulfilled in the course of a program of modernization and democratization

without outside support and perhaps in the face of opposition. The need to

emphasize ~~in~~ the self-reliance of the community is particularly important in

paternalistic

the case of Vicos which, under the ~~hacienda~~ hacienda system, has long been ~~accustomed~~

This
is
the
basis
of
the
program

counted upon the goodwill of a particular patron as the source of all change and improvement. Vicosinos have only begun to ~~awaken to the~~ be aware of their own capacities since the initiation of the Cornell-Peru Project, and it is the ^{primary}aim of ~~this~~ program described here to develop these resources.

A final reason for planning to ^{stress} ~~use~~ educational means ~~for~~ directed at

self-help rather than technical assistance is our hypothesis that the latter may flow from the former. While the teaching of technical skills and the introduction of ~~new~~ new technology ~~does~~ not necessarily structure the ~~manner~~ manner in which these are to be employed nor for what goals, a program that emphasizes education with democratic aims can also provide the tools by which the people of Vicos can become aware of ~~their technical~~ ~~needs and the means of fulfilling them~~ the opportunities for technical improvements and the means of taking advantage of them.

It is our belief that ^{the} ~~this~~ emphasis outlined here can contribute

significantly to the conduct of development programs in many areas of the world. ~~It is our belief that this emphasis outlined here can contribute~~

~~At the same time, in order that the Vicos project may provide~~ ~~that may be generalized~~ generalization ~~is~~ that ~~may~~ can be applied elsewhere,

it is important that the processes and results of this educational experiment be

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carefully studied throughout the duration of the project.

So far, research has been carried on in this country on the formation and change of attitudes and on the development of leadership, ~~in small groups~~ particularly in small groups. This research can provide us with important hypotheses to be tested in the course of the project and we feel that we can contribute to this area of investigation ~~in~~ in several ways. First, we propose to test what is known for American society in another culture, and thus ~~to~~ help in the formulation of broader concepts in the field of communications study. Secondly, ~~the distinctive position which the project~~ ~~members occupy~~ the distinctive position which the project ~~members~~ members occupy in Vicos provides us with the opportunity to use an entire community for our laboratory. Finally, the stated goals of the project ~~compel~~ ^{the} us to devise ways of measuring/results of ~~the program~~ ~~in terms of~~ the program in terms of observed behavior as well as ~~in~~ ^{by} the customary questionnaire techniques for eliciting verbal responses.

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At the same time, we may look to a body of experience in village development for the suggestion of particular techniques to be employed in the educational program. Such programs as ^{those of} the UNESCO Fundamental Education

Centre in Mexico can provide helpful guides in the Vicos experiments. On the other hand, we feel that we can contribute to the experience of such programs by our emphasis upon ~~action research~~ concomitant action research.

By ~~the~~ studying ~~not only~~ not only the success or failure of particular educational methods, but also the reasons for ~~the success or failure of~~ the particular results, scientific data will be obtained that should greatly increase the effectiveness of future development planning.

(METHOD)

method for

The ~~the~~ proposed ~~method~~ ~~of~~ attaining our developmental and scientific goals in Vicos ~~is~~ ^{not a method - a stimulus} is that of a varied educational program to be directed at the community as a whole, ~~at~~ at groups within the community and at new groups formed for the ~~attainment~~ realization of specific aims that develop in the process of the experiment. The first step in the organization of this program is the definition of our goals of democratization and modernization in terms of local needs and desires. Existing studies of Vicos provide us with ~~the~~ the basis for these specific definitions and some examples can be given here. ^{Two} ~~One~~ desires frequently expressed in Vicos ^{are} ~~is~~ for a knowledge of Spanish and for the related goal of literacy.

For some people, these are desirable in order to avoid being deceived by others in economic or legal transactions. For others Vicosinos, literacy

~~providing~~ appears to bring with it a higher income. For a small group within the community, particularly those who have been exposed to the outside, literacy and the ~~basic~~ ability to speak Spanish ~~and~~ signify the ability to participate in the larger society in more general terms. Our aim in this case would be to extend the meaning of literacy and the ability to speak Spanish, to show the further uses of them and to spread the desire for them to ~~considerable groups in the~~ larger segments of the community. Part of the effort made here would be to increase utilization and interest in the already existing facilities—the school for children and the adult classes now functioning in the community.

Another interest observed in Vicos ~~has been that of~~ ~~is~~

^{lies} in the area of recreational facilities. People have never stoppoeed talking about the movies shown ~~now~~ by the Cornell Peru Project. ~~The~~ Athletic activities of the army resefvists during their drill sessions have had a great deal of popularity. Both of these activities can become, with some direction, important channels for the establishment of contacts with the larger society. Movies can become ~~an important~~ medium of instruction in the ways of the ~~the~~ outside world. Organized athletic events can serve as the means of introducing Vicosinos to other communities and other areas.

of 200. Stimuli
same stimuli

For the types of programs indicated by such interests among Vicosinos, it will be possible to make extensive use of existing facilities. The school classrooms and auditorium are available for classes, meetings and film showings. We already have available a large amount of film taken in Vicos and the surrounding area which can be utilized for educational as well as recreational purposes.

~~At this time~~ For this program to succeed, however, we are aware that considerable emphasis must be placed on the use of trained personnel capable of directing a literacy program, teaching particular skills that are desired by Vicosinos, developing a broad recreational program and, in general, satisfying the various desires for instruction that are uncovered in the community. To some extent, this will mean the utilization of specialists from the outside. It can also mean ~~the utilization of~~ enlisting the cooperation of members of the community or of neighboring communities who have some special knowledge desired by residents of Vicos. This would appear to be particularly important in view of our aim of emphasizing self-reliance in the community since these people, whether mechanics or musicians, could easily be contacted by Vicosinos without the intervention of project members and such instruction could indicate the

possibilities inherent in the utilization of existing local facilities and encourage people to seek out other such ~~possibilities~~ potentialities, ~~in the existing situation~~. Furthermore, it is expected that it will be possible for the people of Vicos to teach each other. For example, there are numerous members of the community who make occasional trips to the coast and as far as Lima. It would be possible to ~~encourage them~~ teach them those things that interest to use a ~~simple~~ camera to record ~~what interests~~ them particularly in the course of these travels. Upon ~~their return~~ returning to Vicos, they would be encouraged to display and comment on the photographs and to discuss the possibilities of bringing some of the ^{recorded} practices or items to the local community. The attention accorded these returned travellers would be something of a reward ~~of~~ for ~~encouraging~~ conscious observation of other areas and other ways of life ~~and~~ help to stimulate ~~the~~ local interest in seeking new knowledge,

In discussing these particular techniques, however, we do not wish to underestimate the place of scientific observation. ~~One~~ One of our primary aims is the scientific ~~one~~ one and it is expected that the entire educational program will be set up along the lines of those variables which existing research has indicated ^{to be} ~~are~~ important. ~~Therefore~~ With reference to a

recent listing of those ~~variables~~ factors seen to be important in the communication situation (Hovland, Janis and Kelley, Communication and Persuasion) we ~~would~~ note the following variables: the communicator,

the content of the communication, the predisposition of the audience, the responses ~~made~~ made by the audience, the medium of communication and the situation in which the communication is made. ~~For example,~~ For example, in concrete terms, we ~~would~~ envision the utilization of movies, talks, demonstrations or plays ^{investigating} in ~~examining~~ the importance of particular media.

With respect to the communicator, we can test the effects of instruction imparted by an authority figure (the Patron, for example), by a low prestige member of the community or by a member of a neighboring settlement.

The testing of such variables requires, of course, the participation of trained observers. In some cases, it will be possible to train the instructor in the necessary techniques. In other circumstances, we foresee the use of ~~other~~ other researchers ^{observers} as participants in the education^a/situation.

In all operations of recording and testing, we intend to investigate the results of the various programs in terms of their effects on the community as a whole as well as on the participating members of the educational groups.

This is a statement of means by which education takes place.

The project ~~published here~~ is also concerned with the rapid processing
 the
 of ~~this~~ data obtained in the course of the investigations. In our view,
 much of the advantage to be obtained from the data gathered in social
 science projects has been forfeited from failure to use speedy processing
 techniques. Rapid analysis, made possible by the use of the facilities of
 the ^{Cornell} High Speed Computing Center, would have two advantages. In
 theoretical terms, the results of observation could be utilized to sharpen
 theoretical models being tested and ~~constructive~~ to indicate the ~~necessity~~
 additional observations necessary for obtaining ^{of} meaningful results. With
 respect to our goals of modernization and democratization, we would be
 enabled to proceed in this direction in ~~the most expeditious manner~~ an efficient
 manner ~~with~~ through rapid revision of current techniques ^{when} ^{this is} shown to be necessary

For further clear delineation of our theoretical models, we also

There is no theoretical model still

foresee the possibility of carrying on similar studies in other communities,
 either of groups within these settlements or of whole communities, ~~with~~ in
 order to obtain ~~more~~ comparative material. As mentioned above, some
 information is available on other communities and rapport has been
 established so that ~~studies~~ further studies may be carried out with
 comparative ease.

critical

Finally, we may indicate one other aim of this project which should emerge as a byproduct of the research described here. ~~Not to be~~ While maintaining our goals of modernization and democratization and ~~concomitantly~~ seeking to increase the body of scientific knowledge ~~that~~ relating to the formation and change of ^{opinions} ~~knowledge~~ and the development of leadership, participating in similar we also envision the training of personnel capable of ~~carrying on~~ programs ~~in~~ of development and research that are initiated elsewhere.

Experience in Vrcos should produce investigators and administrative personnel prepared to deal with ~~the~~ ~~action and research aspects~~ situations presented by projects embodying both aspects,

MEMORANDUM

November 7, 1956

To: Richard Sheldon
The Ford Foundation

From: Allan R. Holmberg and Edward A. Suchman

Subject: Revised Budget of The Vicos Research Proposal

First Year

Personnel:

Director	\$ 7,000
Area Specialist and Observer	4,000
Interviewing Staff	6,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	3,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	3,000
Equipment and materials	<u>3,000</u>

Total

\$ 34,500

Second Year

Personnel:

Director	7,500
Area Specialist and Observer	4,500
Interviewing staff	5,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	2,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	3,000
Equipment and Materials	<u>1,000</u>

Total

31,500

Third Year

Personnel:

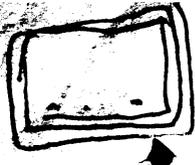
Director	8,000
Area Specialist and Observer	5,000
Interviewing Staff	2,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	2,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	<u>3,000</u>

Total

28,500

Grand Total for Three Years
plus Cornell University Overhead

\$ 94,500



THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES PROGRAM

TO: Allan Holmberg

- 9. Cultural dynamics
- 10. Sullivan !!
Horney
- 11. ~~_____~~
Sesswell's - Power

- 1. Levy-Shaw - Social Structure
- 2. Murdock's Comparative Social Organization
- 3. Radfield
- 4. Parsons The Social Structure
- 5. Warner Stratification
- 6. Barnett's Innovation
- 7. Kluckhohn - Value study
- 8. Singer on Mental Health

July 20, 1956

In order to collect some facts bearing on administrative decisions that must be made in a foundation program to advance the behavioral sciences, I am writing to ask your help in constructing a list of important contributions to the scientific study of human behavior in recent years.

I am sending this request to a number of people (1) who have attended or are going to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and (2) who have received individual grants-in-aid from this Foundation. Both these groups were selected by their scholarly peers and together they probably represent a reasonable sample of "good people" in the field.

I'd like to know what you consider the leading contributions to the scientific study of human behavior in recent years: what studies have been most important in advancing our scientific understanding of man? I deliberately set the criterion broadly so that you can define it for yourself. I am most directly interested in substantive contributions to knowledge -- what have we learned? -- but you should feel free to mention other kinds of contributions if you believe them to be worthy of mention as indirect means to the end -- like, for example, a methodological or technical innovation, a conceptual clarification, a set of hypotheses, or a collection of data. In other words, anything should be included so long as you think it genuinely qualifies in answer to the question: "In recent years, what has been done that adds most to our scientific knowledge of human behavior?"

In order to keep the units roughly equivalent, I am asking you wherever possible to cite individual items -- books, journal articles, reports, studies, speeches, chapters in symposia, etc., or combinations thereof -- rather than sub-fields, or movements, or schools of thought, or men. Also, I am asking you to limit yourself to the past 20-25 years -- say, since 1930.

I would like to have two lists: (1) the ten (or so) outstanding contributions in your field of special competence within your discipline (e.g., social stratification, kinship, public opinion, group dynamics, personality, etc. -- fields of sufficient breadth so that a number of your colleagues would also be represented); and (2) the ten (or so) outstanding contributions in your discipline as a whole. The items mentioned, of course, could come from any discipline or any country; and some items would presumably be found in both lists.

In addition, if you feel like going that far, it would be useful for us to broaden the scope, in both subject and time, and to ask you what developments have been most important in the Twentieth Century -- in this case, publications or movements or schools -- like, say, projective tests or sociometry or Freudian theory.

I am particularly interested in studying the data for suggestions on how to improve our program of support in this field -- not that any changes would automatically follow, of course, since several other considerations must be taken into account. The data might contribute to the "sociology of knowledge", too. As will be evident to you, there are a number of characteristics by which we can analyze the data, e.g., national origin, institutional origin, research conditions, pattern of support, etc.

Finally, I'll be satisfied with references and titles alone -- but if you want to add a phrase or a sentence on why the item deserves mention I would be glad to have that too. I am sure you understand that I am not interested in the most popular titles or the most prestigious ones, but rather in those that in your judgment most deserve to be mentioned as having pushed our knowledge ahead.

I know I am asking a good deal of you and I hope this request will not become a burden. I am sending it now with the thought that you might have a little more time for such a task in the summer than during the regular academic year. Please don't feel that you should spend a great deal of time on this; I'll be satisfied with what you can produce in a relatively short time. Incidentally, I did a kind of pre-test of this with a few people this spring just to find out whether such an inquiry was feasible and I am glad to say that those who replied indicated that it did not take them an undue amount of time and several of them said that they found it stimulating and challenging to review their fields in this way.

I am grateful in advance for whatever attention you can give to this request. If at all possible, I'd like to hear from you, one way or the other, by about August 15-20. Your reply will of course be considered confidential; we may organize the information in a collective fashion but not in such a way that your individual answer can be identified. Many thanks for your help and best personal wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Bernard Berelson
Director

THE FORD FOUNDATION

477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES PROGRAM

January 18, 1957

Mr. Allan R. Holmberg
Mr. Edward Suchman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Allan and Eddie:

Within the next days the University will receive a formal letter from the Secretary of the Foundation stating that we cannot support your proposal on Vicos. I wanted the two of you to hear it personally from me first.

I am extremely sorry that this is the outcome. Both of you know how much serious consideration we on the staff gave to the proposal and I can assure you that if we and our advisors had not thought well of it we would not have kept the matter active for so long. Unfortunately, however, the proposal became involved with general questions of Foundation policy affecting Program V and in the end such considerations became overriding. It is something of a cliché for a foundation official to say that a declination does not necessarily reflect on the merit of the project but I can say that in this case with a completely straight face.

Dick joins me in regretting this development and we both wish you success.

Cordially,

AB

Bernard Berelson
Director



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION PUBLICA

Vicos, a 30 de Diciembre de 1956.

Oficio No. 97.

Señor Doctor.
Allan R. Holmberg.
Director General del
Proyecto Perú-Cornell.
Depto Of Soc.y Anthropology
Cornell University.-
Ithaca.-N.Y.

De mi mayor consideración:

Tengo a honra dirigirle el presente en mi carácter de Director de la Escuela Rural Prevocacional No.1313 de esta localidad, para expresarle mi mas cálido y sincero agradecimiento en nombre del Personal Docente y el mío propio por la expropiación de la "Hacienda Vicos" en favor de los colonos de la misma.

La Resolución Suprema No.2 de fecha 7 de Noviembre último que dispone dicha expropiación, gracias al Informe Técnico del Proyecto Perú-Cornell y del Instituto Indigenista Peruano, es un paso de trascendental importancia para el futuro de Vicos, en especial para la Escuela Rural Prevocacional que ampliará notablemente su radio de acción.

Nuestra Escuela, nacida al calor del Proyecto Perú-Cornell ha festejado dicho acontecimiento, de repercusión nacional, con gran satisfacción y alegría porque tiene asegurado ahora su porvenir de incorporar a nuestros indígenas, con el apoyo del referido Proyecto Perú-Cornell, a la vida civilizada del país.-

Es motivo para reiterarle mi mas alta y distinguida consideración y aprecio personal.-

Dios guarde a Ud.-

Pompilio Picon Llanos

POMPILIO PICON LLANOS.

Director Escuela Rural Prevocacional No. 1313.-



3-1

November 2, 1956

Mr. Richard Sheldon
Behavioral Sciences Division
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dick:

I am enclosing a short memorandum relating to our conversation of last week on The Vicos Research Proposal. I hope we have been able to provide answers to some of the questions raised, although we have tried to do this in as brief a space as possible. If there are any other points we'd be glad to try to answer them.

Also enclosed are statements of Ed's and my expenses.

Sincerely,

Allan R. Holmberg

Draft
for
President Malott

Mr. Richard Sheldon
Behavioral Science Division
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Sheldon:

Professor Holmberg has told me about your conversations with him in Philadelphia concerning The Vicos Research Proposal. At that time you spoke to him of some concern in the Foundation about the reaction of the Peruvian Government to the proposed research at Vicos. Meanwhile we have been in correspondence with our Peruvian collaborators and this letter is to inform you that they have given their unqualified official support to this project.

In answer to a letter from me requesting official reaction to the Vicos proposal, Dr. Carlos Monge M., President of the Instituto Indigenista Peruano—the official agency of the Peruvian Government with which we have been collaborating—has just cabled me as follows:

LIMA, PERU, OCT. 10, 1956

SECRETARY (of) LABOR (and Indigenous Affairs) MR. ELIAS APPROVED FULLY
PROPOSAL VICOS WHICH AGREES (with) SOCIAL POLICY (of) PRESIDENT (of Republic).

MONGE
PRESIDENT (Instituto Indigenista Peruano)

I might add that Professor Holmberg has also been informed in personal correspondence with Dr. Monge that he has talked over this proposal personally with the President of Peru, Señor Prado, who is most enthusiastic about it.

If further questions arise with respect to the Vicos proposal, we would be most happy to discuss them with you at any time.

MEMORANDUM

November 7, 1956

To: Richard Sheldon
The Ford Foundation

From: Allan R. Holmberg and Edward A. Suchman

Subject: Revised Budget of The Vicos Research Proposal

First Year

Personnel:

Director	\$ 7,000
Area Specialist and Observer	4,000
Interviewing Staff	6,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	3,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	3,000
Equipment and materials	<u>3,000</u>

Total \$ 34,500

Second Year

Personnel:

Director	7,500
Area Specialist and Observer	4,500
Interviewing staff	5,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	2,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	3,000
Equipment and Materials	<u>1,000</u>

Total 31,500

Third Year

Personnel:

Director	8,000
Area Specialist and Observer	5,000
Interviewing Staff	2,000
Consulting and Technical Specialists	2,000
Data Analysis	5,000
Secretarial and Clerical	3,500
Travel	<u>3,000</u>

Total 28,500

Grand Total for Three Years \$ 94,500
plus Cornell University Overhead

November 2, 1956

Expense account to: Ford Foundation

Pay to: Edward A. Suchman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Purpose of trip: Conference with B. Berelson and R. Sheldon on
Proposal for Research in Vicos

Date: October 24, 1956

Expenses:	Round trip air fare Ithaca to New York and return, receipt attached	\$31.35
	Transportation to and from airport	<u>2.70</u>
		\$34.05

November 2, 1956

Expense account to: Ford Foundation

Pay to: Allan R. Holmberg
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Purpose of trip: Conference with B. Berelson and Richard Sheldon
on Proposal for Research in Vicos

Date: October 24, 1956

Expenses:	Round trip air fare Ithaca to New York and return, receipt attached	\$31.35
	Transportation to and from airport	2.70
	Taxi	<u>1.25</u>
		\$ 35.30

TRANSLATION OF TELEGRAM FROM PERU

February 4, 1957

President Malott, Professor Holmberg
Cornell University

Three cabinet ministers of Peruvian Government accompanied the
Technical Committee of the Indigenous Institute of Peru on an
inspection trip to the Hacienda Vicos. They received a magnificent
impression of the results of the Cornell-Peru Project. Please
to Cornell University the
transmit thanks of the People and the Government of Peru.

Monge (Dr. Carlos)

President, Indigenous Institute of Peru



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL MAYOR DE SAN MARCOS DE LIMA
INSTITUTO DE BIOLOGIA ANDINA

DIRECTOR: PROF. CARLOS MONGE M.

APARTADO 821
LIMA - PERU

December 26, 1956

Dr. Richard Allan Helmborg
Department of Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Helmborg:

Just a few words to tell you that "La Prensa" and "El Comercio" have written nice editorials in regard the Resolucion Suprema about Vicos Expropriation. It seems there is a general agreement on the subject. Public opinion considers that the Government has, at last, a sound policy on indigenous affairs.

Today, I received the visit of Mr. C.H. Zondag, the IV Point, U.S. Government in connection with the economical help for Bolivia. He was very much impressed with the Peruvian Government Supreme Resolution of Expropriation and the results of the Peru-Cornell Project of Vicos ("El Comercio" editorial enclosed). He told me the Government of U.S. has spend \$ 60.000.000 in Bolivia, which are lost because poverty, confusion and disorder prevail among the indians. On the other hand, they are owners of the improductive land, they have guns and every thing is wrong. There is a potential danger for the peruvian neighbourhood. Something different has to be made. He was very enthusiastic about Peru-Cornell Project and would like to know it better. I advised him to go to Vicos. He told me he will visit you within three weeks in Ithaca. I think that the U.S. IV Point, has to rectify its economical and social aid to the indigenous South America problems. May be you could have some support or advice the Committee how to look for it.

With my best regards and best wishes for the Holiday Season, I am,

Cordially yours,

Carlos Monge M.

MEMORANDUM

To: Bernard Berelson and Richard Sheldon
From: Allan R. Holmberg and Edward A. Suchman
Subject: The Vicos Research Proposal

The purpose of this memorandum is to make explicit in summary form a number of features of The Vicos Research Proposal which, although present in the original proposal, may have been obscured by details of the research design.

I.

First it is important to stress the fact that our purpose in undertaking this research is wholly scientific. We feel that the merits of the proposal rest largely on its potential contribution to theory and method in the behavioral sciences and that its humanitarian aspects---for example, the promotion of well-being among the population of Vicos---are to be regarded only as a by-product of the study rather than as its central focus. In other words, these applied aspects of the project might be better viewed as the substantive base around which the design is built. We believe, however, that this feature adds to rather than detracts from the study as a whole for it makes possible a contribution to sound practice as well as to better theory.

II

The conceptual and methodological potential of this study springs on the one hand from the favorable position occupied by Cornell both in the Vicos area and in Peru as a whole and on the other hand from the nature of the field laboratory itself. As to the first point, we are already in a very strong position on the matter of research and experimental access to the

community. As to the second, the conditions found in Vicos are ideal for the kinds of research we wish to conduct. It is a real world, one which provides us with an opportunity to check the research findings of the laboratory in a meaningful context. Moreover, it is a foreign culture, somewhat isolated from the main streams of modern influence. This makes it an ideal setting for a cross-cultural test of generalizations emerging from research findings based on data gathered in the United States. Finally--and this is a central point--the community itself is about to undergo a crucial change in one aspect of culture--patterns of land tenure--which enables us to take advantage of an unparalleled situation to study the effects of this change on other aspects of culture. It seems to us that all of these conditions add up to an ideal environment in which to conduct the proposed research, that is, to test and control the effects of ideational intervention on social organizations and value systems of real communities, the cultures of which are founded on assumptions and imperatives which differ substantially from those characteristic of American society. As a practical matter it should be added that research of this kind actually costs less to conduct in Peru than it would in the United States.

III

One of the questions that might be raised in connection with this proposal is why intervene at all? Why not just let the change in pattern of land tenure occur and simply observe what effects it will have on the economic life, the social organization, and the value system of Vicos? In answer to this question we would like to state that under the least favorable research conditions this is precisely what we would make every effort to do. But this would provide us with little more than a check on what we already know, namely,

that Vicos would probably evolve into one of the community types of the area with which we are already familiar. While this in itself might be a finding of interest, we have made no secret of the fact that we regard these community types as dysfunctional in terms of modern democratic values and contrary to the direction in which the people of Vicos and the Peruvian nation would like to move. Thus we are presented at Vicos with an unusually favorable opportunity to do much more than observe. We can actually experiment with the dynamics of small communities not only for the purpose of checking existing generalizations about social change but in an attempt to find generalizations as to the way in which these communities may reach new levels of integration in the modern world.

IV

Mentioned in the proposal are a number of broad areas of behavioral science to which we hope to make substantial theoretical contributions. Among the most important of these are (1) the dynamics of intergroup relations, (2) the formation of leadership patterns, (3) the development of community identification and cohesiveness. Since we propose, in this phase of the research, to adopt the method of ideational, rather than technological, intervention in the study of the developmental process of the community we also expect to develop and enhance the conceptualization of the relationships between the communications process as a whole and other aspects of the social system such as education, social organization, and values. More specifically, the experiments mentioned in the proposal are only some examples of the kinds of research we plan to carry out in order to test the effectiveness of various communications patterns on real social issues such as, for example, the effects of movies and other mass media (now absent from Vicos) on the whole process of

4.

education, on the reduction of tension in inter-group relations, on the formation of positions of responsibility and leadership in community life, on the broadening of community perspectives of the outside world, and on the development of a personal image of self-respect. While it is impossible to predict just what the results of each of these experiments will be, we believe they all add up to a considerable potential for new discoveries in the dynamics of the social process. At the same time, they provide a different cultural context within which existing generalizations about such matters may be checked.

As now envisioned, research findings would be presented in an over-all report which we would hope to publish in a series of special studies. The direction of the project would be shared by Holmberg (2/3 time) and Suchman (1/3 time).

V

One final point to which some reference should be made is the possible effect on the research results of the presence of "outside" investigators in a relatively small community like Vicos. We are aware that this is always a problem in a study of this kind but do not consider it an insoluble one. Awareness of the possibility serves to alert the investigators to the need to take every precaution in the design of studies and the analysis of results to determine the extent to which such an effect may be operative, and to correct for it in any generalizations that are made.