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THE LAND TENURE CENTER

ANNUAL REPORT

1976-1977

310 King Hall
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

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211(d) Annual Report

Date due: August 31, 1977

Date: January 5, 1978

Grant Title: 211(d) csd-2263

Grantee: Land Tenure Center

Grant Program Director: Don Kanel

AID Sponsoring Technical Office: Bureau for Technical Assistance,
Office of Rural Development

Statistical Summary:

Period of Grant: July 1, 1975 - September 30, 1979
Amount of Grant: \$3,138,000
Expenditures for Report Year: \$308,149
Accumulated: \$2,252,646
Anticipated for Next Year: \$487,178
(including International Seminar
and Extra Quarter)

II. NARRATIVE SUMMARY

A major portion of the Center's program in this reporting year centered on the planning and preparation for the International Seminar, described elsewhere in this Report. Work also went forward on the agreed-upon focused research program.

Eight special development-related courses were offered with IDC students constituting 49 percent of the total enrollment. Twenty-eight other courses taught by LTC Program Faculty had an LDC student ratio of 39 percent. Three students in the Ph.D. in Development Studies program completed their degrees, one each from Sri Lanka, Great Britain, and the United States. Seven students in the program initiated field research in these countries: Ghana, Guatemala, Korea, Nicaragua, Philippines, Turkey, and Venezuela. There were 11 new students admitted to the program, 4 of whom were women. A major new effort to match alumni with jobs was begun. Of non-Development Studies students associated with the Center, 22 received M.A. degrees and 8 received their Ph.D.s.

The Center's information capacity continued to serve development practitioners. Two major monographs were published--Cooperative and Commune (the proceedings of the 1975 Group Farming Conference), and An Annotated Bibliography on Land Tenure and Agrarian Reform in Africa and the Near East. Items were added to all but one of the regular publications series. The Library continued to improve its collection and to distribute duplicate publications to LDC institutions.

Center faculty and research fellows continued to accept consulting assignments in a variety of countries. A total of 58.68 work months was spent on consulting in this reporting year. Agencies requesting assistance included, for example, Banco de Desarrollo Agropecuario of Venezuela, Instituto Interamericano de Ciencias Agrícolas, International Food Policy Research Center, Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, IBRD, Ford Foundation, and a number of AID missions.

Linkages within the University of Wisconsin were strengthened this year by placing the Center more directly within the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, and adding the Director of the College's office of international programs to the Center's Executive Committee. Those with AID/W were improved by a visit to the Center by the then Director of the Office of Rural Development, and by numerous faculty and staff trips to Washington. Over 100 visitors from 29 countries came to the Center during the year--a major source for linkages both within and outside the usual university community. Particularly close linkages are maintained with those Philippine institutions with which Professor David King is working.

In summary, the work of this year has enhanced the Center's response capability in the areas of land tenure and related institutional concerns. It is hoped that it will lead in the next year or two to a redefining of areas in which new research is needed and to more productive relationships with AID missions.

III. DETAILED REPORT

General Background and Description of Problem

This grant is an extension of the 211-d grant initially awarded to the LTC in 1969, which itself was a sequel to a contractual relationship between AID and the Center which began in 1962. At the time of the award of this extension the AID review team found the Center's on-going program to be both consistent with the original purpose of the grant and of significant use to the Agency, to LDC governments, and to international agencies.

The Center's program focuses on what AID and others (including the Congress) have recognized to be the crucial relationship of land tenure and agricultural development, especially vis à vis small farmers and landless laborers. AID expects to have a continuing need for advice and assistance on tenure problems; the Center's response capability to meet this need is assured by this grant extension.

Purpose of the Grant

The purpose of the current grant extension and revision is to facilitate full and continuing utilization of the response capability of the Land Tenure Center in the areas of land tenure and related agrarian reform and institutional development with special emphases on helping small farmers in the LDCs and on gaining additional insights into and knowledge of the critical issues of land tenure and reform as key aspects of development.

The LTC is unique in its professional expertise in the land and agrarian reform areas. No other group or individual has the depth, scope, and experience of the Center staff. Agrarian reform is a particularly sensitive subject and, therefore, considerable flexibility is needed in approach and utilization by AID. A utilization 211-d grant provides for that flexibility and appears to be the best mechanism available to AID to obtain the LTC services. AID's present emphasis on rural development and on raising the income levels and well-being of the rural poor requires assistance and advice on man/land problems; such problems are critical to developing successful programs and projects to assist the rural poor.

Objectives of the Grant

A. Objectives Restated

The Center's program has five major objectives/outputs: expanding knowledge by means of research undertaken by faculty and research fellows; carrying on formal, degree-oriented education of students from all over the world, and short- or long-term training programs for LDC nationals; continuing its unique publications and library programs; maintaining a consulting and technical assistance capacity; and further refining and developing program-enhancing linkages.

B. Review of Objectives

The Center's main objective--the expansion of knowledge--concentrated this year on a focused research program, and on defining the issues which need to be considered in the forthcoming International Seminar. Other objectives remain as described in the proposal which resulted in this grant extension and no major changes of direction seem called for at this point.

C. Review of Critical Assumptions

1) Without core-funding support from AID and/or other financial sources in total at or above the current level, the LTC cannot continue to function.

2) US support will not alter significantly in either nature or amount.

3) The Center will continue the dialogues begun this year with AID, and will be able to broaden these relationships to include both other participants (e.g., AID regional bureaus and missions) and other topics.

4) Use of the Center's consulting and training facilities will not decline.

5) Current faculty and staff will remain, or be replaced by individuals with similar types of expertise.

6) Funding will be of duration adequate to support a meaningful research program.

Land Tenure Center Faculty and Staff

during Fiscal Year 1976 - 1977

The Program Faculty advise the Director on broad policy matters; the Executive Committee helps the Director make decisions on both policy and operational matters. In the reporting year these committees consisted of the following faculty members:

Program Faculty

College of Agricultural and Life Sciences

Marion Brown
Professor
Agricultural Journalism

Peter Dorner
Professor
Agricultural Economics

Herman Felstehausen
Professor
Agricultural Journalism and Natural Resources

Duncan Harkin
Professor
Agricultural Economics and Natural Resources

Don Kanel
Professor, Agricultural Economics
Director, Land Tenure Center

A. Eugene Havens
(on assignment in Peru 1st semester)
Professor
Rural Sociology

Bryant Kearn
Professor
Agricultural Journalism

David King
(on assignment in the Philippines)
Adjunct Assistant Professor
Agricultural Economics

Staff List 6

Marvin Miracle
Professor
Agricultural Economics

John Murdock
Professor, Soil Science
Associate Director, International Agricultural Programs

Kenneth Parsons
Professor Emeritus
Agricultural Economics

Raymond Penn
Professor Emeritus
Agricultural Economics and Institute for Environmental Studies

John S rasma
Professor
Economics and Agricultural Economics

William Thiesenhusen
Professor
Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism

Eugene Wilkening
Professor
Rural Sociology and Institute for Environmental Studies

College of Letters and Science

Joseph Elder
Professor
Sociology and South Asian Studies

Donald Emmerson
Associate Professor
Political Science

Robert Frykenberg
Professor
History and South Asian Studies

Henry Hart
Professor
Political Science, South Asian Studies,
and Water Resources Center

Kemal Karpat
Professor, History
Chairman, Middle East Studies

Staff List 7

Law

Joseph Thome
Professor, Law

International Studies and Programs

David Johnson, Dean
International Studies and Programs

Associated Faculty

Fritz Albert
Professor
Agricultural Journalism

Carl Bögholt
Professor Emeritus
Philosophy

Executive Committee

Agricultural and Life Sciences:	Professor Marion Brown
	Professor Peter Dorner
	Professor Don Kanel
	Professor Bryant Kearn
	Professor John Murdock
	Professor William Thiesenhusen
Letters and Science:	Professor Henry Hart
Law:	Professor Joseph Thome

Administrative and Staff Personnel

*J. Dolores Austin, Publications and Seminar Assistant
Teresa Anderson, Librarian
Jane Dennis, Technical Typist
*Bonnie Engelke, Typist and Receptionist
*Glenna Erickson, Stenographer-Receptionist
Donald Esser, Administrative Assistant

*Part-year

Staff List 8

Dr. Jane Knowles, Editor and Executive Assistant
Charlotte Lott, Assistant Librarian
Patricia Frye, Library Secretary/Acquisitions
Barbara Rhem, Student Program Specialist
Julia Schwenn, Program Coordinator

IV. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

SECTION A: EXPANDING KNOWLEDGE

The primary function of the Land Tenure Center is to expand knowledge on a wide range of subjects under the general topics of agrarian reform, rural poverty, community development, and related institutional change. The basic research on which this is based is carried out by staff, graduate fellows, and associates working in a variety of interdisciplinary combinations. Nongrant monies have provided most of the support for Center research for the last several years; however, the 211(d) grant has been crucial to the maintenance of the Center's core program, without which these extra funds would not have been forthcoming.

Focused Research Program

Research funded by grant monies concentrated on the set of topics agreed upon by LTC and AID during the previous reporting year. These topics are as follows.

Topic 1: Monitoring Land Reform Experience

The Center will collect library materials; maintain sources of secondary information; work with officials, universities, staff members, and students in developing countries; and carry out some field research on land reform experiences in developing countries. Special emphasis will be placed on the Philippines, Chile, Turkey, Ethiopia, Venezuela, and Sri Lanka.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure Systems and Development

Research in this area will focus upon the relationships between tenure systems and technological innovation, population density, and the structure of rural opportunities. Country emphases will include Philippines, India, Pakistan, Chile, and Turkey.

Topic 3: Group Farming

Part of the emphasis in this area will be international--evaluation of the economic and social results of group farming experiments and of the arguments used by governments to justify their support of group

Section A 2

farming. Country emphases for other aspects of research include problems of incentive structures, management of group farms, and the potential for group farms as a means of employing landless laborers. Country studies are underway in South Korea and El Salvador.

Topic 4: Peasant Participation

This research category includes the situation and role of small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers, and landless workers before and after land reform; cultural and economic factors related to peasant participation; and the role of farm organizations in helping small farmers.

Topic 5: Legal Aspects of Land Reform and Rural Development

Research in this area will focus on the access of the rural poor to the state or public allocation of goods and services, and on the legal aspects of expropriation in the Chilean land reform, 1962-70. Geographical emphasis is Latin America.

State-of-the-Arts Papers

In 1975-76 a major research effort was devoted to preparing first drafts of a set of these papers; they were fully described in last year's Annual Report. During this reporting year, two publications were developed out of these papers.

Land Tenure and Agricultural Development, by Ralph W. Cummings, Jr., International Agricultural Development Service and Staff of the Land Tenure Center.

This paper is an attempt by its authors to distill the longer State-of-the-Arts Papers into a short (ca. 40 pp.), simple statement of the issues which might be of use to a variety of individuals interested in the relationships of tenure systems and agricultural development. It will be published in the coming year by both the International Agricultural Development Service and the Land Tenure Center. Its conclusions are paraphrased below.

* * * * *

Land tenure is central in determining who benefits from any increases in productivity. Land is the essential ingredient in rural life. It influences the amount of a farmer's production. It also influences his status in the community. Together, wealth and status go a long way to establishing his contribution to as well as claims on society.

Evidence across nations in the past and even today suggests that rising agricultural productivity may be possible under a variety of land tenure conditions. However, a relatively equitable land tenure system is a prerequisite to insuring broad participation of the rural population in the economic and political process of a country.

Where decreases in productivity or capital formation have occurred with land reform programs, this usually has been the result of a failure to also reform the service institutions which provide credit, fertilizer, technical information, and marketing. There are substantially different requirements for these organizations to effectively support many small producers as compared to a few large farmers. Land reform, narrowly conceived as the transfer of land ownership from large holders to small holders, or from non-tilling landlords to the actual tillers of the soil, by itself offers most rural societies no guarantee of subsistence, equity, growth, or progress toward modernity. In order to achieve any of these values, land reform must be accompanied by agrarian reform, defined as the creation of the physical and institutional infrastructure necessary for small holders to maintain themselves. This infrastructure includes irrigation, transport, communications, credit facilities, education, markets and access to markets, access to fertilizer and seeds, and the like.

Section A 4

In a broader perspective, even successful land reform and agrarian reform will fail to achieve their target values unless these reforms are integrated into a larger program of modernization of the entire economy.

Reaching the Poor and the Poorest: A Goal Unmet, by William C. Thiesenhusen.

During this reporting year, this State-of-the-Arts Paper was accepted for publication in International Perspectives in Rural Sociology, ed. Howard Newby (forthcoming, John Wiley). It is very briefly summarized below (see the Center's 1975-76 Annual Report for a fuller description of its contents).

* * * * *

We know that most countries require a land reform early in their development effort, followed by programs which deliver inputs that will increase the ability of beneficiaries to be more productive. Because of land scarcity these programs will, in the context of contemporary reform laws, reach the "upper poor." Others who cannot be reached in this manner must be employed through agro-industries and infrastructure development. Intermediate technology must be encouraged, and a proper climate for peasant organization and cooperatives must be fostered. But because of the magnitude of the problem, it is likely that a substantial group of poor will be left behind, even given the most favorable of conditions. Some of these can be helped only through income transfers; there will never be another way to incorporate them into society. We are left, ultimately, with these types of concerns: How can meaningful income transfers to the unemployables be implemented? How can the numerically rapidly growing groups that are not affected by liberal reforms, job creation, collective action, or income transfer be reached? And how can technology be adapted or created to accommodate more "employables"?

Grant Supported Faculty Research

Faculty efforts during this reporting year were heavily concentrated on preparations for the International Seminar. For Professor Parsons in particular this involved lengthy reviews of country experiences and identification of issues for future consideration arising out of these experiences; his conclusions were presented to Seminar participants invited by the Land Tenure Center as guidance for their preparation of Seminar papers. Professors Kanel, Thiesenhusen, Brown, and Dorner were also involved in these efforts, and in the agenda planning sessions.

Professor Kanel was also heavily involved in preparations for a conference on cooperatives to be held in the next reporting year. He is preparing a major paper for presentation to that conference, which will be covered fully in the next Annual Report.

Professors Brown, Dorner, Thiesenhusen, and Thome also carried out research described below.

Current Development Patterns in Latin America with Special Reference to Agrarian Policy, by William C. Thiesenhusen.

The beginning of the last quarter of the twentieth century sees Latin America changed but hardly transformed from the century at mid-point. Those who predicted cataclysmic, widespread revolution have been disappointed or at least incorrect. But those who forecast that the Latin America of the late 1970s would be no different from that of the mid-1950s have likewise been proved wrong. Casual observers of the Latin American scene are astonished by what appears to be social and political fragility; those who study long-term trends, by resilience and adaptability.

In the main, the elites of the sub-continent have been evolving slowly such that many of those with power or at least riches twenty-five years ago have, by and large, not been stripped of those trappings today.

What has changed Latin America lately has not been invading forces or even civil uprisings that have the potential for sparking more widespread strife, but industrialization and the forces of modernization attendant upon it. Elites have attempted to maintain their wealth and status not by battle, but by subtle adaptation to the inevitable spread of industrialization and the locus therein of the sub-continent's economic growth points. One obvious mechanism by which such accommodation has occurred, upon which many varying themes are played, is that agricultural elites have bought into urban property. In some cases this has brought the sons of former agricultural gentry into the urban elite. As such they have latched onto some of the dynamic elements found in manufacturing or its attendant technology or commerce, established themselves or reaffirmed their positions in exporting, and/or allied themselves with strong foreign elements.

Section A 6

What is important and unacceptable in the economic pattern that has emerged is that in Latin America today there is still little upward mobility in the system, if by that is meant opportunity for those at the bottom of the socio-economic structure to rise to responsible positions in strata above them. And because of the astounding rate of population growth since World War II there are probably more poor and illiterate in Latin America now than at mid-century.

If there has been no evolution or revolution, there certainly has been social alteration. Most of this change relates in one way or another to the uneasy reality that income-distribution patterns--regional, country, family, sectoral, etc.--seem to be becoming more unequal. While income concentration and regional divergence have been common historically in countries going through early industrialization, these trends seem to be so long standing in Latin America that it is doubtful whether they are a necessary condition for industrialization.

In the rural sector of Latin America, perhaps the most telling indicator of transformation there would be the "extent to which countries have instituted agrarian reforms." With the exception of Cuba, they have promulgated change but hardly transformation. In Mexico and Bolivia revolutions occurred so long ago that they have been on a status quo or, some say, a reverse track for years; Chile was on its way to radical change and was stopped by the current military government; Brazil and Paraguay had always been content to deal with the problem through colonization. Peru's accomplishments have not been very widespread in the campesino sector, though, it's true the oligarchs who ruled by their control of land no longer have that option.

The land tenure system of Latin America is still characterized by the co-existence of latifundia and minifundia and masses of landless labor.

In 1965 it was estimated that about 94 percent of the total arable land in Latin America was owned by 7 percent of the landholders. Since that time, populist governments have come and gone, the Alliance for Progress spurned strongly reformist pronouncements (some stemming from a fear of "another Cuba"), the plight of the poor in Latin America came to be recognized as a serious and intransigent problem by international lending and assistance agencies (especially in the early 1970s), campesino groups have spoken out for their rights, and traditionally conservative institutions in the region--parts of the military and the Church--have seen the need for some change. This interest seems to spring from the existential situation:

(1) The population of the region is about 318 million now, it will probably reach 435 million in 1985, and 135 million will still depend on agriculture. Already 20 percent of the population suffer from serious malnutrition and rural underemployment is so large that nobody knows whose grim figures to believe. Industrial growth and growth of the service sector, while more rapid than agriculture, are not proceeding at a fast enough pace to absorb the excess urban population; hence it is unrealistic to assume they will be able to absorb excess rural population.

Section A 7

(2) Services to farming areas--schools, health care, sanitation, etc.--are outstripped by new demands placed on them both by the increased population and by greater expectations.

(3) Technological innovations--tractors, farm implements, etc.--are being adopted in agriculture to raise production with little attention to what their use might mean in terms of increased unemployment, displacement of minifundios, and rural-to-urban migration.

(4) The communications between the masses who aspire to a better life and the rising middle class in Latin America and the United States are increasing with the electronic and print media.

In the wake of the foregoing, it is rather surprising that with few exceptions, the land tenure structure today remains pretty much what it was in 1965.

The reason why so little has been accomplished is that the real power structure in most countries of the region has changed little in the past several decades. Therefore, the elite has been able to write laws--even agrarian reform laws--which obfuscate the real issues, and:

(1) Diffuse calls for reform with such techniques as "planned colonization" of the frontiers or other marginal areas. These programs tend to be expensive on a per settler basis, to attract wide publicity (such that some would-be reformers are mollified into believing that the government is "doing something"), and largely to fail in that participants default on loans, return to old communities, and/or sell the plot they cleared to a nearby rich neighbor.

(2) Discourage campesino organizations which would act as pressure groups.

(3) Monopolize services, marketing channels, educational facilities, credit, etc.--even communication with the world outside the immediate locality.

(4) Channel new technology to its own use, at times threatening the rural poor with loss of jobs.

(5) Deflect demands for change with promises and small concessions.

(6) Engage in outright and brutal repression.

Examining the indicators and trends does not leave us filled with optimism on the future of the poor--especially the rural poor--in Latin America over the next decade or so. And since so many are poor, how will the middle classes be able to sustain impetus in economic growth with such a limited market for goods they manufacture and such a limited export market?

There are several possibilities, but the most probable is that scattered uprisings will be quickly put down, alliances between labor

(including the agricultural poor) and intellectuals which might push for change will be discouraged by a variety of techniques, the Church will speak out more forcefully against flagrant cases of the denial of civil rights by those in power, some industrialists will see some advantage to a modicum of relief programs for the poor since that will mean widening their markets. But this will happen slowly, sometimes imperceptibly to outside observers.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure Systems and Development

* * * * *

Hill Land Farming: An International Dimension, by William C. Thiesenhusen.

Given the fact that more of the world is hilly than flat, it is rather remarkable that little direct attention has been given to the economics of hillside agriculture. That this will not be true over the long run is probably due to a number of interrelated reasons:

(1) Population has been growing so rapidly that it necessitates the use of severely sloping land in some countries. Every ecological area seems to have its own problem related to soil conservation. In some countries of East Asia, where population is particularly dense, the art of terracing developed with the growth of that population. In nations where population was not so dense, there was always another hill to move to, so that a conservation ethic did not develop. With the decline of the Inc^a Empire and the drop in Indian population in the Andes, the art of terracing was lost in the New World. In part of Nepal, terraces are now extremely necessary, but many have been constructed with an outward and not an inward slope, so the monsoon deluges weaken them more each year. And terracing isn't always the answer.

(2) Shifting cultivation (usually considered the most primitive kind of agriculture, but the type many observers feel conserves energy best) seems to be becoming more destructive. This is often also related to the population issue; fallow periods become shorter because the land must support more people.

(3) While everyone knows of the danger posed to human life and property by a flash flood, only recently have we come to recognize other close interconnections between the highlands and the valleys. In some cases, a benign moisture flow may carry needed minerals to the valley floor. But if the highlands are denuded by improper management, a much greater percentage of the precipitation runs off, carrying soil particles along. This can render fertile valleys unproductive by covering them with such materials as sand and gravel and creating meandering riverbeds. If upland moisture reserves dry up in the hills and mountains, there won't be enough humidity and groundwater in the valleys.

(4) Closely related to the former point is the explicit problem of the disappearing forest, which not only is relied upon to hold upland soils in place, but to maintain the hydrological cycle intact and provide

lumber and firewood. Once tree cover is cut, average temperatures in the area may rise and already arid soils not far distant may become deserts.

(5) Land reforms are becoming somewhat more commonplace than previously and can be expected to open up more land which once was tied up in large estates. Where peasants could gather only firewood before, they are in some areas able now to have small farms of their own and cultivate them pretty much as they see fit.

With land reform must come some basic ideas of conservation.

The emphasis of most research on hillside farming is on new technical information that will help save the hillsides; this is to be applauded. But what may well be even more important for millions of the world's peasants--the bulk of those who are engaged in agriculture in all less developed countries--is using what is now known about soil conservation. And what is now known and what is yet to be discovered will not be applied if the social, political, and economic organization is not appropriate for the task. From this observation one could extrapolate many policy implications, but I will list only five:

(1) If the legal framework were in place to assure a tenant who invests in terraces, contours, or forests that he could retain the land after certain minimal conservation standards were met (or at the very least that he could retain it for the number of years required to attain a respectable rate of return--which would probably have to be the lifetime of the cultivator), he might do so.

(2) If hillside squatters' tenure rights could be made secure, they might be more apt than otherwise to attempt conservation practices.

(3) If hillside-farmer organizations could be set up, conservation and grass-roots leadership potential could be developed if incentives were provided. Of course, governments will also have to be committed, at the very least, to providing subsistence for workers while they are constructing terraces or planting trees.

(4) If soil conservation techniques were made as important as the seeds and fertilizer that are available as part of the package of inputs that follow up a land reform, steeper gradients might be saved.

(5) If zoning procedures could be set up so that industry and transportation systems would have to use the unproductive hillsides and the basins were reserved for agriculture, several generations of time might be bought to allow for the rapid rate of population growth to be curtailed.

A certain amount of government intervention and even subsidy would be involved, since short-term private establishment costs would be raised over what they might be otherwise, in exchange for long-term benefits to the nation.

The price of negligence is desolation of both hillsides and valleys, increased influx into the already glutted cities, and human degradation

and starvation. In controlling the contemporary over-rapid population growth and rationalizing the presently chaotic way in which available land is used, the ultimate problem with which humanity must deal is how to achieve an appropriate balance between man and land.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure Systems and Development

* * * * *

Professor Peter Dorner engaged in two collaborative research efforts with a graduate fellow, and one independent effort.

The Informal Sector in Less Developed Countries, with Paul Crawford.

Under Dorner's supervision and with his assistance Crawford did a literature search and produced an 88-page paper, entitled "The Informal Sector in Less Developed Countries." A wide range of literature was reviewed--economic, sociological, anthropological. The "informal sector"--those local economic activities characterized by*: (a) ease of entry; (b) reliance on indigenous resources; (c) family ownership of enterprises; (d) small scale of operation; (e) labor-intensive and adapted technology; (f) skills acquired outside the formal school system; and (g) unregulated and competitive markets--is being recognized as an important area with great potential for employment creation among the lower income strata in both rural and urban areas. Crawford's report summarizes and provides some interpretation of the literature dealing with the many and diverse aspects of this "sub-sector."

Crop Insurance in Developing Countries, with Paul Crawford.

During this reporting year Crawford and Dorner corresponded with many people throughout the world who had done some research or writing on crop insurance. The experiences in a large number of countries were reviewed. Several hundred documents were received and reviewed. This collection is now available in the Land Tenure Center Library. From this emerged a Master's thesis by Crawford which can be considered unique in the sense that nowhere has so much literature and experience with crop insurance been brought together in one publication. The attempt was to assess crop insurance programs under a wide range of conditions to see whether or not there was a major prospect in crop insurance for reducing risk (especially of small farmers) and thereby leading to accelerated adoption of new technology. Crawford dealt with these questions both theoretically and empirically. This synthesis and theoretical contribution are a major advance in an important area of work.

*Eric Thorbecke, in "The Employment Problem: A Critical Evaluation of Four ILO Comprehensive Country Reports," International Labour Review (May 1973).

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Transformation of U.S. Agriculture: The Past Forty Years, by Peter Dorner (Paper to be presented to the International Seminar).

This paper provides a review of the very rapid changes that have occurred in the structure of U.S. farming since the 1930s, the two basic sources of economies of scale (mechanization and shifting functions to the industrial sector), and the implications for future developments in U.S. farming as well as the major problems to be anticipated should land- and capital-scarce economies with abundant labor try to follow the U.S. path of agricultural development.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure Systems and Development

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Transforming Haciendas into Group Farms: An Attempt to Generalize from the Chilean Experience, by Marion R. Brown (Paper to be presented to the International Seminar).

Fifteen years ago scholars and policy-makers concerned with Latin America's land tenure system were in fairly general agreement about at least two things:

(1) It consisted of something called a latifundia-minifundia complex, which wasn't really very complex at all, but a rather simple symbiotic (though antagonistic) co-existence of very large and very small farming enterprises.

(2) It was not performing well in either economic or social terms and ought to be changed.

Traditional arrangements varied from country to country, depending on, among other things, how much of the indigenous population survived the conquest. But by and large the pattern was similar: rural areas were dominated by very large, extensively exploited estates with substantial numbers of permanent resident workers who divided their time between the enterprise directly managed by the landowner and their allotted "internal minifundias." These estates also had ready access to an even larger and rapidly growing supply of seasonal labor on the "external minifundia" and in the migrant stream.

By the early 1960s this system was almost universally characterized as dysfunctional and unproductive, and one form or another of agrarian transformation was being called for in nearly every country in Latin America.

Debates about what sort of transformation should be sought revolved around three basic and quite distinct strategies:

(1) Modernization--a green revolution without deliberate tenure reform.

(2) Parcelization--subdivision of the large estates to create peasant family farms.

(3) Collectivization--transformation of the large private estates into production cooperatives, or group farms of one type or another.

In the past decade and a half, all three of these strategies have been followed to some degree in many countries. Some have experimented with all three simultaneously or sequentially, and there has been a good deal of change.

My purpose is to make some rough comparative assertions about the results of these three competing strategies. More specifically, it is to examine the evidence which seems to favor the third alternative: group farming.

Most of my experience has been in one country--Chile--and most of the empirical evidence and illustrations that I have to offer are based on that experience. However, I am convinced that what I have to say could apply generally, not only in Latin America, but in other regions where relatively labor-intensive manorial and/or plantation agriculture still predominates.

My basic argument is that traditional haciendas, manorial estates, and plantations are "natural" or "latent" production cooperatives. That is to say, in their pre-commercial phase, while they still have large resident labor forces, "haciendas" satisfy many of the pre-conditions of successful cooperative ownership and operation.

In adopting this view, I am, in effect, responding to questions raised by my colleagues, Professors Dorner and Kanel, who emphasize the difficulties which arise when campesinos are asked to take on the dual role of worker and manager. As Dorner and Kanel put it:

"Even with supportive action of state agencies, primary problems of group farming will be those of effective internal organization and of member commitment and morale. It is a delusion to expect that group farms have such obvious benefits to members or such decisive economic advantages to make it possible to overcome easily the organizational problems. These organizational problems are largely due to ambiguities in roles of both managers and members of group farms. Members are supposed to be both workers and participants in policy-making; managers are supposed to supervise the workers and at the same time to be responsible to them.

"A common outcome of this dilemma is ineffective management on the one hand and poor work discipline and absence of

effective participation in policy-making by the members on the other."¹

Dorner and Kanel, and others, point out that successful avoidance of a "we-they" split between workers and managers has rarely been achieved, citing only the Hutterite colonies of North America, the Kibbutz of Israel, and the Chinese communes as successful examples. Quoting again:

"In a majority of cases cooperative farms in the Third World will differ from the Hutterite and Kibbutz commune model in several important respects: (1) the identity of interests between members and leaders is likely to be less because managers are more likely to be outsiders and are more likely to differ from membership in training and background; (2) while in some cases the members may have constituted a social community prior to the formation of the group farm, they would not have evolved a structure of community behavior patterns and community leadership for dealing with the kinds of issues which must be decided in group farms; the necessity of acting as a group on issues of cooperative farming is likely to be imposed or at least has to be learned; and (3) for all of the above reasons a considerable gulf is likely to exist between managers and members, and member participation in group decisions will be difficult to achieve."²

A 1972 study of 31 Chilean production cooperatives ("asentamientos") suggests that perhaps they should be added to Dorner and Kanel's short list of successful worker-managed enterprises, or at least that they should be categorized as "relatively successful" in dealing with the organizational issues which they raise.

On the first point, the "effective" managers of the coops were not outsiders, but rather members of the groups. In a few cases where traditional supervisory personnel remained neutral, or sided with the campesinos in strikes or other conflicts, they continued in their customary managerial roles. More typically, union leaders, who had led successful struggles with the landlords and negotiated with the government during the expropriation phase, simply took over the management of the farm.

On the second and third points, the asentamientos were not only a social group, but in many cases a political community with clearly defined mechanisms for collective decision-making, including election and dismissal of leaders. We measured participation in decisions affecting

1. Peter Dorner and Don Kanel, "Introduction: Some Economic and Administrative Issues in Group Farming," in Cooperative and Commune: Group Farming in the Economic Development of Agriculture, ed. Dorner (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), p. 8.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

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allocation of resources. The most visible form of participation was attendance at meetings. Respondents were asked whether they attended meetings on four management issues: (1) how to use the collectively managed land, (2) whether to purchase new machinery, (3) how much land to set aside from the collective for private plots (raciones), and (4) whether to admit new families to the enterprise.

In general, attendance tended to be higher on farms with long histories of union experience. Perhaps most importantly, attendance was consistently higher on "older" asentamientos than on newer ones. This suggests that the members gradually take on fuller decision-making roles over time rather than opting out after the first year and leaving it to the managers.

There were other indicators that the asentamientos were doing rather well with worker-managers:

(a) Economic performance and employment were both slightly better in 1972 than they had been in 1966 when the farms were still in private hands.³

(b) Campesino satisfaction with, and preference for, collective management (as opposed to parcelization) appeared to be increasing over time. Of more than 1,200 campesinos interviewed on all types of farms (private and reformed), more than half (53 percent) expressed a clear preference for cooperative ownership, and another 6 percent were undecided. In the reformed sector, the proportion was 60-40 in favor of collectivization, compared with 54-46 against on private farms. Again, union membership seemed to have an influence. On private farms with a union, the percentage was 57 percent. On those where there had been a strike, it was 62 percent. These findings suggest that the peasants' "natural" preferences for individual parcels may be more imagined than real. However, it must be noted that this study dealt only with maintenance of the original hacienda as a group farm. Attitudes toward "total" collectivization or creation of state farms were clearly negative.⁴

(c) Attitudes toward work appeared to be becoming more positive. Nearly 80 percent perceive of themselves as working harder after the reform than they did before; 96 percent perceived work loads to be

3. Stephen M. Smith, David Stanfield, and Marion Brown, "Some Consequences for Production and Factor Use of the Chilean Agrarian Reform," LTC Newsletter, No. 46 (October-December 1974), pp. 6-18.

4. Francisca Rosene García-Huidobro, "Attitudes Toward Collectivization Held by Chilean Campesinos," LTC Newsletter, No. 51 (January-March 1976), pp. 16-24 (based on the author's M.S. thesis, "Peasants' Position in the Agrarian Reform Collectives of Chile," Dept. of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975).

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equal working on the asentamiento compared to only 54 percent in the private sector.⁵

(d) Perceptions of income equality were also high. Again, 95 percent of the respondents in the reform sector responded that income was equally distributed among all members.⁶

Having dwelt on the advantages and viability of ex-haciendas as group farms, it would be unfair not to note, at least in passing, some disadvantages and apparent limitations.

Perhaps the biggest "problem" with the strategy of transforming intact haciendas into group farms is a macro-political one: it systematically demobilizes the most politically active sector of the peasantry. Reformers must simultaneously develop new political alliances if they are to continue in power and/or to push successfully for extension of the reform beyond the traditional hacienda sector.

A second difficulty is the so-called "new class phenomenon." The beneficiaries increase their levels of consumption markedly and are reluctant to share the benefits of the reform with "outsiders." The same sense of community and cohesiveness which makes the group functional as a production cooperative works against the broader goals of capturing farm surplus for urban markets and incorporating the entire rural population into the new agrarian structure. Typically, this strategy benefits one-third of the eligible peasant population, and the other two-thirds are usually dispersed and/or migratory which makes it difficult for them to organize themselves into effective political groups.

The question of whether making haciendas into group farms is a "step in the right direction," or a cul de sac which eventually stops the reform process, is one that remains to be answered. Both the advantages and the disadvantages were apparent in the Chilean experiment (as they are now in the Peruvian and Portuguese efforts). Overcoming the disadvantages would have required a continuation of the democratic process to allow new alliances to form and non-beneficiaries to organize. The "privatization" policies of the present Chilean government are not based on demonstrated failures of earlier policies, but rather on an ideological preference for the modernization and parcelization strategies mentioned earlier. It is to be hoped that the present experiments will be open to scrutiny and analysis, and that their relative successes and failures can be objectively documented.

Topic 3: Group Farming

5. Edward B. Nelson, "Agrarian Reform and Peasant Differentiation in Chile's Central Valley: 1970-71" (M.S. thesis, Dept. of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976), p. 62.

6. Ibid., pp. 63-66.

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Law, Conflict and Social Change: The Allende Agrarian Reform (Chile 1970-1973), by Joseph R. Thome.

The process of agrarian reform during the Popular Unity Government was conflictive and political. On the one hand, groups on the right bitterly attacked it for allegedly creating a chaotic situation in the rural sectors as reflected by land invasions, government interventions in rural estates, a reduction in production and an increase in agricultural imports, the inefficiency of the bureaucracy, and the abandonment of many expropriated lands, etc. On the other hand, groups on the left also criticized the process, sometimes using the same evidence cited by the right as the basis of charges that the agrarian reform process was counter-revolutionary and left intact the structural base of capitalist production in Chile. One of the most severe critiques from the left argued that the dynamics of the process did not correspond to the original plans, objectives, and goals of the Popular Unity Government. According to this critique, the agrarian reform during the Popular Unity Government started out with different political and strategic goals from other governments or processes, but its execution was virtually indistinguishable from prior agrarian reform programs.

Many of these critiques had a basis, though they tended to be somewhat exaggerated. However, even evaluations fundamentally favorable to the government have indicated various defects and problems with the process. There were problems concerning agricultural production and rural unemployment; the new types of land settlements were not meeting their objectives; and agricultural planning was far from effective.

Government officials were conscious of these problems and had the intention of correcting them. But it is clear that it is not sufficient to decree the changes that are desired: this is a very complex process, subject to diverse forces and factors, all inter-related, even though at times contradictory, and over which the government had only a limited control.

Perhaps the government's initial premises were simply incorrect. The Unidad Popular Government had made a commitment to implement its program within the pre-existing legal-institutional framework. In the Chilean context, this framework could apparently play a dual role. While it channeled or restricted state action, it seemed to have the flexibility and to provide the necessary instruments to allow the Popular Unity Government to approximate its programmatic goal of initiating a transition toward socialism. But these legal channels and instruments proved in the last instance to represent obstacles and constraints to the attainment of these goals. The product, for the most part, of a liberal-capitalist value system, this legal framework has been elaborated to reach goals sometimes superficially similar but inherently very different from the goals of the Popular Unity Government.

The agrarian reform policy and strategy of the Popular Unity Government, as indeed all of its programs, suffered defects and breakdowns for which the government could blame only itself. But the inherited legal framework and the dynamics of the social struggle represented factors largely free of government control and which imposed their own pattern, as it were, on the process of agrarian reform. Given these limitations, the Popular Unity Government probably advanced as far as it could toward its agrarian reform objectives. And it is unlikely that it could have implanted a process much different than it did.

Topic 5: Legal Aspects of Land Reform and Rural Development

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Access of the Latin American Rural Poor to the Public Allocation of Goods and Services, by Joseph R. Thome.

This paper attempts to examine some of the constraints faced by the rural poor of Latin America in gaining access to public or semi-public programs or institutions charged with the allocation and regulation of goods and services. In addition to analyzing the nature and source of these constraints, the paper also examines some of the reactions of the rural poor to situations where "access" was severely limited or difficult.

There are two main categories of constraints to access: (1) those that arise from the socio-economic structure; and (2) those that arise from the legal-institutional structure. At least within the Latin American context, the first category is the more important. The rural social structure tends to be dominated by powerful farmers' associations which are controlled by the landed elite and which assume, by their own right, the representation of all the rural sectors. A prime example is the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultores in Chile. Neglecting this reality by concentrating access studies on the problems arising from or within the legal-institutional structure--the "organizational connection" problems--can result in a misdirected focus on subsidiary or symptomatic problems.

This is not to say that an "access" approach is not a useful one. Provided we clearly keep in mind that we are looking at only part of the whole picture, access studies can provide a better understanding of the process and problem of social change by institutional means. Such studies, for example, can help to pinpoint and analyze constraints which make difficult the access of would-be beneficiaries to supposed redistribution programs, including the specific techniques used by the landlords to prevent or obstruct such access, the effects of such constraints on the perceptions and behavior of the rural poor, and the conditions or elements which appear to be necessary to neutralize or overcome such constraints. Within this context, there are situations where the "organization connection" constraints may constitute the major obstacle to access. That is, there are cases where the central government has the will and the resources to carry such programs, but where the legal or institutional framework is inadequate or inefficient due to problems with the enabling

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legislation, or the regulations, or the administrative process and organization. Bolivia appears to be such a case.

One must also be cognizant of the problem of the reactions by the potential beneficiaries or target groups to situations where their access to the public allocation of goods and services was severely curtailed. Most reactions would probably fall within one of the following categories⁷

(1) Ignoring the institutional service through:

- (a) "exit," such as migrating to the cities;
- (b) "passivity," which may be a disguised hostility;
- (c) devising their own alternative. In Bolivia, for example, many campesinos, tired of waiting for the titles from the state for the land they had received as part of the land reform process, began to purchase "titles" from the former owners. And in certain rural areas of Colombia, peasant landowners without access to notarial offices and property registries devised their own "legal" techniques for transferring titles, such as having the local tax office certify the transfer.

(2) Working within the system, such as:

- (a) appeal or review procedures;
- (b) party or union mobilization or lobbying or pressure;
- (c) legal strikes or other legal manifestations.

(3) Militant reactions:

- (a) illegal strikes or riots;
- (b) land invasions;
- (c) insurrection or guerrilla warfare.

It has not been possible in this paper to consider some of the conditions or elements which would appear to be necessary to overcome or neutralize the access constraints. This is, of course, a vast problem area which under one perspective or another has engaged the attention of all academics and policy-makers interested in the process of social change and development. It would seem, however, that removing the socio-economic constraints will require precipitating forces from the outside to serve as detonating forces or as catalysts.

That we must always clearly keep in sight the socio-economic and political context within which we operate bears repetition time and time again. But within this context, perhaps our functions as lawyers should be limited to an instrumental analysis of the various technical, administrative, and legal problems that can vitally affect the scope and efficiency of redistributive policies and programs. Paraphrasing Dewey, our ends are often determined by the means.

Topic 5: Legal Aspects of Land Reform and Rural Development

Grant Supported Research by Graduate Fellows

Three of the graduate fellows who received grant support during this reporting year were asked to monitor the progress of land reform; for two of them (Ledesma and Fernando) monitoring was their main task; for the other (Cox) it was secondary to the main research interests since he was conducting other field research as well. The results of their efforts are abstracted below. Fuller reports may be found in LTC Research Papers by Ledesma (No. 69, published in November 1976), Cox and Fernando (both forthcoming in late 1977).

Graduate fellows also carried out research on other focused research topics, as described below.

Land Reform in the Philippines, by Antonio J. Ledesma

Background: The current agrarian reform program was initiated by Presidential Decree No. 27 in October 1972, one month after the declaration of martial law. Under P.D. 27, tenant-tillers of private agricultural lands devoted to rice and corn were deemed owners of the land they till, not exceeding 3 hectares if irrigated and 5 hectares if not irrigated. Pursuant to this Decree, Operation Land Transfer (OLT) was launched during the latter months of 1972, starting in seventeen pilot municipalities all over the country.

The original premise for OLT was zero retention for noncultivating landowners. However, by mid-1973, opposition to OLT implementation became more articulated, particularly among small landowners. As eventually implemented in the succeeding years, OLT has moved up from zero retention for landowners to 24 hectares and down again to 7 hectares.

Under the present dispensation, landowners of 7 hectares or less may retain ownership of their lands, while tenants on these lands may not be evicted and should shift from share tenancy to leasehold. Thus, Operation Leasehold (LHO) was born to cover these "permanent" lessees on small landlords' rice and corn lands.

Under the current program scope of the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR), the following breakdown of hectares, tenant-families, and landowners is listed under OLT and LHO operations. (See Table 1, p. A-20.)

It is important to note that the majority of projected agrarian reform beneficiaries (57 percent) can only become "permanent" lessees under LHO rather than amortizing owners under OLT. Likewise, nine out of ten rice and corn landowners have not been covered by OLT, but rather under LHO. For every landowner affected under OLT, 9.9 tenant-families would become amortizing owners, whereas, for every landowner included under LHO, only 1.4 tenants would become reform beneficiaries under leasehold. Furthermore, OLT tenant beneficiaries have an average landholding of 1.93 hectares, while LHO lessees have a smaller average holding of 1.27 hectares.

Table 1
Program Scope of Philippine Agrarian Reform

	Total	Land Transfer (over 7 has.) %		Leasehold (7 has. & below) %	
Hectares	1,422,988	759,015	53.3	663,973	46.7
Tenant-families	914,914	593,778	43.0	521,136	57.0
Landowners	410,679	39 550	9.6	371,129	90.4

SOURCE: Conrad Estrella, "Agrarian Reform in the New Society," Quezon City, 1974.

As of June 30, 1977, there were 242,846 tenant-recipients of Certificates of Land Transfer (CLT). This constitutes 62 percent of the program scope for CLT--six months after the original deadline for the completion of OLT activities, i.e., by the end of 1976. For the year 1977, DAR offices have shifted their focus to Operation Leasehold, particularly the registration of written leasehold contracts. At the same time, new OLT procedures are being introduced to systematize record-keeping and continue the further phases of the OLT program, particularly land valuation and the scheduling of amortization payments.

It is with this background in mind that several issues have arisen and been discussed in research studies.

I. Equity and OLT/LHO

A) Profile of Small Landowners

In Nicolas' study,¹ 50 percent of landlords whose lands have not yet been transferred (NYT) to tenant-tillers never had any farming experience. Furthermore, all the respondents (64 landlords) whose lands have already been transferred (AT) never tilled their lands.

This indicates that a sizable portion, if not the majority, of landlords have no claim to the land on the basis of a "land-to-the-tiller" principle. This is further reinforced by another finding from the same study that from 71-77 percent of landowners have occupations other than farming. Nicolas also notes that the proportion of landlord respondents employed in a government office was not insignificant: 16 percent of NYT landlords and 23 percent of AT landlords.

1. J. S. Nicolas, "Some Aspects of Operation Land Transfer," University of the Philippines at Los Baños, ca. 1974.

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Landowners in the study of Flores and Clemente² are sub-divided into owner-nonoperators and owner-operators. The owner-nonoperators had the largest average holdings (9.6 hectares), while owner-operators held an average of only 3.5 hectares. These are larger than the averages of the other tenure types: amortizing owners (3.15 has.), lease tenants (2.6 has.) and share tenants (2.28 has.).

In terms of average annual household income, owner-nonoperators again rated the highest among the tenure groups with P21,161 which is almost twice as much as the household income of the next tenure group, the "combinations" with P12,230.

Owner-operators averaged P11,549 which in its turn is also almost twice as much as the income of the next tenure group, the amortizing owners with P6,907. In the last two rankings, share tenants surprisingly averaged more household income (P6,282) than lease tenants (P5,961).

A nationwide survey of small landowners below 24 hectares was completed by the J. Walter Thompson Company in 1974. Interviewed were more than 2,000 landowners distributed in the ten regions of the Philippines. Among the principal questions answered by the study are the following:

- 1) What portion of total landlord income is derived from rents paid by agricultural tenants?
- 2) How many landlords are absentee, according to several criteria of absenteeism?
- 3) What status and sentimental attachments pertain to land ownership?
- 4) What modes of compensation for land are favored by landlords?
- 5) What disposition will probably be made of compensation payments, whether for consumption or investment?

Some of the more significant findings are:

A high majority (77 percent) of landowners reported they have other regular sources of income in addition to their income from their farm land.

Approximately one-fifth (21 percent) of the landowners reported that all of their total income was derived from their agricultural lands.

Out of the 2,018 respondents, 1,706 (85 percent) are not presently living on their own land.

2. T. G. Flores and F. A. Clemente, "Socio-Economic Profile of Tenants and Landlords/Landowners in the Philippines," University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1975.

Out of the 1,706 respondents who are not living on their own land, a high percentage (88 percent) reported that the distance of their houses from their nearest land is less than a kilometer.

A little over than three-fourths (77 percent) of all the respondents indicated that the price of 2.5 times the normal harvest was not a fair price for agricultural land.

When asked whether there is any way which the government can implement reform which will be fair to both landowner and tenant, more than one-half (57 percent) of the landowners answered yes, one fourth (25 percent) had no opinion, and 18 percent answered no.

B) Impact on LHO and OLT Beneficiaries:

Among the early studies on the impact of agrarian reform on lessees prior to PD 27, the village study of Takahashi³ and that of a subsequent visit to the same place a few years later (1972) represent a starting point. According to the writer, the kasama-lessee shift has resulted in marked improvements in levels of living, productivity, and, above all, in the attitudes of farmers toward their farms--a process that Takahashi calls 'peasantization.' An undesirable side-effect, however, of this process of peasantization is "the disintegration of the earlier type of village community," resulting in the increasing distinction between farmholders and nonholders - i.e., landless rural workers.

In this light, the impact of tenure change on the new lessees is positive; but the effects on marginal rural workers may be negative, unless new forms of cooperation are set up.

Takahashi's analysis has been questioned by other writers in that his study barrio may be an exceptional case due to certain factors like the presence of Taiwanese extension rice experts and the introduction of the high-yield varieties of rice during the interim period.

At any rate, more recent studies with a wider scope point out similar positive effects on reform beneficiaries. Nicolas' study notes a considerable increase in the net income and assets of Operation Land Transfer (OLT) tenant beneficiaries shortly after the receipt of their certificates of land transfer (CLT).

A more thorough study of the positive impact of tenure change on equity has been provided by the collaborative work of Mangahas, Miralao, and De los Reyes.⁴ One of their major conclusions is that tenure change

3. A. Takahashi, "The Philippines: Agrarian Reform Before and Under Martial Law," 1975.

4. H. Mangahas, V. A. Miralao, R. P. de los Reyes, "Tenants, Lessees, Owners: Welfare Implications of Tenure Change," Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1976.

does improve equity--principally because "the differences in farm income between various tenure groups are due mainly to the size differences in share rentals, lease rentals or amortizations which they pay" (p. 89).⁵ Furthermore, when off-farm sources are included, owner-cultivator households earn almost twice as much as lessees. However, share tenants, lessees, and amortizers are very much the same, on the average, in terms of productivity.

A micro study on the impact of OLT on individual families' case histories is provided by Montemayor⁵ in his description of three barrios in Nueva Ecija, the pilot province for agrarian reform implementation. The plight of selected leasehold tenants and landless agricultural workers is outlined in terms of very limited annual incomes, in contrast to the relatively more affluent situation of owner-operators.

In another province-wide study, Lynch has noted that "about half the rice farmers of Camarines Sur still identify themselves as share tenants," despite official statements to the contrary.⁶ He goes on to report what rice farmers in the province want according to their order of priority: better water management, more widespread land reform, and more nonfarm employment opportunities. Less interest is shown in such government-sponsored programs as electrification and family planning. Lynch adds that a near-consensus is discernible among all farmer-respondents in these expressed preferences.

Two ongoing research studies will investigate more explicitly the impact of OLT and LHO on its intended beneficiaries. One is being undertaken by the Institute of Philippine Culture--a resurvey of farmers in Plaridel, Bulacan, to evaluate socio-economic changes after eleven years of agrarian reform. The other study is being carried out by the Agrarian Reform Institute on CLT recipients and landowners affected by OLT.

Hopefully, these studies, when completed, will be able to provide some answers to emerging issues regarding the consequences of OLT: e.g., Do permanent agricultural lessees perceive more benefits than CLT recipients? Why do some tenants refuse their CLT's? Is equity the principal consideration for OLT? Can equity, in the practical order, be separated from the productivity goal of agrarian reform?

II Productivity and Tenure Change

The major study so far on the effects of tenure change on productivity is the multidisciplinary research carried out by Mangahas,

5. J. H. Montemayor, "Agrarian Reform Implementation: Experience and Problems," Occasional Paper No. 2, Agrarian Reform Institute, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1975.

6. F. Lynch, "What the Rice Farmers of Camarines Sur Say They Want From the Philippine Government," SSRU Research Report Series No. 1, 1973.

Miralao, and De los Reyes. Conducting surveys of Nueva Ecija farmers in 1972 and 1973, and comparing the findings with earlier data derived from BAEcon files, the study group arrived at its principal conclusion: tenure change per se does not raise productivity, i.e., the effect of land tenure on productivity is neutral. The authors argue that because of the high degree of overlap among tenure groups in their frequency polygons of palay yield, cost of material inputs, and total expenses, the reasons for increased productivity are the diffusion of new seeds, fertilizers, etc., rather than changes in land tenure. Thus, the authors conclude, "one should not expect mere changes in land tenure to raise the productivity of agriculture" (p. 87).

The interpretation of the IPC/BAEcon data are not in concurrence with the other studies conducted by a DAR Special Study Group and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics which generally point out significant increases in production and productivity in agrarian reform areas. However, both these studies also attribute major causes for the increases to the introduction of HYVs and other material inputs. Furthermore, these studies do not make a comparison of production outputs across tenure groups, so that it cannot be ascertained whether or not production increases occur only among reform beneficiaries, or, as the IPC study claims, simultaneously among all tenure groups.

On its part, the study of Mangahas et al. is restricted by its relatively short time frame for its data (from the late 1960s to 1973), resulting in a static analysis that may not be able to assess adequately the long-range effects of tenure change on productivity. It is also open to question whether tenure change per se can be operationally isolated from the impact of other factors such as technological changes in a package program that is precisely the content of the current agrarian reform program.

For instance, it is conceivable that landlords do wish to increase the productivity of their lands in order to achieve higher rentals or a higher land valuation for compensation purposes. Reform beneficiaries in their turn have the added incentives for increased productivity and income from tenure change. Both groups in average terms increase their production, but for opposite ends. Seen in aggregate figures alone, difference in motivation is not discernible, but in terms of desirable social effects, this difference may provide the rationale for agrarian reform. Furthermore, productivity may thus form the content of equity.

In this light, two intermediate-range views of the impact of agrarian reform have been suggested by Harkin: (1) that the total package of reforms including tenure change, shift from landlord to institutional credit, and cooperative marketing frequently does stimulate the farmers' demand for consumer goods, and, indirectly, productivity increases in crop production.⁷

7. D. A. Harkin, "Agrarian Reform in the Perspective of Three Years of Martial Law," USAID, Manila, 1975, p. 27.

Perhaps the proper question to pose, as suggested by Dr. Abelardo Samonte and the DAR Special Study Group is not "Does agrarian reform increase productivity," but rather "What should be done to assure increased productivity, given agrarian reform?" "Commitment to agrarian reform," agree all the writers, "does not depend on the harvest."⁸

Other recent studies related to productivity have been efforts to determine the economic family-size farm. Several variables have been suggested, such as amount of family labor, capital investment, level of technology, and welfare and equity considerations.

Another group of studies deals more specifically with the impact of HYVs and technological change on productivity, notably papers coming from the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI); and Gelia Castillo's synthesis of current literature centered on the new rice technology.

III Implementation of Agrarian Reform

A) Process of Agrarian Reform

Two full-length studies pertaining to the reform process came out in 1976, one on tenant and landlord grievances and resolving procedures, and the other on the communication behavior of farmers, landowners, and change agents.¹⁰

In the Reinoso study, the three grievances with the highest frequency among tenant-respondents were caused by the following: (1) landowners' insistence on high lease rentals; (2) outright dismissal of tenants; and (3) landowners' refusal to allow their tenants to shift from share tenancy to agricultural leasehold. A second object of the tenants' grievances is the Department of Agrarian Reform, particularly with regard to the delay in the distribution of Certificates of Land Transfer (CLT).

Landowners also have grievances against tenants, especially concerning the tenants' refusal to pay leasehold rental. The DAR has also been an object of landowner grievance because of its implementation of Operation Land Transfer, notably the nonenforcement of the retention limit of 7 hectares.

8. Department of Agrarian Reform, "Effects of the Agrarian Reform Program on Farm Productivity," Quezon City, 1974, p. 23.

9. "All In a Grain of Rice." Southeast Asia Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture, 1975.

10. H. N. Reinoso, N. C. Ganacias, and N. C. Jimenez, "An Analysis of Land Reform Grievances and Resolving Procedures," ARI-DAI, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1976; C. M. Mercado, et al., "Communication Study on Agrarian Reform," UPLB, 1976.

In resolving grievances, the DAR in its mediatory function was able to resolve tenants' grievances in a shorter period of time than those of landowners. "Tenants' grievances," conclude the authors, "are mostly directed against landowners and the persons involved in implementation, while landowners' grievances are mostly directed against the program itself."

The Mercado study deals with another aspect of the process of agrarian reform, that is, the communication behavior of farmers, landowners and change agents in agrarian reform areas, and their knowledge, attitude and behavior toward the program. Almost 2,000 respondents were randomly selected from 102 barrios distributed in the 10 regions of the country. Generally, a positive correlation was confirmed between greater personal contact, group contact, and mass media exposure on the one hand and the respondents' knowledge, more favorable attitude, and practice towards land reform.

For an action program to combat the respondents' lack of awareness regarding land reform problems, promises, accomplishments, and benefits, Mercado and his associates recommend "a comprehensive campaign strategy focused on the farmers' and landowners' information needs."

A third aspect of the agrarian reform process which has not been adequately studied is the question of land valuation. Alcahupas has pointed out some policy implications of the present system of accepting declared or imputed values of land which depend on the supply and demand situation and the landowners' attitude towards taxation.¹¹ In its stead, he proposes the degree of intensity of land use as a basis of tax assessments.

In general, however, there is lack of information on the actual manner being adopted by tenants, landlords, and change agents in arriving at an agreed valuation of the land. In this regard the actual functioning or malfunctioning of the Barrio Committees on Land Production (BCLP) would be a worthwhile topic for research. As of June 1977, there were 12,118 BCLPs organized throughout the country. However, the number of approved OLT valuation forms as submitted by these committees only reached 3,776 (31 percent of organized BCLPs).

B) Implementation of OLT

A recent study of problems besetting implementation of OLT has been provided by Jesus Berte's thesis research.¹² After pointing out

11. R. C. Alcahupas, "Land Valuation: Policy Implications on Agrarian Reform in the Philippines," Paper presented at the Second Agricultural Policy Conference, UPLB, July 10-12, 1975.

12. J. C. Berte, "Operation Land Transfer: Problems of Implementation," M.A. thesis, National Defense College of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1976.

problems of coordination, integration and communication among government agencies, the writer divides problems on OLT into substantive and procedural. Substantive problems relate to policy questions, such as the issue of retention rights for landlords. Procedural problems pertain to administrative and technical matters. Some illustrations are: the lack of a reliable OLT manual of operations, and the dearth of surveyors, lawyers, systems analysts, and field personnel for OLT data-gathering. A crucial problem which is both substantive and procedural is the non-promulgation of the Rules and Regulations implementing P.D. 27. Berte concludes that "the main point in OLT--emancipation of the tenant-tillers--tends to be lost sight of because of the bureaucratic penchant for details" (80).

A more recent study by Reinoso et al.¹³ based on interviews of DAR officials and field technicians, has pointed similar problems in coordination, planning, data-recording, and the like. DAR personnel themselves have admitted defects in implementation, particularly during the haste of the first few months of OLT. Hopefully, they continue, the new OLT procedures, revised since July 1976, will straighten out some of these errors, e.g., in identification of tenants, recording of parcel areas, recording of production data, etc.

From an agricultural economist's perspective, Harkin has weighed the strengths and weaknesses of the Philippine Land Reform. Among its strengths, he notes:

The land reform decree is progressive as it provides a substantial redistribution of wealth, secures a form of tenure that requires less policing than leasehold tenancy, and preserves the labor absorptive capacity of the small family farm. The decree is a critical consideration in an economy where land is the employer of last resort for many (3).

Weaknesses of the reform program, however, include such ambiguities in the legislation as: how to determine when rice and corn shall be considered the "principal crop," how to interpret "personal cultivation," and how to establish in detail procedures for determining yield and price for fixing amortization payments.

In a graphic presentation, Harkin also shows how OLT, even if fully implemented down to the 7-hectare limit can benefit at the most only 424,000 potential CLT recipients (or 44 percent of the total number of 956,000 rice and corn tenants).

Other assessments of OLT and the agrarian reform have been included in the general reports on the Philippine economy issued by the International Labor Organization and the World Bank. While noting significant progress in land reform implementation, in contrast to the performance rate during

13. "An Evaluation of Operation Land Transfer," ARI, UPLB, 1977.

the years prior to martial law, these reports attempt to quantify the costs and benefits of a thoroughgoing agrarian reform that still awaits completion.

IV. Institutional Changes in Agrarian Reform

A) Small Farmer Institutions

In addition to OLT, two other programs that have become an integral part of agrarian reform are the Samahang Nayon (SN) and Masagana 99 programs. The first pertains to the government's efforts to institutionalize the formation of pre-cooperatives, eventually leading to a national system of cooperatives. And the second answers the credit requirements of small farmers for greater rice production. A third small farmer institution in the current agrarian reform program is the irrigation service associations, which have become a vital part of the Green Revolution.

As chief planner of the SN program, Orlando Sacay's introductory book describes well the concept and vision of the entire effort towards cooperativism. His other studies on small farmer credit in the Philippines provide the background for the SN program.¹⁴ A summary of SN operations is included in Van Steenwyk's survey of Philippine farmer organizations.¹⁵ Nonetheless, there is still need for a comprehensive evaluation of the implementation and impact of the SN program since its inception in the late 1972.

Likewise, the Masagana 99 program, apart from periodic newspaper reports, has not been studied in depth. A full-scale analysis of a particular credit program is the recently completed study of the impact of the CB-IBRD first and second credit programs in the Philippines. Montemayor and Bato completed the sociological study of the program while an IADA study team covered the economic phase.¹⁶ Both reports agree on a basic flaw of the program--its bias against small farmers, notwithstanding avowed intentions to the contrary.

The program was designed for small farmers, defined for this purpose as those having farms of not less than 5

14. O. J. Sacay, Samahang Nayon, Manila, 1973, and "Small Farmer Credit in the Philippines," AID Spring Review of Small Farmer Credit, 1973.

15. Mark Van Steenwyk, Philippine Farmer Organizations, AID/Manila, rev. ed., 1976.

16. J. M. Montemayor and I. C. Bato, "The Impact of the CB-IBRD First and Second Credit Programs: A Sociological Analysis," ARI-DLTM, UPLB, 1975;; R. D. Torres, et al., "The Impact of CB-IBRD Credit Program in the Philippines: A Critical Analysis," UPLB, 1975.

hectares, and not more than 50 hectares. However, only 19 percent of our farms fall within this range while 82 percent of our farms are less than 5 hectares. (Torres et al., 266).

Both reports also concur on a possible remedy: the organization of small farmers into groups for facilitating greater collateral formation and also for encouraging a new communitarian spirit. Moreover, in opposition to the profit orientation of rural banks, Montemayor and Bato stress the need "for an ideology that places primacy of importance and concern on the small farmer" (51).

Although they have been among the oldest institutions helping small farmers, irrigation service associations have only lately been fully acknowledged for their key role in increasing crop production. More studies have begun to be conducted by IRRI, for example, on the problems and prospects for water management. An interesting case study of an irrigation system in Iloilo Province has been provided by Cruz.¹⁷ In her analysis, many of the conflicts among farmers utilizing the water system stem from the fact that the system was built in the first place without the villagers' participation. Thus, although the Jalaur River Irrigation System has become indispensable for agriculture in the locality, the small farmers have never quite identified with nor referred to the JRIS as the agency that benefits them in their practice of irrigation agriculture.

B) Alternate Models

In addition to small farmer institutions, several models for the social reorganization of small farmers have been introduced over the past few years.

An exploratory study of compact farms has been undertaken by the ARI-DLTM staff under Montemayor.¹⁸ Six study areas, exhibiting varying farms of farmer cooperation were selected. Among the research findings, Montemayor states that the only joint activity common to all the groups studied relates to loaning from institutional sources (e.g., ACA or Rural Banks). Furthermore, the profit orientation and the corporation-type operations of existing credit institutions as well as of government technicians tend to weaken the long-term rationale for compact farms. A perceptive observation is made:

Development programs in the New Society although not completely eradicating vertical relationships help

17. H. A. Cruz, "Conflict Among Farmers in Iloilo Province, The Philippines" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell Univ., 1974).

18. "Compact Farming: A Study in Institution Building," ARI, UPLB, 1975.

strengthen horizontal ties. If institutionalized, these horizontal ties can transform patron-client relationships into bonds of interdependence. Equity bases interdependence just as disparity grounds patron-client relationships.

Barrameda and Lynch have also dealt with compact farming in Camarines Sur. The collaborative work of government and church-sponsored groups is highlighted as a mainstay for the durability of compact farms in the area. Lall has also investigated the role of compact farms in the widespread use of the HYVs.¹⁹

Corporate farming as another alternate model in rice production has not been studied in depth, although reports of its marked successes in increasing rice production have often been cited in the daily press. An ARI-DLTI study is currently being proposed to investigate the social consequences of corporate farming and its relationship to the agrarian reform program.

Finally, resettlement projects have also been studied with renewed interest. In his second visit to a resettlement area in Palawan, Fernandez shows how tenure problems from the more congested part of the country may arise once more in resettled areas.²⁰

In a more comprehensive analysis, an Interagency Resettlement Study Team discusses the future prospects of resettlement programs. Three kinds of land tenures for resettlement areas are also briefly explained, each with its advantages and disadvantages: (1) a land reform title, which would essentially be the same kind of title offered by OLT; (2) perpetual lease contingent upon productive use and conservation performance; and (3) term lease with fee to cover public investment.²¹

V. Political Aspects of Agrarian Reform

A) The New Society

As "the cornerstone of the New Society," agrarian reform occupies a major part of the government's pronouncements. The objectives and

19. J. V. Barrameda, "Compact Farming in Camarines Sur," Social Survey Research Unit of the Bicol River Basin Development Program, 1974; F. Lynch, "Rice Farm Harvests and Practices in Camarines Sur," SSRU Report Series, No. 2, January 1974; V. S. Lall, "Diffusion of IR26 Rice Variety in Compact and Non-Compact Farms in Camarines Sur, Philippines," (Ph.D. diss., UPLB, 1975).

20. C. A. Fernandez, "Blueprints, Realities and Success in a Frontier Resettlement Community," PSR 20 (1-2), 1972.

21. "Resettlement in the Agrarian Reform Program of the Philippines," Mimeo. 1974, p. 34.

manner of implementation of agrarian reform are from time to time explained in publications from the office of the President, the Department of Agrarian Reform, and other government offices.

In general, however, peasant organizations have been "streamlined" ever since the imposition of martial law, i.e., the more militant groups have been silenced, forced underground, or splintered; while the legitimate groups that continue to exist above ground have to be ever cautious lest they be charged of engaging in "subversive" activities. It is in this light that independent research groups have encountered difficulties in initiating in-depth studies of peasant organizations.

B) Critics

Like any major program that can have a decisive impact on people's lives, agrarian reform is not without its critics. From the international press, publications like the Far Eastern Economic Review and the New York Times have come out occasionally with lengthy articles describing the progress and also the shortcomings of the Philippine agrarian reform program--usually its failure to fully implement announced objectives.

Most critics, however, agree that agrarian reform in the New Society has moved with a pace that outdistances the rate of previous regimes. What they take exception to are the ultimate objectives of agrarian reform, and whether or not under the present situation of increasing population and greater clamor for crop production, agrarian reform can be a lasting solution.

VI. Looking Ahead

A diminishing land frontier and an increasing need for modernization in the agricultural sector have led many observers and policymakers to discuss the future aspects of agrarian reform.

A) Extending the Scope of Land Reform

A pressing issue today, particularly with the exhaustion of Operation Land Transfer on rice and corn lands, is whether or not agrarian reform should be extended to other croplands. Sugarlands have long been proposed for inclusion under agrarian reform. Ongoing studies under ARI-Philsugin sponsorship may provide useful data for resolving this issue. Studies on tenancy in coconut lands, other croplands, and fishponds have also been proposed by the research staff of the Agrarian Reform Institute.

An issue that has been overlooked by P.D. 27, but is of vital importance in the effective implementation of OLT, is the status of the tenant farmers' homelots. DAR officials are of the opinion that homelots should be included in the Certificates of Land Transfer. However, the actual area cited in the CLT pertains only to the farm parcel and not necessarily the homelot if this is located outside the farm area. As has actually been happening in several places, landlords being threatened

by OLT implementation on their farm areas are beginning to collect rent from their tenants for the use of the homelots.

A more serious oversight of P.D. 27 is the lack of inclusion of landless agricultural workers within the scope of agrarian reform. In several areas, landless workers may comprise 30-40 percent of the rural population. Ongoing studies in IRRI and ARI are beginning to examine the relationships between agrarian reform beneficiaries on the one hand and landless workers on the other. One phenomenon that may become more widespread with the increase of population and continuing tenure change is the tendency for landless workers to become "the farmer's laborer."²²

Another possible complement to the agrarian reform program is the inclusion of urban areas. Preliminary studies have been made for the DAR to identify growth centers and the implications for future urban expansion in land reform areas. This is particularly of urgent need in Regions 3 and 4 (Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog), two of the most urbanized areas in the country and also the areas where intensive land reforms have taken place.

B) Redefining the Concept of Private Property

Ultimately, the future direction of agrarian and land reforms depends on a clarification of property rights and the role of the state in redefining these rights. For historical and socio-economic reasons, the concept of private property has undergone more scrutiny today, particularly in line with the scope and impact of the present agrarian reform program.

Harkin, for instance, has pointed out the "devolution of private property" in the restricted titles given to OLT recipients. Likewise, in a controversial speech on "Land Reform in the Year 2,000" made last October, DAR Secretary Estrella has again raised the question of what is to be the ultimate solution to the land problem in the Philippine context. Will it be privately owned family farms, as the FFF position paper proposes? Or should government only recognize use of rights to agricultural land, as the FARM position paper avers? Should government make full use of its taxation powers, in lieu of its police powers, to gradually eliminate various forms of land speculation and to encourage agricultural enterprises? These and other questions remain not wholly answered and constitute the ongoing discussion on the future prospects of land reform.

22. G. Wickham, E. B. Torres, and G. T. Castillo, "The Farmer's Laborer: An Exploratory Study in Laguna, Philippines," UPLB, 1974.

Topic 1: Monitoring Land Reform Experience

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Venezuela's Agrarian Reform at Mid-1977, by Paul Cox

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1960 intended to transform the country's agrarian structure, substituting for the existing latifundismo a system based on equitable land distribution which would support the growth of commercial agriculture. However, the reform has had minimal impact, in terms of both lands gained and funds expended--a high degree of land concentration remains. The distinction continues to exist between small-scale subsistence-oriented campesino agriculture and larger-scale commercial agriculture, with larger holdings receiving disproportionately more government assistance than smaller ones. This has reinforced the dualism within the agrarian structure rather than alleviating the inequities.

Still, the reform has achieved some of its objectives. The latifundia system has been replaced; the various forms of sharecropping and tenancy existing before the reform have been largely eliminated; campesinos together produce more (by weight and value) than before the reform; and some individuals have had the opportunity to become small or medium commercial farmers.

Meeting some of its immediate needs, the campesino movement began to lose its strength, thus becoming a less potent political force. Governments after 1958 increasingly identified their interests with urban voters and the reform became a tool to placate campesino pressure, respond to land invasions, and compromise the forces of opposing pressure groups; it was their hope to secure support of existing commercial farmers, agro-industry, etc.

IAN, the principal agrarian reform agency, acquired its land mostly from the public domain and much of the rest from costly negotiation with private landowners. It is of generally poor quality with the result that a large percentage is unutilizable. This obviously contributes to a decline in both crop and livestock production within the agrarian reform subsector. Principal crops raised by beneficiaries serve mainly subsistence purposes, suggesting that traditional patterns have not yet changed for many of this subsector.

Allocation of agricultural credit in this period appears to have benefited medium and large farmers, with reform beneficiaries generally receiving less and becoming more easily indebted than other groups. A short-lived 1974 law canceled outstanding campesino debts, making them once more eligible for agricultural credit, but after an agency reorganization in 1975, policy shifted, now furnishing credit along with technical assistance mainly to beneficiary groups. This has served to exclude the many beneficiaries not belonging to such organizations.

Mixed public-private companies are being organized to provide services and agroindustrial linkages for these campesino groups. It is considered a temporary training measure forming a basis for future campesino-oriented economic units. There is pressing need for such programs, evident from 1974 IAN data which revealed 51.4 percent of beneficiaries used neither machinery, irrigation, fertilizers, certified seed, nor insecticides. The intent of the Agrarian Reform Law (i.e., to provide technical

assistance to every beneficiary) has not been honored (70.8 percent of beneficiaries responded in 1976 that they have received no technical assistance).

Labor legislation did not apply to rural workers before 1974; social security legislation still does not. New labor legislation continues to exclude most beneficiaries. Marginalization is further revealed by available income distribution data. Most beneficiaries have very low incomes and have experienced a decline in real income relative to the rest of the population: 11.9 percent of beneficiaries reported in 1975 receiving no gross family income whatever. And economic marginalization corresponds with empirical data on social and political marginalization. Half or more than half are aging, illiterate, living in inadequate housing, and not participating in any organization that aims to promote their welfare.

Growth in national agricultural production has been achieved by small numbers of medium and large commercial farmers. They constitute a capitalist agriculture which stands in striking contrast to much of campesino agriculture. The reform has been instrumental in the rise of the capitalist agriculture.

Topic 1: Monitoring Land Reform Experience

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A Preliminary Analysis of Recent Agrarian Reforms in Sri Lanka,
by Nimal Fernando

The present tenure structure in Sri Lanka contains the contrasting patterns of the plantation (i.e., tea, rubber, coconut) sector and the nonplantation (i.e., paddy) sector. The major problems in the paddy sub-sector, e.g., absentee landlordism, share tenancy, uneconomic size of holdings, and fragmentation, are briefly detailed, followed by an extensive examination of the plantation sector. Emphasis is placed on the identification and evaluation of this sector's problems (e.g., inadequate wage payment and education systems, unsatisfactory living conditions endured by the noncitizen labor force, and unemployment) in order to give proper perspective to the Land Reform Law (LRL) of 1972 and its 1975 Amendment. Lack of efficient management on the estates also appears to be widespread, mainly with regard to proper fertilization and replanting practices in tea and rubber production. But land reform measures must be directed toward the problems of each sector if tangible results are to be achieved.

Sri Lanka appears to have taken several important measures to alter its land tenure structure since 1972, but the lessened productivity resulting from the potentially damaging fertilization and replanting practices may be attributable to an uncertainty of status felt by estate management that was created in part by the LRL of 1972. The fear of nationalization was a somewhat permanent factor of the plantation sector. Or

at the very least, the administrative structures and institutions needed at the village level to stop these developments have not been there.

The fact that the LRL of 1972 exempted land held by public-owned companies has not lessened, in fact has probably added to this uncertainty. Inability to predict future government policies has tended to promote exploitation of the land in order to maximize immediate profit, thereby limiting long-term productivity. The exemption of public company-owned lands (which included the foreign-owned) also reduced the potential impact of the law on the key economic variables such as employment, income distribution, and total agricultural output.

Although nearly one-third of the vested land is uncultivated, 60 percent is vested to tea, rubber, and coconut; thus the major effect of the 1972 law is on the plantation sector, with the paddy sector being affected hardly at all. The most heavily affected land category is tea but even so, the reform sector included only 23.3 percent of the total area planted to tea in 1972, consequently affecting only about 5 percent of total agricultural land--merely a peripheral change in Sri Lanka's land tenure structure.

Unemployment was estimated at 14 percent in 1968/69; in 1973, 24 percent. Most of the unemployed are concentrated in rural and estate sections so the land reform programs should play an important role in relieving this problem. Creation of employment opportunities is a major objective of the law, but analysis shows that it has had negligible impact. As previously mentioned, it affects mainly tea lands, and tea already uses the highest amount of labor on a per acre basis. So the increased employment opportunities which would theoretically result from the redistribution to smaller lands, have not occurred.

The Land Reform (Amendment) Law of 1975 extended the law to the rest of the plantation sector, eliminating exemptions to public company-owned lands and expropriating 43,000 acres belonging to such companies on 14 October 1975, with the result that 63 percent of tea lands and 32 percent of rubber lands have become part of the reform sectors. A major factor involved in this change of policy was a decline in the condition of the estates from 1971 to 1975. Uncertainty had continued to promote the neglect of proper maintenance of estates that had traditionally maintained a high level of investment in technical improvement. Given the importance of the tea sector to the national economy, a more intensive policy was essential to the long-term productivity of these lands.

A significant impact on employment was expected to take place following the Amendment's enactment but again failed to materialize. But political gains are possible with the implementation of this reform and even the promise of employment might strengthen the incumbent party's image.

The 1975 Amendment has increased the amount of domestic companies' land vested in terms of acreage and includes a larger area of cultivated land than in 1972, although it still has had no effect whatever on paddy lands. Being in parcels too small to fall into the alienated land

category, they are not included in the reform sector. The government still relies on regulatory measures to reform this subsector, despite the relative ineffectiveness of such measures and the severity of problems the sector endures. The government has tended to favor cooperative arrangements in their reorganization efforts to date, continuing to leave the smallholder with few protections or opportunities. In sum, both laws affect mainly plantation crops, affecting food crops little.

The estate takeover brought about by the 1975 Amendment has served to eliminate uncertainty of government policy. It has also created a crop diversification program which was able to reduce vulnerability of the economy to external factors. So it may encourage not only agricultural development but industrial development as well, the major losers being the shareholders of the foreign-owned public companies.

Finally, the preliminary nature of this research must be emphasized. The lack of in-depth research has been due mainly to government-imposed restrictions on the release of reform-related data and its general reluctance to allow independent research of any kind in the reform sector.

Topic 1: Monitoring Land Reform Experience

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Choice of Rental Contract: A Simulation Experiment, by Andrew Hogan

In earlier research activities from the last reporting year the economic theory of share tenancy was investigated and the conclusion was reached (and it seems widely accepted) that the fixed rent and share rent contracts are equally efficient economically. On the other hand, it has also been generally thought that the reason for the co-existence of equally efficient rental systems was that they offered somewhat different strategies for dealing with uncertainty in the flow in income from agricultural activities. However, the theory which proved analytically the equal economic efficiency of both types of rental contracts was based on deterministic models which cannot capture the possible effects of random variation in yield or in price on the choice of contract.

One way in which the question of uncertainty can be introduced into the model is through utility analysis. In this approach, a utility function replaces the profit function as the objective to be optimized. The utility function is formulated to reflect a preference for risk. As a practical matter, this utility function is likely to employ the variance of the distribution of the random variable as the measure of risk and to imply a distribution which can be expressed as a quadratic form and where the first two moments of the distribution capture all of the necessary information. These assumptions about both the nature of the utility function and the form of the distribution are a good deal more arbitrary than many economists and decision scientists are willing to admit. The weakness of the assumptions, then, undermines the quality of the results. Nevertheless, it is generally concluded that the presence of risk will

lead to a decline in production and that this decline will be less pronounced in the case of share tenancy than under the fixed rent contract.

The course I will follow here is to employ a simpler and more natural approach to the question. I have modeled the production process on small irrigated corn farms in northern coastal Peru. The results of this simulation are placed in a decision theoretic framework. The reader can decide how far he/she wants to move toward a minimax/maximin position or a cooperative strategy. In general, we have something like a three-person game with the tenant, the landlord, and nature as players. The model was based on the Ph.D. (Development Studies) dissertation of John Hatch (Corn Farmers of Motupe). The production process was formulated into a linear programming framework, with the random variable being yield; prices were considered as constants, which made net revenue per hectare a function of a random variable, and therefore a random variable itself. I have made no assumptions about the nature or form of the distribution of net revenue per hectare, except that it could be adequately approximated by a discrete distribution.

The nature of the problem to be investigated is this: first, the farmer must decide on a rental contract (share or fixed rent); then the farmer will undertake to produce corn given a particular net revenue level. For simplicity, we allow the farmer to know perfectly before he begins to cultivate corn (but not before he signs the rental contract) what the level of yield will be. The production part of this problem is a deterministic model, just as we find in the economic theory of share tenancy.

In the case of the fixed rent contract, the farmer must pay the landlord the fixed rent in advance, while the sharecropper need pay the landlord only after the crop is harvested. In the modeled farm, we will allow the farmer to rent up to 8 hectares of land; this was considered by Hatch to be a full-employment farm with almost no off-farm employment. All of the farmers have the same resources; these are family labor, the necessary implements to undertake corn farming, and managerial skills. However, they have no cash resources to purchase inputs, such as fertilizer or insecticides, for corn farming. I have also included the case of an owner-non-operator, who unlike the renters owns his own land, but he has no family labor and must hire all labor on a wage contract; the worker hired by the owner-non-operator will be referred to as the tenant and the landowner as the landlord, in spite of the fact that the latter actually manages the farm.

In each case, the farmer and the landlord must agree on a contract before they know what the yield will be; they must live with this contract throughout the production process. By the nature of the share contract, the farmer and the landlord cannot improve on their earnings if they knew what the yield would be at the time they made the contract. In the fixed rent case, however, the amount of land rented does vary according to the yield--the higher the yield, the more land the tenant would be willing to rent. However, our fixed rent tenant must decide on how much land to rent before he knows what the yield will be.

Our first step, then, is to try to discover the basic strategies which a fixed rent tenant could follow in terms of renting land. We find these strategies by seeing how the farmer would act if he knew what the yield would be at the time he made the contract. These strategies are called the "Wait and See Solutions," and they are marked in Table 1 by an asterisk. Notice that there is only one such solution for each type of contract; this is because we presume we know the future at the time we make the contract. We have displayed here four types of contracts: the wage contract (owner farms with hired labor); the share contract (tenant pays a share of the harvest as rent); the Cheung share contract (tenant pays a share of the harvest as a rent but agrees to make a minimum level of effort, here the cultivation of 4 hectares); the fixed rent contract (tenant pays in advance for the land he rents). The HAS:XS in Table 1 represent the amount of land which comes under cultivation (this can be less than the amount rented); these, in turn, represent the different strategies for the fixed rent tenant. These possible strategies for the fixed rent tenant are to cultivate: 0 has., 1/2 ha., 1 ha., 2-1/2 has., 4 has., 4.8 has., and 8 has. The fixed rent tenant will select one of these six strategies when deciding on how much land to rent. Now we will look at how each of these strategies will perform in the face of all of the possible levels of yield.

We can now look for some insights into the choice of contract issue. The average net revenue is approximately 7,750 soles per ha. (2,583.5 kgs./ha. times 3 soles per kg. of corn). As you can see, many of the contract strategies converge at that point, which supports the conclusions of the deterministic models that in equilibrium all of the contracts are virtually equivalent. One way of dealing with uncertainty is to substitute expected values into the model and solve it as though these values were constants. The criticism of this approach is that decision-makers are not neutral to the variations in income around the mean value; this is the issue with which the utility function approach deals. In this analysis, we have gone a step further; we have demonstrated that different strategies exist within the types of contract. As can be seen in Table 1, different probability weights for the different futures will tend to favor one or another of the strategies: if yields are consistently near the low end of the scale, the wage contract offers the tenant the best strategy; if yields are consistently at the high end of the scale, the 8 has. fixed contract is the most profitable course; if yields are jumping all around the scale, the classical share contract is the best position for the tenant.

The issue which has prevailed in the literature over the past 30 years is whether or not share and fixed rent tenancy were equally efficient. The mathematical models gave results which demonstrated that share tenancy would lead to a lesser utilization of resources than fixed rent tenancy. The reader can see that the amount of land used by the share tenant is rather consistently below that of the fixed rent tenant in Table 1. This problem was supposed to be solved by a modification of the model made by Cheung in his Theory of Share Tenancy. Cheung argued that the share tenant committed himself to make a reasonable effort in cultivating the share plot and that if such an effort were not forthcoming, his lease would not be renewed. We have simulated this "good faith effort" by constraining the share tenant to cultivate at least 4 hectares. This does

TABLE 1

RESULTS OF THE SIMULATION EXPERIMENTS ON CHOICE OF RENTAL CONTRACT

Strategy	2625	4375	6500	7000	7500	7750	8000	8125	10500	12375
Fixed 1	L:470 T:4775 HAS:0	L:470 T:4775 HAS:0	L:470 T:5328 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:5563 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:5798 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:5915 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:6033 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:6092 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:7208 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:470 T:8089 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$
Fixed 2	L:910 T:4335 HAS:0	L:910 T:4335 HAS:0	L:910 T:5164 HAS:1	L:910 T:5619 HAS:1	L:910 T:6074 HAS:1	L:910 T:6302 HAS:1	L:910 T:6529 HAS:1	L:910 T:6643 HAS:1	L:910 T:8804 HAS:1	L:910 T:10511 HAS:1
Fixed 3	L:2580 T:2665 HAS:0	L:2580 T:2665 HAS:0	L:2580 T:3377 HAS:1	L:2580 T:4392 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:5682 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:6327 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:6972 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:7295 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:13422 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2580 T:18260 HAS:2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fixed 4	L:3925 T:1320 HAS:0	L:3925 T:1320 HAS:0	L:3925 T:1933 HAS:1	L:3925 T:3324 HAS:4	L:3925 T:5286 HAS:4	L:3925 T:6267 HAS:4	L:3925 T:7250 HAS:4	L:3925 T:7741 HAS:4	L:3925 T:17075 HAS:4	L:3925 T:24444 HAS:4
Fixed 5	L:4770 T:475 HAS:0	L:4770 T:475 HAS:0	L:4770 T:1034 HAS:1	L:4770 T:2389 HAS:3.8	L:4770 T:4286 HAS:3.8	L:4770 T:5235 HAS:3.8	L:4770 T:6217 HAS:4	L:4770 T:6710 HAS:4	L:4770 T:17394 HAS:4	L:4770 T:26338 HAS:4.8
Fixed 6	L:8000 T:-2756 HAS:0	L:8000 T:-2756 HAS:0	L:8000 T:-2422 HAS:1	L:8000 T:-1207 HAS:3.3	L:8000 T:441 HAS:3.3	L:8000 T:1265 HAS:3.3	L:8000 T:2108 HAS:3.3	L:8000 T:2531 HAS:3.3	L:8000 T:15716 HAS:8	L:8000 T:30716 HAS:8
Share Tenancy	L:0 T:5245 HAS:0	L:0 T:5245 HAS:0	L:611 T:5299 HAS: $\frac{1}{2}$	L:938 T:5514 HAS:.67	L:1365 T:5855 HAS:1	L:1411 T:6037 HAS:1	L:2685 T:6279 HAS:1.67	L:6500 T:6573 HAS:4	L:10395 T:15562 HAS:5	L:19800 T:22997 HAS:8
Wage Contract	L:0 T:5245 HAS:0	L:0 T:5245 HAS:0	L:5 T:6072 HAS:1	L:548 T:7052 HAS:4 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:2808 T:7052 HAS:4 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:3937 T:7052 HAS:4 $\frac{1}{2}$	L:5032 T:7090 HAS:4.8	L:5626 T:7090 HAS:4.8	L:20532 T:7445 HAS:8	L:35352 T:7445 HAS:8
Cheung Share Contract	L:2100 T:-13452 HAS:4	L:3500 T:-11639 HAS:4	L:5200 T:-6290 HAS:4	L:5600 T:350 HAS:4	L:6000 T:1950 HAS:4	L:6200 T:3550 HAS:4	L:6400 T:4350 HAS:4	L:6500 T:6573 HAS:4	L:10395 T:15562 HAS:5	L:19800 T:22977 HAS:8

Notes: L:landlord's income ; T:tenant's income ; HAS:land actually cultivated

solve the landlord's problem of obtaining a reasonable income, but it is hard to believe that any tenant would select this contract unless the probabilities of yields falling in the low end of the scale were very low. Another possibility is that the definition of a "good faith effort" could be revised downward, but then share tenancy and fixed rent tenancy will not yield the same income to the landlord at the expected value. It appears that a good deal more research, especially empirical research, will need to be done before we can understand the ramifications of the Cheung approach. For the present, it seems the Cheung share contract is a very poor alternative for any tenant who has the freedom to choose.

Returning to Table 1, if we suppose that tenants select strategies (wage; fixed rent: 0, 1/2, 1, 2-1/2, 4, 4.8, 8 has.; classical; and Cheung share tenancy), then even more complications are created. We cannot contrast share tenancy with fixed rent tenancy; we must contrast share tenancy with particular strategies for fixed rent contracts, if we are to determine which, if any, form of contract is more efficient. For some cases, the share tenancy contract would appear to use more resources than the corresponding fixed rent strategy; in other situations, just the opposite is true. The choice of strategies for the fixed rent contract will depend on the distribution of yields. Here we have the kernel of the problem and the great inadequacy of the utility function approach--by changing the particular distribution with a given variance and skewness, the supposedly determinate results are going to change. This means that when we change from one crop to another, one climate to another, or one technology to another, we should expect that the economic superiority of one or another contract may change. By taking a careful look at what happens to the landlord's income, we may be able to narrow down the possibilities.

In Table 1 I have set out the different combinations and the incomes corresponding to the landlord and the tenant, along with the number of acres actually cultivated. Strategy 4 fixed rent seems to be the most likely candidate for an overall strategy given a normal distribution for yield with an expectation at about 7,750 soles/ha. Share tenancy is significantly less efficient in terms of resource allocation but about equivalent in terms of tenant income. The Cheung share tenancy is as efficient as the fixed rent contract, but it is quite disadvantageous in terms of tenant income. Strategy 4 fixed rent is a good choice around the expected value, but if yield is highly variable, strategy 4 is going to subject the tenant to some rather low income levels.

In conclusion, it does not seem possible to derive any kind of general result which would indicate an equilibrium position where landlord, tenant, and nature all agree on a contract. The problem at this level is indeterminate and will vary with the type of crop, climate, level of economic development, and use of new technology.

Implications for Development Policy: Development policies which attempt to abolish share tenancy in the name of equity and efficiency may be doing a disservice to their intended beneficiaries. While we have seen that there was considerable merit in the traditional argument that share tenancy leads to a lower intensity of cultivation, we have seen that this

conclusion is likely to be irrelevant. Looking at the choice of contract from a strategy point of view, we see that the kind of contract chosen will depend on the nature of the probability distribution of the random variable, yield; furthermore, this probability distribution will be known subjectively. Removing the share contract from the arsenal of strategies could lead to a decline in production because tenant farmers resort to very conservative fixed rent strategies (such as the 1 ha. or 2-2/2 ha. strategies in our example), in order to avoid the risk they were able to share under the share rent contract. In summary, the alternative to the share contract may not be, as classical economic theory proposed, the most productive fixed rent strategy; it is just as likely to be a highly conservative fixed rent strategy, with its attendant loss of production and employment.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure Systems and Agricultural Advance.

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Socio-Economic Factors Producing Differences in Post-Primary School Attendance for Two Central Anatolian Turkish Villages: Implications for Class Maintenance and Transformation, by Harold Lemel

Mr. Lemel spent most of this reporting year in Turkey doing the field work for this project. His research focused on two villages in the Polatli district of Ankara Province, but his work is neither limited to a detailed study of the communities in isolation, nor does it seek to draw conclusions based on aggregate statistical correlations alone. Rather, analytical boundaries are drawn to coincide with the relationships within and projecting outward from the studied villages. Material exchange, forms of cooperation and partnership, migration and marriage patterns-- all are detailed in terms of how they bear on the central question to be examined: What are the social and economic factors which produce differences in post-primary school attendance?

Virtually every village in the district today has a primary school. Presently the main problem for village families in securing post-elementary schooling for their children lies in meeting living expenses and other costs of sending them to towns, where middle (orta), secondary (lise), and technical schools are exclusively located. Research to date indicates that for the costs of this education to be met, close relatives of the student must reside continuously in town for all or part of the year. Using this as a point of departure, Lemel examines material and social factors which encourage migration from villages to towns: landownership, labor demand in the village, marriage patterns, and forms of cooperation among kin.

One dryland and one irrigated village were chosen to study. The presence or absence of irrigated agriculture is considered by most to be the crucial variable differentiating richer from poorer villages in the Central Anatolian plateau.

The significance of formal education and apprenticeship (informal education) on the attainment of town-based occupations is compared. By reviewing developments over the last 20 years or so, Lemel attempts to discover how village-based class structure is transformed into occupations in town and to assess the relative material well-being of those who migrate.

Field research was completed at the end of this reporting year and Lemel will spend the next year analyzing data and writing his thesis. His results will be reported fully in next year's Annual Report.

Topic 2: Interaction of Land Tenure and Development

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Empresas Campesinas in Venezuela, by Paul Cox

Mr. Cox is presently in the field conducting the research proposed below. Next year's Annual Report should contain some of the results of that field work.

Cox proposes to undertake a close examination of Empresas Campesinas, the predominant form of group farming in Venezuela and one that has been in continuous evidence since 1958, and legally sanctioned under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1960. According to the Instituto Agrario Nacional, the principal agency administering reform, there were, in 1971, 128 Empresas Campesinas with a total of 4,091 members. Though only small segments of the "rural poor" are involved in these community-farms, several prominent Venezuelan scholars have suggested that Empresas Campesinas offer a viable alternative for agricultural development among many of the rural-dwellers who found themselves at a marginal position in society. At a time when the gap between the economic and political possibilities of peasant small-holders and medium- and large-scale commercial farmers is growing rapidly, and the proportion of government resources directed to the assistance of peasant agriculture is dwindling, an analysis of the nature, problems, and prospects of Empresas Campesinas would be of academic interest to other countries interested in group farming and an opportune input to debates at national and local levels in the Venezuelan policy.

Topic 3: Group Farming

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An Historical Analysis of Rural Development Participation of Direct Producers in China and Tanzania, by Daniel Teferra

The purpose of Daniel's dissertation work is to compare rural development participation of direct producers in China and Tanzania by analyzing their overall historical development patterns.

The direct producers in a socialist society can participate in rural development if they are politically dominant and create state apparatuses that serve their own development needs. The historical conditions that arose in China have made the direct producers politically dominant and enabled them to create state apparatuses that would serve their development. The same conditions did not arise in Tanzania.

Daniel spent this reporting year doing the preliminary work for this thesis. He will spend the coming year analyzing data and writing, with results to be reported in the next Annual Report.

Topic 4: Peasant Participation

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Land Tenure Center Related Research

Listed below are the titles of research being undertaken by persons associated with the Land Tenure Center, but not supported by any grant funds. Though this research was funded by other agencies or by the University of Wisconsin through its various departments, in many cases faculty and graduate fellows doing research on Land Tenure Center related projects utilized the LTC Library or received administrative assistance from staff of the Center. Moreover, there is little question that the presence of the Land Tenure Center on campus serves as a focal point for research in the area of land tenure and agricultural development and, in this way, facilitates the exchange of knowledge and generation of research in these areas.

One category of LTC-related research deserves special attention, the research done by graduate fellows in Development Studies. Even when they are not directly funded by grant monies, their research is uniquely supported by the Center because it sponsors their special interdisciplinary program of study. It is the existence of this program which enables them to conduct interdisciplinary research, and it is interdisciplinary research which is particularly suited to studies of land tenure and agricultural development, where variables often cross stricter departmental lines. For this reason, graduate fellows in Development Studies are asterisked in the descriptions below.

The Role of Multinational Corporations in the Food Manufacturing Sector in Brazil

*Celso Alves da Cruz, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

Income Distribution and Employment in Turkey

*Tuncer Arif, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

An Analysis of the Low Rate of Growth in Agricultural Production in Chile

*Jaime Crispi, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

Peasants and Cotton in Nicaragua: The Transformations of Rural Institutions Under an Export Crop

*Silvio De Franco, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

Changes in Production Associated with Parcelization of Chilean Asentamientos

Joseph F. Dorsey, Graduate Fellow in Agricultural Economics

Socio-Economic History of Northeast Thailand: Man, Land and Society, 1910-1969

*Edward B. Fallon, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

Land Reform in Plantation Agriculture: A Case Study of Sri Lanka's Land Reform in the Tea Plantations

*Nimal Fernando, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

- Rural Development and Higher Agricultural Training in Peru
*Otto Flores Saez, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- The Impact of Chile's Nutritional Rehabilitation Centers
*Francisca Garcia-Huidobro, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Some Structural Constraints on the Agricultural Activities of Women:
The Chilean Hacienda
Patricia Garrett, Graduate Fellow in Sociology
- The Use of Producer's Cooperatives as a Tool in the Implementation of
Agrarian Reform in El Salvador
*Donald Jackson, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Microeconomic Study of the Structure of Opportunities for Farm Family
Households: An Evaluation of Off-Farm Employment in Japan
Ryohei Kada, Graduate Fellow in Agricultural Economics
- An Evaluation of the Swamp Rice Component of the Integrated Agricultural
Development Project (IADP) of the Eastern and Parts of the Southern
Provinces of Sierra Leone
*Joseph Lappia, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Peru's 1969 Agrarian Reform and its Consequences for the Peasant Sector
A. Eugene Havens, Professor of Rural Sociology
*Susanna Lastarria, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- The Prospective Role of Rural Industries as a Means for Regional
Development (Mexico)
*Cassio Luiselli, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Participation of Multinationals, State Corporations and the Rural Poor in
the Food Economies of Africa: A Case Study of Ghana
*Franklin C. Moore, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- The Development Impact of Campesino Producer Cooperatives: Chile 1966-73
David Morton, Graduate Fellow in Agricultural Economics
- The International Coffee Agreement: An Evaluation of the Case of Tanzania
*McMichael Msuya, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Cooperative Production Aspects of the Saemaul Movement in Rural South
Korea: Response and Impact in Three Villages
*Edward P. Reed, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- Fishermen, Farmers, and Developers: Socio-Economic Changes and Adaptive
Strategies in San Andres Island, Colombia
*Michael J. Rosberg, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies
- The Changing Nature of Technology, Social Organization and Clientelism
in a Punjab Village in Pakistan
*Shanaz J. Rouse, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

A Model to Relate Agricultural Transformation to Health Status of Rural Population: A Case Study for Colombia

*Jorge A. Saravia, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

An Evaluation of Communal Land Tenure Systems in Eritrea and Their Significance for Economic Development

*Alemseged Tesfai, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

The Effect of Differing Rates of Profit on Rural Development in Mexico

*Carlos Vasquez del Mercado, Graduate Fellow in Development Studies

Staff Member in the Philippines

Professor David J. King spent this reporting year acting as Agrarian Reform Research Advisor to the Agrarian Reform Institute (ARI) at the University of the Philippines, Los Baños, and to the USAID Mission in Manila. The primary purpose of his work is to aid in developing a program of research which will support the agrarian reform efforts of the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) of the Government of the Philippines. Professor King worked in four main areas: formal instructional programs at ARI, informal instruction there and elsewhere in the Philippines, guidance to local researchers undertaking projects, and advice to the Mission on specific topics.

His formal instructional work is described on page B-37 of this Report. The informal (i.e., not for credit) instruction took place in a series of workshops on Agrarian Reform Methodology held at Los Baños and at one field site. The on-campus workshop was open to anyone engaged in or contemplating research on agrarian reform and related topics. Participants presented their research designs, which were discussed by the group. Topics covered included the following: Selection of Research Topics; Selection and Development of Research Design; Preparation of Research Proposals; Preparation of Field Research Instruments; Organization and Conduct of Field Research; Research Data Management, Transformation and Control; Data Analysis, or "Facts from Figures"; Thesis and Research Report Preparation; Communicating Research Findings. In May 1977, Professor King directed a three-day workshop on the same general topic in Central Luzon in which 95 people, the majority of whom were agrarian reform field workers of one sort or another, participated. A similar workshop is planned for another region in the coming year. Professor King also served as an ex-officio member of ARI's research committee, and participated in a full in-house review of ARI's overall program.

Professor King's major effort was to work with individual ARI staff members on projects they had underway. His advice covered a number of topics. During the reporting year he worked on major projects described below. His advice to USAID personnel on topics of concern to them is also covered in this listing.

A Study of the Implementation and Effects of Land Tenure Improvement in the Bicol River Basin Development Project

This study is in two parts: the first will evaluate the socio-economic effect of land tenure improvement programs on actual beneficiaries; the second will evaluate the new Operation Land Transfer (OLT) procedures both by studying the implementation procedures directly and by evaluating the effects of these procedures in changing actual impact on OLT beneficiaries.

The first part of the study will seek to determine the social and economic effects of implementation of each of the elements in the land

tenure implementation program on the productivity, income, levels of living, and resource use of the farmer beneficiaries. This will make possible the estimation of the likely overall impact of the land tenure improvement program on production and socio-economic status of the farmers once the program is completely implemented. It will also facilitate the comparison of the effects of Operation Leasehold (LHO) and OLT programs and thereby suggest the relative weight each of these programs should be given in the implementation process.

In the second part of the study, the evaluation of new OLT procedures themselves will enable the recommendation of further adjustments of the procedures to speed up the program. Given the limited time within which to accomplish the OLT objectives, this is essential if the program is to cover the intended beneficiaries according to schedule.

The contract which allowed this study to begin was signed in June 1977; a project life of 9 months is planned. Professor King's role in this project in this reporting year has been twofold: he was part of the group which designed the proposal in January 1977; between January and March he made four trips to Naga, Camarines Sur, spending much of his time in the field evaluating OLT procedures.

Problems of Implementation of Operation Land Transfer

This is the core of the Philippine land reform process--the transfer of land from its previous owners to its former tenants. There are a number of ongoing research projects dealing with specific aspects of the process, e.g., identifying the factors which are associated with delinquencies in amortization payments, evaluating new procedures for implementing the transfer, etc. Professor King has helped in the design and implementation of a number of these studies, making many field trips to familiarize himself with the actual operation of OLT.

Rural Feeder Roads

Professor King prepared a detailed review of an AID project paper dealing with a proposal to fund the construction and improvement of rural roads in the Philippines. He paid particular attention to the implications of the proposal for the agrarian reform program. His judgment of the proposal was somewhat critical, and he advanced a number of suggestions for changes which would insure that small farmers would be the beneficiaries of new and improved roads.

Evaluation of Impact of Agrarian Reform on Rate of Population Growth

During this reporting year Professor King was asked by AID Mission personnel to assist them in commenting on a GAO report dealing with this topic. His summary of these comments stated:

"Agrarian Reform is a country-wide program having a different impact overlapping with other more geographically specific projects--such as Bicol, Regional Development Project.

"It would be inappropriate given the limited research money if the Agrarian Reform project, addressed Agrarian Reform impact on fertility 'per se' but technical assistance can and will continue to be given ensure that, where pertinent, Agrarian Reform variables will be included in, so that fertility/development correlations with agrarian reform program might be made."

A Decade of Agrarian Reform: The Socioeconomic Status of Plaridel (Bulacan) Farmers in 1962-63 and 1974-75

This is a study being conducted by Josephine C. Angisco of the Institute of Philippine Culture at Ateneo de Manila University. Research is being conducted in Plaridel, the site of the first Philippine land reform effort in 1964. The major research effort is the reinterviewing of a group of farmers originally interviewed in 1963-64, to determine the nature and extent of changes in their levels of living over time. Preliminary results indicate a dramatic rise in well-being--including movement of 70 percent of tenants from share tenancy to leasehold--but imply that this may well be connected to off-farm employment opportunities. More detailed analyses will attempt to trace interconnections among tenure shifts, labor mix, income, and expenditures. Professor King will continue to advise on the design and implementation of this research.

Agrarian Reform Baseline Communications Research

This is an effort to design a communications program which will assist the Department of Agrarian Reform to better implement its program in the four provinces chosen as special target areas. It involves the administration of a detailed questionnaire and field visits to a carefully drawn sample of reform beneficiaries and administrators. A major goal is the identification of the best medium or combination of media to use for transmission of new information to target audiences, with the ultimate intention of helping minimize resistance to change. Professor King's role has been that of general advisor.

Role of Women in Development

This is a massive undertaking--an attempt to determine the structure of opportunities, roles, and aspirations of women as members of households and rural communities so as to create a set of criteria for evaluating rural development proposals. Three phases are planned: (1) an identification survey of households and their characteristics which will include benchmark data on the roles of rural women; (2) research on five inter-related studies of rural women--their family life patterns and decision-making, their role in farm and nonfarm decision-making, their participation

in a variety of institutions, and their leadership roles; (3) action programs based on parts 1 and 2.

Professor King has served as a consultant to this project virtually since its inception. He has assisted with the conceptual framework, research design and methodology, and the fieldwork preliminary to phase 1.

Conferences

PROGRAMS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF AGRARIAN REFORM,
INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION, AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
University of Wisconsin-Madison - Summer 1977

The Land Tenure Center is sponsoring three coordinated summer programs for the exploration of policy issues regarding the role of land tenure systems, agrarian reform, and institutional innovation in rural development. These programs are being designed in consultation with colleagues in other universities, including those in the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA), and with members of the staffs of the U.S. Agency for International Development and other international organizations and government agencies.

The Three Programs:

International Seminar: "Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation, and Rural Development--Major Issues in Perspective." 14-22 July 1977.

Workshop for Young Professionals. For those engaged in action programs or research in development in rural areas. 28 July - 5 August 1977 (see p. B-5).

Interdisciplinary course: Ag. Econ./Ag. Journ. 375. Course offered during the Summer Session. "Poverty, Agrarian Reform, Employment, and the Food Supply." 8 weeks, 20 June - 12 August 1977. 3 credits (see p. B-4).

The International Seminar

The seminar will bring together administrators with experience in the reconstruction and development of agriculture through agrarian reform; scholars and researchers who have studied the functioning of land tenure systems and the nature of agrarian reforms and their role in rural development; young professionals and students engaged in field programs or research in various aspects of rural development; and other interested persons. Participation in this seminar is open.

Our basic interests are in the policy issues of rural development. The seminar will provide a problem-oriented forum in which administrators and scholars from many countries will discuss the accomplishments and limitations of the reform of systems of land tenure in the support of agricultural development, and will consider the prospective role of agrarian reform and institutional innovations in rural reconstruction and development in the years ahead.

A. Planning

The planning of the seminar demanded a great deal of faculty and staff time during the 1976-77 academic year. Our Seminar Planning Committee met regularly throughout the year, and members of the Land Tenure Center Program Faculty made several trips to Washington, D.C. to confer with the USAID staff about the seminar. In addition to this, visitors to the Land Tenure Center met in consultation with the Planning Committee and extensive correspondence with colleagues overseas and throughout the United States was carried out.

Prof. David King, a member of the Seminar Planning Committee who was on assignment in the Philippines during the year, provided the LTC with contacts in Africa, East and Southeast Asia, and the Philippines. He corresponded at length with Prof. Kenneth Parsons, Chairman of the Seminar Planning Committee, about the proposed agenda and about the participation of a delegation from the Philippines.

1. Seminar Planning Committee Members

Chairman: Prof. Kenneth Parsons, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Land Tenure Center, UW-Madison

Faculty: Prof. Marion Brown, Dept. of Agricultural Journalism and Land Tenure Center

Prof. Don Kanel, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Director, Land Tenure Center

Prof. David King, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Land Tenure Center

Prof. William C. Thiesenhusen, Dept. of Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism, and Land Tenure Center

Staff: D. Jackie Austin
Donald Esser
Jane B. Knowles
Julia Schwenn

2. Trips to Washington, D.C., to Consult with USAID Staff

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Prof. Peter Dorner	August 9-14, 1976
Prof. Don Kanel	October 7-8, 1976
Prof. Kenneth H. Parsons	October 5-14, 1976
Prof. Kenneth H. Parsons	November 16-19, 1976
Prof. Don Kanel	December 14-15, 1976
Prof. Kenneth H. Parsons	December 14-16, 1976
Prof. Kenneth H. Parsons	January 11-14, 1977

B. Sponsorship

The seminar is being sponsored through many government, international, and private sources:

1. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

The office of the President of the University of Wisconsin system, the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, and the Office of International Studies and Programs are sponsoring selected participants and specific events in the conference. Many other university departments, including the Departments of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Journalism, Economics, History, Landscape Architecture, Political Science, Rural Sociology, and Sociology, and the School of Law, have donated faculty and staff to help plan, publicize, and carry out these programs. The Office of Inter-College Programs and the Agricultural Journalism Duplicating Service also helped with publicity, program planning, and publications. The Wisconsin Center, of the University of Wisconsin Extension, will provide the facilities and staff assistance for conducting the seminar and workshop. The Land Tenure Center, through our basic grant, has provided facilities, equipment and supplies, and faculty and staff support for the seminar and related programs.

2. U.S. Agency for International Development-Washington, D.C.

USAID/W will provide funds to bring approximately 25 participants, most of them from developing nations, to Madison for the seminar. USAID/W has also provided funding for per diem expenses, professional and clerical salaries, the duplication of papers, supplies, and field trip expenses. In addition to this, several USAID/W staff members are being sponsored as participants through their offices in Washington.

3. U.S. Agency for International Development-Overseas Missions

USAID Missions have been notified by cable from Washington that they are encouraged to send participants to the seminar. Approximately 30-35 individuals have been nominated to participate through Mission funding.

4. Midwest Universities Consortium on International Activities (MUCIA)

MUCIA has provided a grant to be used for general conference support, for U.S. and international travel, and for per diem expenses.

5. International Organizations

Several international organizations, such as the FAO, the ILO, and the World Bank, are providing support for the seminar in the form of direct sponsorship of participants.

6. Governments

The governments of several nations will send participants to this seminar at government expense.

7. Universities

Private and public universities in the United States and in other countries will send students and researchers.

8. Private Sources of Support

Several private agencies are sponsoring participants, and we expect many individuals to use personal funds to attend. One part of the seminar, the field trip to Watertown, Wisconsin, has been made possible by the contributions of the service clubs, citizens and businesses of the Watertown area, where a full day of tours has been planned in consultation with the Land Tenure Center faculty and staff.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation,
and Rural Development:
Major Issues in Perspective
14-22 July 1977

AGENDA OUTLINE

Thursday, July 14

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	Registration
9:00 - 10:15 a.m.	Opening Session
10:30 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.	<u>Agrarian Reform in Mexico</u>
2:00 - 4:00 p.m.	Three Concurrent Sessions: SESSION A: <u>Land Reform in the Rural Development of Japan</u> SESSION B: <u>The Role of Land Reform in the Development of Korea</u> SESSION C: <u>Agricultural Development Without Land Reform</u>
4:30 p.m.	Reception for Seminar Guests
6:30 - 8:00 p.m.	Registration

Friday, July 15

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	Registration
9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.	Three Concurrent Sessions: SESSION A: <u>Land Reform and Rural Development in India</u> SESSION B: <u>Land Reform and Rural Development in the Middle East</u> Iran Iraq

Friday, July 15 (cont.)

(9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.) SESSION C: Land Tenure and the Moderniza-
tion of Traditional Agriculture

Francophone Africa

Sudan

South Pacific Islands

2:00 - 4:30 p.m. Rural Development in China Through Communes

4:30 - 6:00 p.m. Registration

8:00 - 10:00 p.m. An Evening of Land Tenure Center Films:
Chile and Bolivia

Saturday, July 16

9:00 - 10:15 a.m. General Session: The Role of Land Reform
in Rural Development

10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. The Family Farm in the Midwest, U.S.A.

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No formal sessions on Saturday afternoon, July 16, or on Sunday, July 17.

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Monday, July 18

All Day Field Trip to Watertown, Wisconsin

8:00 a.m. Buses load

9:15 a.m. Arrival in Watertown (Coffee and doughnuts
served.)

9:45 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Tours

12:30 - 2:00 p.m. Luncheon

2:15 - 4:30 p.m. Tours

5:30 p.m. Return to Madison

Section A 57

Tuesday, July 19
and
Wednesday, July 20

COUNTRY SESSIONS

Situations to be Discussed:

- SITUATION 1: Transformation of private holdings into group farms
- SITUATION 2: Transformation of small holder agriculture
- SITUATION 3: Transformation of large farms into owner-operator farms
- SITUATION 4: Transformation through settlement and colonization
- SITUATION 5: Transformation of communal agriculture

Tuesday, July 19

9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Three Concurrent Sessions:

SESSION A: SITUATION 1
Peru
Sri Lanka
Hungary

SESSION B: SITUATION 2
Philippines

SESSION C: SITUATION 4
Costa Rica
Dominican Republic
Nicaragua

2:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Three Concurrent Sessions:

SESSION A: SITUATION 1
Algeria
Honduras
Panama

SESSION B: SITUATION 2
Pakistan
Thailand

SESSION C: SITUATION 4
Sudan
Kenya
Somalia

Wednesday, July 20

9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Four Concurrent Sessions:

SESSION A: SITUATION 1
Ethiopia

SESSION B: SITUATION 2
Bangladesh
Nepal
Haiti

SESSION C: SITUATION 5
Nigeria

SESSION D: SITUATION 1
Italy
Jamaica
Portugal

2:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Three Concurrent Sessions:

SESSION A: SITUATION 1
Syria
Jordan

SESSION B: SITUATION 3
Venezuela
Bolivia
Colombia

SESSION C: SITUATION 5
Sudan
Botswana
Zaire

Thursday, July 21

9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Panel Discussions (Concurrent Sessions)

SESSION A: Problems in the Design of Farming Systems for Group Farming and Large-Scale Development Projects

SESSION B: Problems in the Design and Establishment of Systems of Credit and Other Services to Small Farmers, Including Recipients of Land in Colonization or Land Reform Programs

Thursday, July 21 (cont.)

(9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.)

SESSION C: Problems in the Modernization of Customary Tenure Systems Involving Commonly Owned Land

SESSION D: Changes in the Structure of Families and Especially in the Economic and Social Roles and Status of Rural Women which are Generated by Rural Development

2:00 - 5:00 p.m.

SESSION A: Problems and Issues in Land and Water Development Projects that Require Public Acquisition of Use and Ownership Rights that are Difficult to Identify or Terminate

SESSION B: Agrarian Socialism in the Third World

SESSION C: What Programs are Appropriate for the Alleviation of Rural Poverty, Particularly Where Population Density is High? What Can Be Done by Land Reform? How Can the Special Needs of the Landless Be Met?

SESSION D: Part-Time Farming, Mechanization, Rural-Urban Migration, Land Speculation: Adjustments of Farm Families to Urbanization

Friday, July 22

9:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Two Concurrent Sessions:

SESSION A: Some Theoretical Considerations in the Analysis of Issues of Rural Development

SESSION B: Issues in the Formulation and Conduct of Agrarian Reform Programs: Obstacles to Land Reform

1:30 - 2:30 p.m.

Rural Development in the Political Process

2:45 - 4:15 p.m.

Agrarian Reform and Rural Development: Issues of This Conference and Future Perspectives

4:15 p.m.

Closing Comments

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation,
and Rural Development:
Major Issues in Perspective
14-22 July 1977

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* Persons from off-campus who accepted invitations to attend the International Seminar. Attendance at this seminar is open, and additional participants are expected to register at the time of the proceedings.

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USAID MISSION-SPONSORED PARTICIPANTS
ALSO INVITED FROM THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES:

Bolivia (two participants)	Swaziland (one participant)
Chile (one participant)	Tanzania (one participant)
Haiti (one participant)	Tunisia (one participant)
Indonesia (one participant)	Venezuela (one participant)
Pakistan (one participant)	Zaire (one participant)
Somalia (one participant)	Zambia (one participant)

COOPERATIVES, SMALL FARMERS AND DEVELOPMENT

This project is concerned with evaluating the role of U.S. cooperatives in technical assistance to cooperatives in less developed countries. We have been reviewing past experiences in this area. The major issues we are considering include: the ability of cooperatives to aid the rural poor, the social and economic roles of cooperatives and the conflict between these roles, the relation of co-ops to the local social structure and to national development programs, and human capital formation in cooperatives.

This work has been carried on primarily through an exchange of information between co-op leaders, academic people, and AID staff. This effort has included two general seminars involving all three groups, five workshops with U.S. co-op organizations (CUNA, CLUSA, NRECA, FCH, and ACDI combined with VDC, the Volunteer Development Corps), and four workshops with cooperative leaders in Latin America (Colombia), Africa (Kenya), Asia (Philippines), and Europe (U.K.); it will culminate in a conference on Cooperatives, Small Farmers and Development, to be held at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread conference center in April 1978. (A change from the original schedule by mutual agreement of all participants.)

LTC Program Faculty involved include Professors Dorner, Kanel, Kearl, and King.

SECTION B: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Because of its international focus, the Land Tenure Center is a unique component in the teaching facilities of the University of Wisconsin. Grant funds have allowed the Center to develop and teach special courses and to create programs for students and trainees which give them the opportunity to examine problems of international rural development within an interdisciplinary framework.

Special Land Tenure Center Courses

The following courses are maintained through grant funds and staffed by members of the Land Tenure Center faculty:

Interdisciplinary 472: Land Tenure in Africa

In the Summer 1976 semester, Visiting Professor H. A. Oluwasanmi, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ife, Nigeria, conducted this seminar, while Professor King fulfilled his responsibilities as Agrarian Reform Research Advisor with USAID/Philippines. (Professor Oluwasanmi was not funded by grant monies.) Offered for upper level undergraduates and graduate students interested in the nature and evolution of the various land tenure systems in Africa, the seminar was structured to examine the effects man-land relationships are likely to have (and might have with appropriate policy measures) on the role of agriculture in economic development. Specific topics of discussion were as follows:

- Nature of traditional African tenure systems
- Evolutionary theory of tenure systems
- Access routes to land in Africa - group and individual rights in land
- Position of the head of the group in relation to land
- Comparative study of tenure systems of various African countries
- Social, economic, demographic, and legislative factors in the changing character of traditional African tenure systems
- Interrelationships among land tenure, land use, and farming systems
- Land tenure, productivity, and income distribution
- Role of land tenure in agricultural development
- Land reform measures - group farms, land settlement schemes, state and cooperative farms
- Evolution of African land policies - from colonialism to independence

LDC Enrollment: 2/5

Agricultural Economics and Economics 474: Economic Problems of Underdeveloped Areas

During the Spring semester, Professors Strasna and Thiesenhusen alternated teaching this course in Madison and a closely related course at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain. (Professor Strasna was not funded by grant monies.) A survey dealing with structural change and growth in less developed countries, this course covered the following topics:

- What is development?
- The population issue and world hunger
- How are economies transformed: the agricultural issue
- How are economies transformed: the industrial sector
- Some paths to development
- Aid
- Mobilizing domestic resources
- Planning and project evaluation
- Multinational enterprises
- Special issues in development: employment and rural-to-urban migration
- Special issues in development: income distribution
- Cases in development

LDC Enrollment: 18/45

Agricultural Economics 476: The Economic Development of Agriculture (International)

In the Fall semester, Professor Dorner taught this course for upper level undergraduates and graduate students. The course dealt with problems and issues in the economic development of agriculture in various countries, including an examination of current theories, policies, and programs. Topics discussed in this course include:

- Approaches to study of agricultural development
- Agricultural productivity growth and its sources
- Population growth and employment
- Land tenure, agrarian reform, and development
- Socialist land reform and collective farming
- Technology transfers, agricultural development, and project evaluation
- Specific issues in agricultural development
- Selected case studies in agricultural development

LDC Enrollment: 25/40

Though not specifically listed as a Special LTC Course in grant worksheets, Ag Econ 476 was not taught with its present international focus until the Land Tenure Center was created on campus. Professor Dorner is supported by grant monies.

Section 3 3

Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Journalism and Interdisciplinary 479:
Land Tenure and the Campesino in Latin America

In the Fall semester, Professor Thiesenhusen again offered his course designed for seniors and graduate students. It addressed the problem of defining campesinos as a group and bringing together what is known about them from various disciplines. Of primary concern was the problem of how campesinos can be brought into the mainstream of economic and political life. The course was organized around the following topics:

- Land reform and the Latin American campesino
- Peasants as economic men
- Peasants, unemployment, and urbanization
- Peasants as a political force
- Communication, education, and the peasant
- The campesinos: what can outsiders do?
- Credit and markets

LDC Enrollment: 11/25

Agricultural Economics 960: Economic Development of Agriculture

In the Spring semester, Professors Dorner, Harkin, Kanel, Miracle, and Thiesenhusen conducted this specialized seminar for graduate students. (All but Professors Harkin and Miracle were funded by grant monies.) The seminar reviewed recent significant literature on agricultural development, specifically the following:

- Mellor: "The New Economics of Growth" (Dorner)
- Reynolds: "Agriculture in Development Theory" (Kanel)
- Tinberger: "Reshaping the International Order" (Harkin)
- Leontief: "Future of the World Economy" (Miracle)
- Chenery: "Redistribution with Growth" (Thiesenhusen)

LEC Enrollment: 2/7

Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism 375: Seminar on
Development Policy Evaluation

In the Fall semester, Professors Brown and Kanel offered this seminar primarily for Development Studies students. The course was concerned with theories of valuation, especially John Dewey's views, as they relate to the question of value policy judgments in philosophy and social sciences and the application of these concepts to policy issues.

LDC Enrollment: 3/9

History 753: Comparative World History

In the Fall semester, Professor Frykenberg offered this course on "Comparative Land Systems: With Special Reference to Africa, Asia, Latin

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America and the Middle East" for graduate students. The purpose of the seminar was to expose its members to some of the main currents of historical literature and of contemporary materials on land systems within a comparative, historical, and interdisciplinary approach. Structured relationships of nearly all rural forces--from the landed powerful to the landless poor--were considered; rural power and rural poverty in changing conditions of development and economic growth were compared and juxtaposed. Among themes studied were the following:

- Historic role of land systems in the recurrence of food crises
- Historical development of different systems of land tenure
- Socio-economic relationships of landlord and landlabor
- Political implications of land relationships
- Efficacy of land reform, land rebellion, and radical movements

LDC Enrollment: 2/12

Although Professor Frykenberg was not funded by grant monies during the academic year, this course was conducted with the administrative support of the Land Tenure Center.

As part of the International Seminar on Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation, and Rural Development to be held July 1977 under the sponsorship of the Land Tenure Center, Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc. (MUCIA), and the U. S. Agency for International Development, a special background course and a workshop for young professionals are being offered in the Summer Session 1977:

Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism 375: Poverty, Agrarian Reform, Employment and the Food Supply

Professors Brown, Kanel, and King are offering this course on the significance of land tenure systems and land reform for the development of agriculture and the alleviation of rural poverty. The course will review major land reform programs of the 19th and 20th centuries, with special consideration being given to the ideas which had shaped the economic systems. Topics to be considered include:

- "Peasant family farm" as a tenure system: origins; complementary services; group farming in areas where family farming has predominated
- Socialist agriculture--from peasant farming to collectivization: Soviet and Chinese models
- Traditional hacienda-minifundia pattern in Latin America
- Reforms originating in violent revolution: Mexico and Bolivia
- Reforms originating through the legal system: Chile, Venezuela, and Peru
- "Communal" and "feudal" tenure and the development of agriculture in Africa: Ethiopia
- Group farming in modern Africa

LDC Enrollment: 16/23

Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism 699:
Workshop for Young Professionals

Professors Frykenberg, Parsons, Penn, and Thiesenhusen will join Professors Brown, Kanel, and King in offering this workshop in the Summer semester. The workshop will provide an opportunity for young professionals and graduate students to meet with their peers and discuss fieldwork experiences in rural areas, including current research projects. Discussions will include an evaluative review of key contributions to the International Seminar.

LDC Enrollment: 5/6

LDC enrollment for all Special Land Tenure Center Courses totaled 84 out of 172 for academic year 1976-77. Furthermore, these are students whose needs would not be served in any other way on the University of Wisconsin campus.

Land Tenure Center Related Courses

FALL SEMESTER 1975

African Languages and Literature, Afro-American Studies, Anthropology, Geography, History, Political Science, and Sociology 277: Professor Miracle participated in this undergraduate course, "Africa: An Introductory Survey," designed to give a broad view of Africa, its peoples, cultures, economies, politics, artistic traditions, and history. Professor Miracle lectured on "Improving Traditional Agricultural Techniques."

Agricultural Economics and Economics 429: Professor Miracle taught this course on the "Economics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa." Topics covered include:

- Composition, organization, and techniques of agricultural production in tropical African economies
- Economic change and development in agriculture
- Economic policies
- Special problems of developing African agriculture

LDC Enrollment: 7/15

Agricultural Economics 476 (see p. 2)

Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Journalism and Interdisciplinary 479
(see p. 3)

Agricultural Economics and Economics 767: This graduate seminar on "Public Finance in Less Developed Areas" was conducted by Professor Strasma and centered on the problem of mobilizing domestic resources to finance development. Topics covered include:

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- Development theory and empirical evidence on potentials and limitations of fiscal policy as a development instrument in low-income countries
- Tax harmonization in economic integration
- Case studies in tax reform
- Fiscal budgeting and planning

LDC Enrollment: 15/18

Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Journalism 875 (see p. 3)

Agricultural Economics 908: Professors Dorner and Thiesenhusen conducted this "Workshop in Economics of International Agriculture" for advanced graduate students who are in the process of writing their dissertations or developing a research proposal. The course centered on the problems and methodology of conducting field research.

LDC Enrollment: 4/8

Agricultural Economics and Economics 929: Professor Miracle conducted this advanced course on "Economic Problems of Tropical African Agriculture." Research oriented, this course emphasized the development of policies to enhance agricultural development in Africa.

LDC Enrollment: 1/8

Agricultural Journalism 940: Professor Brown offered this "Seminar on Communication Research," a seminar for beginning graduate students designed to introduce them to major historical and current trends in communication research, and to begin development of individual research projects. A major theme in the seminar was the role of communication in rural development in less developed countries.

LDC Enrollment: 8/24

History 539: Professor Karpas offered this seminar on "The Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and the Balkans" for graduate students specializing in the area. Treating the establishment and rise of the Ottoman state in the context of land tenure problems in the Middle East, it focused on the following topics:

- Rise of the Ottoman state
- Social, economic, and military organization
- Bureaucratic structure
- Expansion into the Balkans and the Middle East
- Impact on Europe from the 13th century to the siege of Vienna, 1683

History 753 (see pp. 3-4)

History 851: Professor Karpát conducted this graduate seminar on "Ottoman and Middle East History," focusing on social structures of Turkey. The topic for study was socio-economic bases of elite formation in the Middle East, in particular the change in the land regime and rise of a propertied class in relation to urbanization.

History and South Asian Studies 857: Professor Frykenberg held this "Seminar in South Asian History" for graduate students conducting research on Asian agrarian systems, in particular those systems utilizing cooperative methods of landholding.

LDC Enrollment: 0/17

Political Science and South Asian Studies 252/852: Professor Hart taught this course on "Comparative Politics of Developing Nations" for a combination of graduate and undergraduate students. It focused on political processes in the "Civilizations of India." Among other topics, it dealt with attempts of the governments of India to redistribute wealth and power in the countryside.

LDC Enrollment: 2/52

Political Science 653: Professor Emerson held this graduate seminar on the "Politics of Underdeveloped Areas" emphasizing problems in the development of new institutions. The seminar focused on the abilities of people to relate to change in societies that are changing and being divided in the process.

Political Science 952: Professor Emerson conducted this "Seminar of Comparative Politics: Underdeveloped Areas" for graduate students. Focusing on the myths and rituals of comparative politics, it dealt with the methodology of comparative research in less developed countries as it relates to linguistics, philosophy, and structural anthropology.

Rural Sociology and Sociology 322: Professor Wilkening offered this course on the "Ecosystem Approach to Social Change" for advanced undergraduate and graduate students interested in the principles of social change and their relation to man and his environment, planning, and policy-making. Topics covered include:

- New approaches to social change
- Historical and cultural roots of the ecological crisis
- The ecosystem perspective
- Social systems, social dynamics, and social change
- Adaptation and the quality of life
- Processes of change: energy distribution and technological innovation
- Planned social change

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- Demographic factors: trends in population, public opinion, and life styles
- Voluntary associations, policy formation, and case studies

LDC Enrollment: 4/50

Rural Sociology and Sociology 940: Professor Elder conducted this seminar on the "Sociology of Economic Change" for graduate students from a wide range of departments. Topics covered include:

- General theories and perspectives
- Methods of research and research resources
- Problems of historical particularity and cross-national comparisons
- Theories and perspectives applied to different levels of analysis: individual, cultural, societal, inter-societal levels
- Rural technology, ownership, and management
- Urbanism and urban migration
- Industrialization and bureaucratization
- Population and health resources and policies
- Education goals and strategies
- Kinship, stratification, and economic change
- Economic change and the national and international distribution of power
- Patterns of participation, mobilization, and planning for economic change

Sociology and South Asian Studies 634: Professor Elder offered this course on "Social Structure of India" for upper level undergraduates and graduate students. Focusing on an analysis of the major institutions of India, the course covered the following topics:

- Alternative approaches to total societies: legal principles, structuralism, historical-materialism, ideal-type analysis, ethnocentricity
- Historical processes and India's caste system: theories and definitions of castes, upward and downward mobility in the caste hierarchy
- Caste in contemporary rural India: North and South Indian villages
- Caste among non-Hindus; caste outside India
- Cross-cultural analysis of urbanization, education, and changing attitudes: convergence and elite-emulation hypotheses; tradition-modernity dichotomy; position of women in contemporary India
- Cross-cultural analysis of political processes and power: nation-building; abolition of untouchability; discrimination; electoral processes; power groups
- Cross-cultural analysis of economic trends and directions: industrial history; post-independence industrial growth; strategies for rural growth--community development, land reform, and the "Green Revolution"; population growth and planning; economic growth

SPRING SEMESTER 1976

African Languages and Literature, Afro-American Studies, Anthropology, Geography, History, Political Science, and Sociology 277: Professor Miracle again participated in this undergraduate course, "Africa: An Introductory Survey," designed to give a broad view of Africa, its peoples, cultures, economies, politics, artistic traditions, and history. Professor Miracle lectured on "Improving Traditional Agricultural Techniques."

Agricultural Economics and Economics 474 (see p. 2)

Agricultural Economics 541: Professor Strasma taught this graduate course on the "International Marketing of Primary Commodities," focusing on an analysis of the factors determining commodity prices; the size and direction of trade; terms-of-trade debate; and unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral efforts to raise and/or stabilize commodity prices. Topics included:

- Common markets, preferences for former colonies, and problems of protection in industrialized nations
- The nature and functioning of future markets
- Alternative forms of taxation or "participation" in extractive industries
- Efforts to increase value added, as by exporting processed as well as primary commodities

LDC Enrollment: 32/40

Agricultural Economics and Economics 707: This course, taught by Professor Kanel, dealt primarily with insights on the nature of the economic system contained in the writings of Commons, Perlman, and Karl Polanyi, with comparisons to Marxist ideas. It emphasized issues not raised in neo-classical economics within the subject matter area dealt with by the latter. These issues included:

- Emergence of the market economy and differences between market and non-market societies
- Economic power and its regulation, including contrast between Commons and Marx in the analysis of power
- Comparison between the "old" institutional economics and the new literature on public choice

LDC Enrollment: 1/8

Agricultural Economics 960 (see p. 3)

Agricultural Economics and Economics 982: Professor Strasma conducted this interdepartmental seminar on Latin America for graduate students focusing on "Latin America and the World Food Problem: Production, Distribution, Nutrition." Concentrating on Brazil, Bolivia, and Argentina, the

seminar focused on general problems of food production, income distribution, and trade in relation to economic, political, and social factors.

LDC Enrollment: 6/10

History 851: Professor Karpas offered a second semester of this graduate seminar on "Ottoman and Middle East History," focusing on social structures of Turkey. The topic for study was socio-economic bases of elite formation in the Middle East, in particular the change in the land regime and rise of a propertied class in relation to urbanization.

History and South Asian Studies 857: Professor Frykenberg offered a second session of this "Seminar in South Asian History" for graduate students conducting research on Asian agrarian systems, in particular those systems utilizing cooperative methods of landholding.

LDC Enrollment: 0/16

Law 982: Professor Thome conducted this graduate seminar on "Latin American Legal Institutions," an introduction to the study of foreign legal systems--in this case, selected Latin American countries--which form a part of the Civil Law tradition. While some basic legal norms and institutions were examined, the emphasis of the course was primarily on analyzing and obtaining an understanding of how legal institutions develop and function in a Third World context; the manner in which socio-economic factors or structures shape and are in turn affected by legal institutions; and finally, specific responses of the legal system to recurrent social or economic problems.

LDC Enrollment: 4/9

Political Science 639: Professor Emerson offered this course in the "Politics of Southeast Asia" for upper level undergraduate and graduate students. It aimed to explore political life in Thailand, Vietnam, and Indonesia through philosophy, poetry, and personality, focusing on the following topics:

- Harmonies and dissonances between classical Chinese thought and the historical experience of modern Vietnam
- Comparison of the Thai king Mongkut and the Indonesian nationalist Suarno as "modernizing unifiers"
- The interface between a "developmental administration" and an "underdeveloped population" on Java in the last decade
- Problems in generalizing about politics in different cultures without distorting indigenous perspectives

Political Science and South Asian Studies 651: Professor Hart conducted this graduate seminar on the "Politics of South Asia." It focused on the problems of nation-building, establishment of a governmental system, development of competing parties, leadership recruitment, and program administration explored in the case of India and tested in the experience of Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Also included was an exploration of class conflict, especially among people engaged in agriculture, as an explanation of the instability of the Indian political system in the past few years.

LDC Enrollment: 2/6

Political Science 665: Professor Immerson offered this course on "Religion and Politics" for upper level undergraduate and graduate students. In exploring some of the ways in which religion and politics interact in different social settings, it dealt directly with religious literature, and with some of the different ways religious ideology and political action interact: for example, the Marxist "opiate hypothesis" (religion as false consciousness), "liberation theology" (religion as social conscience), and "the resecularization of the secular" (religion as post-industrial culture). Gaps between great and little traditions were emphasized to avoid misinference from texts to behavior.

Rural Sociology and Sociology 945: Professor Wilkening conducted this "Seminar on Rural Social Change," which focused on the following topics:

- Theoretical perspectives on viewing change in rural society
- Large-scale farming versus the family farm
- Changes in the occupational structures of rural society
- Technology, energy, and agriculture
- External forces affecting rural society

LDC Enrollment: 1/7

Sociology 699: Development Studies alumnus Charles Kleyneyer offered this Special Problems course on "Participant Observation" while working as a Tinker Foundation Fellow at the Center for Medical Sociology and Health Services Research. The object of this course was to teach students a skill, rather than a body of knowledge, by placing them in situations which would facilitate their learning the various skills of participant observation (e.g., problem formation; gaining access; rapport building; note taking; sampling; checking validity, organization, and analysis; write-up). Other aspects of social science research, such as ethics, reciprocity, and application, were also stressed.

LDC Enrollment: 3/6

South Asian Studies 402: Professor Elder offered this course on the "Thought of Gandhi" for upper level undergraduate students. It focused on historical, political, and philosophical implications of Gandhi's life, with special attention to caste, Gandhi's ideal village communities, and his views concerning machines, industry, trusteeship, and socialism.

LDC Enrollment for LTC Related Courses totaled 174 out of 446 for academic year 1976-77.* These courses only partially reflect the teaching activities of faculty associated with the Land Tenure Center; in addition, program faculty taught 22 courses as part of their appointment with University departments which were not specifically development-oriented. Many faculty members participated in seminars not officially under their direction or gave special guest lectures at seminars. Also, the faculty supervised many students registered for 699 and 990 courses which entail independent research and study. In conjunction with their formal classroom teaching responsibilities, Land Tenure Center faculty assisted many students enrolled in their classes with individual research planning. The faculty considers this an important part of their teaching activities, although these students are not formally assigned to them as advisees.

Ph.D. in Development Studies

In 1970 the University of Wisconsin established an experimental social science doctoral degree in Development Studies to provide an academic framework for students who wish to pursue advanced study of development issues within an interdisciplinary framework. This degree program is administered through the Land Tenure Center. All administration costs are funded with grant monies and, in addition, selected students are supported by grant funds. See Table 1 for a complete listing of student support.

This degree program was founded in response to a widespread feeling that the problems of development do not fall neatly into the domain of one discipline and that a flexible course-work program which is designed with each student's career goals and interests in mind is called for in this area. The program is directed toward students with two general career choices. The first are those seeking work in a governmental program or international agency specializing in development. The interdisciplinary program gives them theory and research methodology needed to deal with development problems. The second are those seeking research or teaching careers in a university. They usually have strong disciplinary interests but want to apply them to the study of development through an interdisciplinary program.

During the past year, Land Tenure Center faculty members and staff responded to 159 inquiries about the program from 34 countries, in addition to discussing the program with students from Wisconsin and visitors to the University who came to the Center. Inquiries were received from

*Not included in this figure were class enrollments for Professors Elder, Emerson, and Karpas, who were off campus at the time of this reporting.

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the following countries in Africa: Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Zaire; in Asia: Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan; in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela; in Europe and the Middle East: England, Netherlands, and Turkey; as well as Canada and Australia.

Eleven new students have been admitted to the program:

Spring Semester 1977

Raymundo Forcada Gonzales (Mexico)
Joanne Hogan (U.S.)
Josefina King (Philippines)
Augustine Kutubu (Sierra Leone)

Fall Semester 1977

Rexford Ahene (Ghana)
Mark Marquardt (U.S.)
Ruth Maschmeier (U.S.)
Eileen Muirragui (U.S.)
Eduardo Ramos (Brazil)
Allen Terhaar (U.S.)
Fuat Yalin (Turkey)

Thirty-four students are currently enrolled in the development program. Table 1 gives a listing of those students with a description of their progress to date. During the reporting year, seven students initiated field research: in Ghana (Franklin Moore), Guatemala (Arturo Padilla-Lira), Korea (Edward Reed), Nicaragua (Silvio DeFranco), Philippines (Antonio Ledesma), Turkey (Harold Lemel), and Venezuela (Paul Cox).

TABLE 1
DEVELOPMENT STUDENTS, 1976-77

Name and Country of Origin	Funding 1976-77 and Date Entered Program	Research Topic	Stage in Program
ABBOTT, Eduardo (Chile)	Fall 1976	-	Leave of absence to work for a year at the Hispanic Law Division of the Library of Congress
ARIF, Tuncer (Cyprus)	Fall 1972	"Income Distribution and Employment in Turkey"	Completed preliminary examinations Spring 1974; currently conducting field research in Turkey
CORNISTA, Luzviminda (Philippines)	<u>Philippine Government</u> Fall 1976	"Problems and Prospects of Devolution as a Strategy for Implementing Agrarian Reform Programs in the Philippines"	Completing course work
COSTA, José (Argentina)	<u>Ford Foundation</u> Fall 1976	-	Completing course work
COX, Paul (United Kingdom)	<u>Graduate School Travel Fellowship, LTC Assistantship</u> Fall 1972	"Empresas Campesinas: Achievements, Problems, and Prospects of Group Farming in Venezuela"	Completed preliminary examinations Summer 1976; currently conducting field research in Venezuela
CRISPI, Jaime (Chile)	<u>Ford Foundation</u> Spring 1971	"The Role of Agriculture in Chile's Historical Development: An Analysis of the Central Zone from Post-Independence to Pre-Agrarian Reform"	Completed field research in Chile Summer 1976; currently writing dissertation

Name and Country of Origin	Funding 1976-77 and Date Entered Program	Research Topic	Stage in Program
CRUZ, Celso Alves da (Brazil)	Brazilian Ministry of Planning <u>Spring 1975</u>	"The Role of Multinational Corporations in the Food Manufacturing Sector in Brazil"	Completed preliminary examinations Spring 1976; currently conducting field research in Brazil
DE FRANCO, Silvio (Nicaragua)	Central Bank of Nicaragua <u>Spring 1975</u>	"Peasants and Cotton in Nicaragua: The Transformations of Rural Institutions Under an Export Crop"	Completed preliminary examinations Fall 1976; currently conducting field research in Nicaragua
FALLON, Edward (United States)	University Fellowship, Fulbright-Hayes <u>Fall 1973</u>	"Socio-Economic History of Northeast Thailand: Man, Land, and Society, 1868-1960"	Completed field research in Thailand Spring 1977; currently writing dissertation
FASSNACHT, Stephanie (United States)	Graduate School Fellowship <u>Fall 1976</u>	-	Completing course work
FERNANDO, Nimal (Sri Lanka)	LTC Assistantship <u>Fall 1975</u>	"Plantation Agriculture in Sri Lanka"	Completing course work; will take preliminary examinations Fall 1977
FORCADA-GONZALES, Raymundo (Mexico)	Mexican Government <u>Spring 1977</u>	-	Completing course work
GARCIA-HUILMOBRO Francisca (Chile/United States)	Educational Policy Studies Assistantship <u>Fall 1975</u>	"An Evaluation of the Nutritional Rehabilitation Centers in Chile"	Completing course work; will take preliminary examinations Fall 1977

Name and Country of Origin	Funding 1976-77 and Date Entered Program	Research Topic	Stage in Program
GREENMAN, Edwin (United States)	<u>LTC Assistantship</u> Fall 1975	"Small Farmer Agricultural Development in Asia"	Completing course work
HOGAN, Andrew (United States)	<u>LTC Assistantship</u> Fall 1975	"Modeling Peasant Household Decision-Making, with Emphasis on Agricultural Production Decisions Under Uncertainty"	Completing course work
HOGAN, Joanne (United States)	<u>Afro-American Studies Project Assistantship</u> Spring 1977	"Role of Women in Agricultural Development"	Completing course work
JACKSON, Donald (United States)	<u>Development Alternatives, Inc.</u> Spring 1972	"The Use of Producer's Cooperatives as a Tool in the Implementation of Agrarian Reform in El Salvador"	Completed field research in El Salvador Summer 1974; currently writing dissertation
LAGMAN, Modesto (Philippines)	<u>U.W. Nonresident Scholarship; United Nations Development Programme</u> Fall 1975	"Social Effects of the Reorganization of Agriculture in the Philippines: Case Studies"	Completing course work; will take preliminary examinations Fall 1977
LAPPIA, Joseph (Sierra Leone)	<u>U.W. Nonresident Scholarship; African-American Institute</u> Fall 1975	"Evaluation of Eastern Province Integrated Agricultural Development Project (IADP) in Sierra Leone"	Completing course work
LASTARRIA-CORNHIEL, Susana (Peru)	<u>U.W. Nonresident Scholarship</u> Fall 1974	"The Peruvian Highland Peasant and the New Agrarian Reform Law"	Completing course work