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AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SPRING REVIEW

LAND REFORM

JUNE 2-4, 1970

**DESIGN OF
THE REVIEW**

JUNE 1970

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
SPRING REVIEW OF LAND REFORM

DESIGN OF THE REVIEW

by

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PPC/AID/Washington

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SR/LR/A-1

DESIGN OF THE REVIEW

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PURPOSE

This Review departs from the customary plan for Spring Reviews. They are intended to examine the Agency's record in an important substantive or methodological area and draw lessons for improving performance. In the case of land reform, the Agency has hardly any record to examine other than those now retired by its predecessor agencies. Why then did the Agency decide to review land reform? For at least three reasons: That land reform may be a significant element in development; that existing knowledge of the problem may be sufficient to warrant informing A.I.D. policy and operations, and that A.I.D.'s awareness of the issue may need broadening and deepening. Of course, all three hypotheses may be off the mark. Hopefully we will find out at the end of the Review. The study has therefore been one of self-instruction in a generally unfamiliar field.

Our purpose is to look at the world-wide record of land reform and see if we can discern:

- (1) the extent to which land reform has been an economic, social and political success in countries that have tried it;
- (2) the relative merits of land reform compared with other strategies for rural development;
- (3) any preconditions for successful reform;
- (4) the design of land reform programs most appropriate for achieving stipulated objectives; and
- (5) the role the aid donors can play, if any, in this complex and politically sensitive process.

The semantic argument surrounding land reform was settled quickly, to nobody's complete satisfaction. The subject of the Review includes, primarily, organized changes in the rights to land, or to the use of land, that involve shifts in equity. A few close substitutes and complements are included as well, for example consolidation and colonization. The paper What is Land Reform? sets the stage on this problem.

It is hoped that the lessons of this Review will be useful to other governments, donor agencies and students of land reform. The Agency will consider whatever policies the discussion indicates are relevant to A.I.D.'s abilities and objectives. But since most of the teachers and practitioners of land reform belong to other institutions, one measure of success of the Review is the insights we can share with them. This outward orientation is reflected in the large percentage of non-A.I.D. personnel among the participants. It conforms to the increased coordination in development programs with other donors and governments the Agency expects to foster in the new decade.

DESIGN OF THE CONFERENCE

The agenda, a copy of which is included in the Appendix, is divided into four sessions. It is designed to encourage an evolution of the discussion in which each session's deliberations are grist for the next, and the first three provide an orderly base for the fourth and final strategy meeting. It is a vulnerable design, however, since similar subjects appear in the sessions on theory, results and methods and since most of us are tempted to draw conclusions shortly after beginning to talk. One element of control are the analytical papers specially prepared for each session. These papers are intended to concentrate attention on specific issues.

Session I will set forth the general arguments for and against reform, separating, to the extent possible, the economic case from the socio-political case. The papers presented in this Session do not refer to the evidence in the country studies assembled for this Review. In essence, this Session will be an exploration in theory, and should provide a better understanding of the benefits land reform allegedly offers if it is carried out effectively. Short talks are included here on two possible substitutes for land reform--migration of peasants to cities and to the frontier. Although it is anticipated that the two speakers will rule these out as generally viable alternatives, and will therefore, confine the ensuing search for solutions to the rural areas where peasants now live, the two speakers, or their discussants, are free to upset this scheme.

One issue which may well be raised in Session I is the relationship of land reform to the green revolution. It is argued, on the one hand, that land reform ought to precede the introduction of new technology, since the larger farmers will resist that much harder giving up lands suddenly made profitable. On the other hand, larger farmers have been called shock troops of the green revolution, so that their elimination before the introduction of new technologies might greatly reduce the rate of diffusion.

Session II will introduce to the discussion the record of reform in some thirty countries, a record based largely on documents specially prepared for the Review. The Session will measure the actual economic and noneconomic results against both the "programmed" objectives and the alleged benefits discussed the day before. The two presentations in this Session will reflect the facts assembled in the set of country studies, and steer clear from normative or prescriptive conclusions. An element of implicit theorizing is unavoidable, however, since the participants will be asked whether in the record they discern a relationship between progress in land reform and the dynamics of implementation policies, that is, the degree and sequence of reform. Degree refers to the percentage of farmers affected and the depth of the equity bite. Sequence refers to the staggering of reform measures in an order that maximizes benefits or minimizes friction.

The purpose of Session III is to see what factors, in addition to the two "dynamic" ones just mentioned, seem to be associated with progress in land reform: whether the collection of country studies point the way to a preferred method for accomplishing objectives. An arbitrary decision was made as to the factors which deserve individual attention. The selections were: administration, finance, services and supplies, farm organization, peasant participation, and the cadaster. Each of the six provides issues of considerable dispute: the proper division of labor between central and local administrative authorities; the level of financial compensation required in order to "tilt the balance of political power in support of the land reform that is needed"; whether reform can succeed without a build up of extension and credit offices; whether peasant beneficiaries of reform should be cooperativized, or collectivized; whether these peasants should be invited to participate in program decisions; whether anything should begin before engineered boundaries and titles are available.

The word "success" will enter the discussion, since one wants to identify the instruments that work and those that don't. But it enters gingerly. For "success" presupposes standards of achievement, and who will postulate what the appropriate standards are? the targets set by the government? some absolute increases in productivity, employment, stability, etc.? or simply the margin of benefits over losses, direct and indirect, announced and unanticipated? The writers and panelists have been asked to present the facts and then, if it is possible to do so, to indicate which methods seem to work best in certain circumstances to achieve certain goals. The writers have had to draw upon their own experience, and other empirical sources, to round out the analysis, since some country studies were not as comprehensive as they would be in a world without data problems. In brief, the authors base their remarks to the extent possible on the country studies, and never are inconsistent with them.

Session IV calls for no prepared papers. The job of each of the Regional statements (Africa, Asia, Latin America) is (a) to consider the alleged benefits and alternatives to reform as discussed in Session I, (b) to consider the actual results of reform, at different degrees of program "bite" and different stages of development, as discussed in Session II, (c) to consider the shortfall of the results from objectives, and the relevance of factors revealed in Section III, and then (d) to propose a strategy for countries within the Region and for international assistance agencies working within these countries. The last discussant synthesizes from the Regional programs a global strategy for A.I.D. in land reform. He may, of course advise "benign neglect", but this too is a strategy.

GROUND RULES

Some self-discipline is called for in order to best accomplish the objectives of each Session and the overall conference: to preserve, that is, the design. Primarily this means sticking to the subject matter of the Session, postponing until the appropriate later Session an irresistible comment. It implies that the participants should become familiar with the sequence of the schedule before it begins. Beyond this, there are several other ways the participants can help the chairman. First, they can keep their comments short. The speakers and discussants have been asked to confine their formal remarks to 5 or 10 minutes (except in the first Session). In the ensuing general discussions all participants are urged to exercise comparable restraint. Second, they should try to pursue the previous speaker's point, until that issue is satisfactorily aired.

The purpose here is to avoid the losses in efficiency that are associated with random selection of raised hands in a free for all discussion. Third, unless highly relevant to resolution of a general issue, country cases should not be argued. We are looking for general prescriptions in the Review, not an improvement in attitudes toward what has happened in Vietnam, Colombia, Iraq, etc.

COUNTRY STUDIES

Spring Reviews differ from most conferences in one respect. It is usual to have a series of discussion papers prepared beforehand. It is unusual to have two phases of preliminary research and two series of papers, where the first series is an input to preparation of the second. For the Spring Review of Land Reform a set of studies of land reform in particular countries was organized, and these studies were then used as the basic source by the authors of the analytical papers, the papers tabled in the Sessions. Spring Reviews were first designed this way because of the advantage A.I.D.'s field structure and contacts give her for gathering fresh, organized information for comparative analysis, and because it is felt that comparative analysis of such information can have a significant payoff.

The principal criterion for the initial selection of countries was that the nominee was a developing country, in the free world, that had experienced a significant land reform involving shifts in equity. This imposed a constraint in the research program; by eliminating the "control" group of countries which have experienced accelerated rural development without land reform. It means that although the study may reveal strong, positive, effects for reform, it cannot say as much as we had hoped about the relative effectiveness of the alternatives. But to satisfy this point one would have really to design a complete review of rural development, which was out of the question.

Three subsidiary criteria for selection were added, all of which lengthened the list. First, the sample should include representative countries from each major area of the developing world, even though equity considerations were not a central part of whatever the land reform issue was there. This covers the Black African experience. It led to the inclusion of Nigeria in the study and perhaps should have called for another country as well. Second, the sample should include countries where A.I.D. has a large rural development program,

whether or not the government had engaged in a major land reform. Finally, it was decided to include case studies of land reform in West Europe, East Europe, and Communist Asia (the Soviet Union and Communist China, however, where land reform has affected more people than in the rest of the world combined, were excluded). With the additions resulting from these subsidiary criteria, the Review ends up with a formidable list of thirty country studies. The following map shows the geographic coverage. The only developing countries which have had real reform and which are not included are Syria, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and the Dominican Republic.

Although the countries were not selected by systematically listing the types of reform experiences (redistribution with and without confiscation, tenancy control, consolidation, colonization, evacuation of white highlands, etc.) and selecting successful and unsuccessful examples of each, the size of the actual sample gives good coverage anyway.

The study design called for organized information for each country. To gather that information, and avoid extraneous narrative, a standard outline was prepared that each country author was asked to observe as closely as conditions allowed. The basic structure called for three parts: the situation before reform, the reform program, and the effects of the program. The first part not only sets the stage, but provides a base line for measuring effects. Information on credit, extension, and other presumably important supplementary inputs was solicited. Authors were asked to reserve their personal judgments on success or failure for a fourth and final part called the critique. The instructions were couched in permissive language, to avoid arousing academic sensitivities and to allow for obvious anomalies in the record. Five country authors thereupon threw away the instructions and followed their own logic. Some readers tell us the study has thereby benefited (though not the analytical paper authors, who were thus forced to rummage around for the information they needed to tie those countries to their report.) The summary version of the standard outline is reproduced in the Appendix.

DOCUMENTATION

As mentioned, there are two successive series of reports. The first, the country studies, are collectively called Country Papers and are intended to spell out the basic story of land reform in the individual country. They have been separately printed for the

Review (except for shorter statements on Turkey, Pakistan, and Indonesia), and are freely available as background material. Spring Reviews in general require that A.I.D. Missions prepare the country studies, but because a dozen countries had no Missions, and few of the others had Missions with any special competence in land reform, non-A.I.D. personnel were widely recruited. In the end, seven Missions prepared their own Country Papers, eight other Papers were prepared in AID/Washington Development Bank, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin, and several other universities. A list of Country Papers, authors, especially the three who provided more than one report.

The second series of reports are the twelve Analytical Papers to be presented at the conference. Titles, authors and affiliations are reported in the Appendix. The authors are drawn from varied sources. $4\frac{1}{2}$ Papers were developed inside the Agency, $7\frac{1}{2}$ outside.

Other documents prepared by the Agency are being distributed as Background Studies. They include some that describe A.I.D.'s activities in support of land reform in a few selected countries, and give a look-ahead at possible positions for A.I.D. with respect to future land reform programs. The list of prescriptive documents will lengthen after the Review, since the intention is to tape, transcribe and print most or all of the final Session's formal and informal discussion of strategies, and add the documents to the set of Review materials. (Some of the other discussions will be similarly handled.)

A few other studies of land reform which had not been prepared for the Review are included in the initial distribution (with certain restrictions due to availabilities), partly to expose Missions and A.I.D. headquarters' personnel to recent, related literature. They include some FAO reports, since FAO and affiliated offices in the UN and ILO have for two decades led the way in the systematic analysis of land reform issues. Whatever our Review adds to the literature primarily updates and fills gaps in a structure of information already begun by that agency.

ATTENDANCE

The ultimate purpose of the Spring Review is to improve A.I.D.'s rural development program, and the principal invitations went to the principal Agency decision makers and program planners from the field and from Washington. For reasons mentioned earlier, extensive participation by officials from other U.S.-based aid donor agencies was also encouraged. These two groups are the learners. The teachers include the Country Paper authors, the Analytical Paper authors and their discussants (as listed on the conference schedule), and a few other experts from the U.S. and abroad (including A.I.D. and FAO field specialists in land reform).

ADMINISTRATION

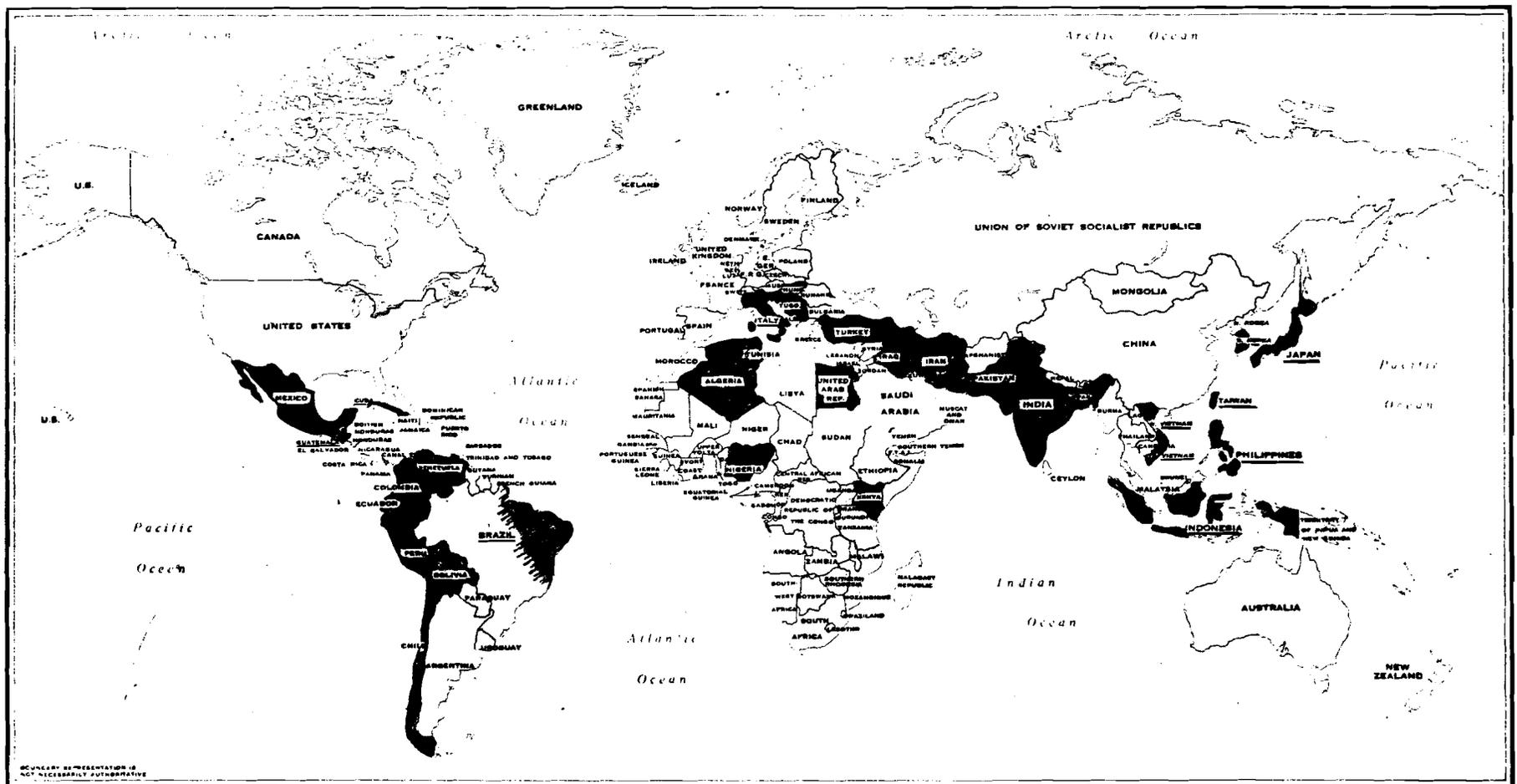
Operational responsibility for managing the Review was delegated to Alex Lachman of the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination (PPC). He drew support from PPC's Evaluation Staff, including the services of Ted Rice. Ken Platt, on TDY detail to PPC, Jerry French, political scientist with PPC, and Tony Gayoso, agricultural economist with PPC participated in the design and management of the study (in addition the latter two each prepared two Country Papers). PPC was the focal point within the Agency, but it leaned on the counsel of several officers in the Regional Bureaus: E. Owens (East Asia); H. Rees and R. Ridker (Near East-South Asia); M. Salter (Vietnam). It also leaned heavily on the advice generously offered by several land reform experts resident in Washington: Thomas Carroll (Inter-American Development Bank); Gene Wunderlich and Lyle Schertz (USDA); and Price Gittinger (IBRD); by Dale Adams, consultant to PPC in agricultural economics (Ohio State University); and by the formidable team of scholars from the Land Tenure Center at the University of Wisconsin, led by Peter Dorner.

Robert Hubbell, Acting Director of Program Evaluation in the Office of the Administrator, shares with Alex Lachman responsibility for organizing the conference and will chair it. His assistant, Joan Silver, handles the enormous number of administrative problems that arise.

Thanks must go to a few exhausted secretaries in PPC.

SPRING REVIEW OF LAND REFORM

COUNTRY STUDIES



BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SPRING REVIEW OF LAND REFORM

Appendix 1

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF THE CONFERENCE

| | <u>Title</u> | <u>Paper #</u> | <u>Speaker</u> | <u>Discussant</u> |
|---|---|----------------|--|---|
| <u>June 2</u> | | | | |
| <u>SESSION I</u> | | | | |
| 2:00-2:30 | Welcome Introduction Design of the Review | 1 | J.Hannah R.Hubbell | |
| | What is Land Reform? | 2 | A.Lachman | |
| 2:30-5:30 | WHY LAND REFORM? | | | |
| | The Economic Case for Land Reform | 3 | P.Dorner | T.Schultz* |
| | Urbanization as an Alternative | 5 | F.Bachmura | |
| | Colonization as an Alternative | 6 | A.Domike | |
| | Political Dimensions of Land Reform | 4 | S.Huntington | K.Nair |
| | Review | | | D.Hopper |
| <u>June 3</u> | | | | |
| <u>SESSION II RESULTS OF REFORMS IN THIRTY COUNTRIES</u> | | | | |
| 9:00-10:45 | Economic Results of Land Reforms | 7 | F.Dovring | P.Raup F.Mann |
| 11:00-12:15 | Political Results of Land Reforms | 8 | J.French | J.Montgomery N.Uphoff |
| <u>SESSION III FACTORS IN CARRYING OUT LAND REFORM</u> | | | | |
| 2:00-3:45 | Administration Finance Services and Supplies | 9 10 | J.Brown et al** L.Schertz D.Adams | R.Prosterman D.Caton |
| 4:00-5:30 | Farm Organization and Peasant Participation | 11 | E.Owens | T.Carroll R.Penn |
| | Cadastral Survey | 12*** | | |
| <u>June 4</u> | | | | |
| <u>SESSION IV STRATEGY FOR REFORM AND IMPLICATIONS FOR AID DONORS</u> | | | | |
| 9:00-12:30 | "Whether, What and When" Africa Asia Latin America | | V.Johnson W.Ladejinsky S.Barraclough | C.Eicher T.Niblock R.Ridker D.Lion R.Dungan |
| 12:30-1:00 | A Policy for A.I.D. | | E.Stern | |

* T.Schultz will speak on the subject "Rural Development and the Timing of Reform"

** A panel discussion probably including R. el Ghonemy, E. Peñulosa, S.K.Shen, J.H.Park.

***by W.Drewes and K. Platt. A cadastral exhibit will be in hall outside conference room.

5/20/70

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Summary Outline for the Country Papers

- I. SUMMARY
- II. PRE-REFORM PERIOD
 - A. Introduction: Economic and Political Background
 - B. Land Tenure Structure
 - 1. Characteristics
 - 2. Changes
 - C. Land Resource Information
 - 1. Land Availability
 - 2. Classification
 - 3. Identification and Titling
 - D. Rural Production and Productivity
 - E. Rural Population, Employment and Underemployment
 - F. Income Distribution
 - G. Supplementary Services and Supplies
 - 1. Information
 - 2. Credit
 - 3. Supplies
 - 4. Infrastructure
 - 5. Crop Procurement and Marketing
 - H. Peasant Association and Power
 - 1. Co-ops and other Associations
 - 2. Political Power
- III. LAND REFORM PROGRAM
 - A. Legislation
 - B. Institutional Arrangements
 - C. Program Objectives
 - 1. Economic
 - 2. Social and Political
 - D. Program Implementation and Enforcement
 - 1. Redistribution of Land Ownership
 - 2. Changes in Tenancy Systems
 - 3. Colonization
 - 4. Consolidation and Enclosure
 - 5. Classification, Identification and Titling
 - E. Financial Aspects
 - 1. Valuation Procedures
 - 2. Program Financing
 - a. Landowner Compensation
 - b. Peasant Repayment
 - c. Government Expenditures

- F. Supplementary Measures
 - 1. Information
 - 2. Credit
 - 3. Supplies
 - 4. Infrastructure
 - 5. Crop Procurement and Marketing
- G. Mobilization of the Peasantry
 - 1. Economic Aspects
 - 2. Political Aspects
- H. The Politics of Implementation

IV. EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM

- A. On Land Tenure Structure
- B. On Production and Productivity
- C. On Rural Employment and Underemployment
- D. On Income Distribution
- E. On Services and Supplies
- F. On Peasant Participation in Decisions
- G. On Character of Rural Society
- H. Broader Effects on the Economy, Society and Polity

V. CRITIQUE AND EVALUATION

Bibliography

APPENDIX 3

Spring Review of Land Reform

Documentation List

COUNTRY PAPERS

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Author</u> | <u>Affiliation</u> | <u>Doc. #</u> |
|----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| Mexico | Land Reform in Mexico | Folke Dovring | Univ. of Illinois | SR/LR/C-1 |
| Cuba | Land Reform in Cuba | Antonio Gayoso | PPC/AID/Wash. | 29 |
| Guatemala | Land Reform in Guatemala | Antonio Gayoso | PPC/AID/Wash. | 2 |
| Venezuela | Land Reform in Venezuela | Harry Wing, Jr. | IDB/Wash. | 3 |
| Colombia | Land Reform in Colombia | Several | USAID | 31 |
| Colombia | Agrarian Reform & Dev. in Colombia | Herman Felstehausen | LTC, Univ. of Wisconsin | 4 |
| Ecuador | Land Reform in Ecuador | Several | USAID | 5 |
| Peru | Land Reform in Peru | Thomas F. Carroll | IDB/Wash. | 6 |
| Bolivia | Land Reform in Bolivia | Ronald J. Clark | USAID (and LTC) | 7 |
| Chile | Agrarian Reform in Chile | William C. Thiesenhusen | LTC, Univ. of Wisconsin | 8 |
| Brazil | Land Reform in Brazil, Northeast | Several | USAID | 9 |
| Hungary | Land Reform in Hungary | Folke Dovring | Univ. of Illinois | 10 |
| Yugoslavia | Land Reform in Yugoslavia | Folke Dovring | Univ. of Illinois | 11 |
| Italy | Land Reform in Italy | David McEntire | Univ. of California | 12 |
| Algeria | Land Reform in Algeria | Phillips W. Foster | Univ. of Maryland | 13 |
| Tunisia | Land Reform in Tunisia | John L. Simmons | Harvard University | 14 |
| Nigeria | The Land Reform Problem in Nigeria | Kenneth H. Parsons | USAID (and MSU) | 15 |
| Kenya | Land Reform in Kenya | Barbara K. Herz | PPC/AID/Wash. | 16 |
| UAR | Land Reform in UAR | Kenneth B. Platt | PPC/AID/Wash. | 17 |
| Iran | Land Reform in Iran | Kenneth B. Platt | PPC/AID/Wash. | 18 |
| Iraq | Land Reform in Iraq | H. Charles Treagle | ERS/USDA | 19 |

COUNTRY PAPERS-Continued

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Author</u> | <u>Affiliation</u> | <u>Doc.#</u> |
|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| India | Land Reform in India | Gene Wunderlich | ERS/USDA | 20 |
| India | Land Reform in Uttar Pradesh, India | Walter C. Neale | Univ. of Tennessee | 21 |
| India | Land Reform in Bihar, India | F. Tomasson Jannuzi | Univ. of Texas | 22 |
| Japan | Land Reform in Japan | Harold E. Voelkner | Washington | 23 |
| South Korea | Land Reform in South Korea | Several | USAID | 24 |
| Taiwan | Land Reform in Taiwan | Y.C. Anthony Koo | Michigan State U. | 25 |
| Philippines | Land Reform in the Philippines | Several | USAID | 26 |
| North Vietnam | Land Reform in North Vietnam | Christine White | Cornell Univ. | 27 |
| South Vietnam | Land Reform in South Vietnam | MacDonald Salter | VN/AID/Wash. | 28 |
| Turkey, Pakistan and Indonesia | | Several | AID/Wash. | 30 |
| | All Regional Surveys | Several | Various | 32 |
| ANALYSTICAL PAPERS | | | | |
| | Design of the Review | E.B. Rice | PPC/AID/Wash. | SR/LR/A-1 |
| | What is Land Reform? | Alexis Lachman | PPC/AID/Wash. | 2 |
| | The Economic Case for Land Reform | Peter Dorner & Don Kanel | LTC, Univ. of Wisc. | 3 |
| | Political Dimensions of Land Reform | Samuel P. Huntington | Harvard University | 4 |
| | Urbanization as an Alternative to Land Reform | Frank T. Bachmura | Indiana University | 5 |
| | Colonization as an Alternative to Land Reform | Arthur L. Domike | FAO (IDB) | 6 |

ANALYTICAL PAPERS-Continued

| | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|----|
| Economic Results of Land Reforms | Folke Dovring | Univ. of Illinois | 7 |
| Political Results of Land Reforms | P.N. Lyman & J.T. French | PPC/AID/Wash. | 8 |
| Factors in Carrying Out Land Reform: Finance | Lyle P. Schertz | FEDS/USDA | 9 |
| Factors in Carrying Out Land Reform: Services and Supplies | Dale W Adams | Ohio State Univ. | 10 |
| Factors in Carrying Out Land Reform: Farm Organization & Peasant Participation | Edgar Owens | EA/AID/Wash. | 11 |
| Factors in Carrying Out Land Reform: Cadastral Survey | Wolfram U. Drewes & Kenneth B. Platt | OAS/Wash. PPC/AID/Wash. | 12 |

BACKGROUND PAPERS

| | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| USAID Reports: A.I.D. Support for Land Reform | Several | USAIDS | SR/LR/B-1 |
| Views of the Latin American A.I.D. Missions on Land Reform | Jerome T. French | PPC/AID/Wash. | 2 |
| The Economics of Land Reform in Latin America and the Role of AID Agencies | Dale W Adams | Ohio State Univ. | 3 |
| Land Reform and Rural Poverty in India | Ronald G. Ridker | NESA/AID/Wash. | 4 |
| Research Issues in Agricultural Development Policy | Peter Dorner | LTC, Univ. of Wisc. | 5 |
| Two Articles on Land Reform | Erven J. Long | AID/Wash. | 6 |

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WHAT IS
LAND REFORM?

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AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SPRING REVIEW OF LAND REFORM

WHAT IS LAND REFORM?

by

Alexis E. Lachman
PPC/AID/Washington

June, 1970

Analytical Papers represent the views of their authors and are not generally intended as statements of policy of either A.I.D. or the author's parent institution.

SR/LR/A-2

What is Land Reform?

Who can tell what land reform is? Whose cognition is so broad as to understand and judge all its dimensions?

The historian? Rarely does he know enough about agriculture. And his knowledge of the experience of developed countries does not necessarily help us in dealing with less developed ones.

The agronomist? Too often his interest is limited to the physical, to production, to marketing.

The economist? He has generally accepted the institutional framework as given. But his interest in development may indicate the conditions under which land reform can be successful in his terms, i.e., promote economic growth, employment and income.

The demographer? The anthropologist? The political scientist?

None will do by himself. None can claim the entire territory. The subject remains what we call inter-disciplinary, and the English borderline. Perhaps this conference, heavily loaded though it is on the economic side, will shed some new light on the issue. It is, in any event, with considerable humility that I will introduce it. For this purpose I would like to offer a few postulates which, it seems to me, may set the stage for our inquiry.

Postulates

1. The basic fact is poverty, scarcity of resources, of capital, often of land, but not, in our times, of people.

2. Man's fundamental relationship to land, going back to the origin of the species, operates on several planes: physical and religious: "Mother Earth"; economic: the source of subsistence and security, the object of

exploitation, and a factor of growth; social: a determinant of the basis for organization of communities, and for the role of individuals in the communities; political: a base of power and influence, from hunters to Popes and emperors.

3. This relationship varies in depth and breadth, in intimacy and complexity over time and space. Its evolution may be very slow, but it never stands still. What seemed to be a sacred and seemingly eternal bond yesterday, is questioned today, perhaps broken tomorrow. Sooner or later institutions that embody this bond yield to the pressures of erosion, of population, of technology, of ideology, of poverty.

4. More concretely, under the influence of these factors, the forces of change will be vying with the forces of the status quo -- both rational. The resolution of these rational conflicts of interest may take many forms. Some resolutions will be smooth and gradual, others sudden and violent. Thus, when men living on the land can no longer make a living off the land, whatever the reason, then their dissatisfaction will bring them into conflict with those who benefit from the existing "law and order". As W. I. Ladejinsky once put it: "The wrenching readjustments involved when the landless contend for the landlord's land are as old as recorded history".* And quoting Balzac, Ladejinsky continued "Whosoever land has, contention has".

5. Such contention arises from three types of ownership characterized by an institutional monopoly. As so well stated by Doreen Warriner,**

* Foreign Affairs, Vol. 32, pp. 445, 446 and 447.

**Land Reform and Economic Development by Doreen Warriner, from National Bank of Egypt Fiftieth Anniversary Commemoration Lectures, Cairo, 1955. Reprinted in Agriculture and Economic Development, edited by Eicher and Witt, McGraw-Hill Co., 1964.

"The three types are:

"1. The type of ownership characteristic of Asian countries, in which the land holding is only a property and not a large farm or large producing unit. The property is leased in small units to tenant cultivators, either on the basis of money rent or on a basis of share-cropping rents.

"2. The large estate, characteristic of South European countries and of Latin America, which is both a large property and a large enterprise. This type of estate is managed by salaried officials and worked by labourers and people of indeterminate status, squatters or share-croppers. Estates of this kind are usually extensively cultivated, or used as cattle ranges. We may call them latifundia, since this is the term used in the countries where they prevail; they are the direct descendants of the slavetilled ranches of the Roman Empire.

"3. Plantation estates. These are also both large properties and large enterprises. They are usually owned by a company with foreign capital and foreign management, though estates of a plantation type may also be found in private ownership. The methods of cultivation are usually intensive.

"Many countries have agrarian structures which include estates of two or even three of these types. The land system of Egypt in certain features resembles the Asian form of ownership, while in other features it is a plantation system.

"These forms of ownership and enterprise have very little in common with the types of large-scale farming found in advanced countries, i.e. in countries with an industrialised economy and commercialised agriculture. The Asian system is found principally in subsistence economies, while latifundia and plantations produce mainly for export."

6. Land reform is designed to resolve the **contentions** due to the types of ownership just described.

Definitions

Above postulates tend to set the broad framework within which we may attempt to define this strange animal called land reform. It is an animal that changes its colors, its appearance, its anatomy and its physiology almost as often and as much as other strange animals called democracy, freedom, and capitalism (for which one economist collected some 500 different definitions). Virtually every author of our analytical papers apparently

felt he had to define the term. Definitions vary according to whether you favor or oppose land reform; whether you treat it as an ideological symbol, or as an achievable goal, or look at actual results. Definitions depend not only on the aims of reform, but also on the means envisaged to reach the chosen objective. Nevertheless, most authors would agree, I think, that land reform is supposed to redistribute rights and hence powers.

Normally, the state, the government assumes new or more power: the power to modify land tenure. At the same time the government may acquire new rights to land, for example, when private holdings are transformed and consolidated into state farms. Or else the government may give up certain rights to land, e.g., when it cedes state property to private individuals, as in the case of colonization (characterized by the absence of much social infrastructure). Normally again, land reform reduces the power of some private holders of land, in that they have to give up part of their rights to their land, while other individuals acquire new power because they obtain additional rights to land. This bundle of rights includes, as most important, the right to use, the right to lease, and the right to transfer land. Rights to the land may be contracted by the owner and/or shared with a tenant or others.

So let us call land reform or land tenure reform: (1) land ownership redistribution; and/or (2) granting land users secure, long-term tenancy at "fair" rents; both in areas where at least modest amounts of social infrastructure already exist.

It has been pointed out that this definition is rather narrow, for:

"The land tenure system defines social class relations more fully than does any other institution in most of the world's agrarian countries; it controls or at least limits the power of choice and action of individuals and families; it is the chief means of rationing economic opportunity; and it determines the interpersonal distribution of production and income, and the extent to which general economic incentives become meaningful to the farm people".*

These considerations suggest that "land reform" might be considered in the context of a broader approach, suggested by the term agrarian reform. However, the latter designates not only land tenure changes but also those measures designed to develop the agricultural system of a particular region. They include information flows (research and extension), credit flows (capital and operational), technical inputs (fertilizers, pesticides, etc.) as well as access to output marketing outlets. It could be said that the only basic difference between "agrarian reform" and "agricultural development" programs consists of the land ownership redistributive nature of the former.

But it is a basic difference, and it will be the focus of this conference. Nevertheless, I must recognize that often -- especially in Latin America -- "agrarian reform" and "agricultural or rural development" are used interchangeably. This, I submit, is not only confusing; it is frequently deliberately so. Thus, some politicians have found it convenient to promise "agrarian reform", and to let their audience believe whatever it desires: rural development programs with or without tenurial changes. At this review we do not wish to blur the real issue: we want to distinguish between land reform per se and all other activities involved in agricultural development.

* United States Department of Agriculture, "Changes in Agriculture in the Developing Countries".

Wunderlich, in his paper on Indian land reforms, has said that:
"Land reform is a redistributive measure. Its effects on productivity, production or economic growth are indirect". Indeed, land reform usually carries with it major equity considerations, while agrarian reform tends to emphasize growth rather than distribution. The proposition that equity and productivity tend to be mutually supporting objectives of land reform, rather than in conflict, is convincingly presented in the paper of Professors Dorner and Kanel. Redistributive measures in communist reforms have been essentially land-rights collective, while non-communist reforms have been essentially land-rights distributive. However, several non-communist reforms have evolved group-use solutions to problems of small holdings (asentamientos - Chile, land blocks - Egypt, farm corporations - Iran), while several communist reforms have fallen short of or reverted from pure collectivization, to allow family-size farms in some degree (Yugoslavia, Poland, Cuba).

Also disclosed in the Review is the existence of numerous land reform movements in which neither land distribution nor land collectivization has occurred in significant degree. These cases present instructive studies of what may be accomplished for the improvement of land use problem conditions by measures short of a drastic reordering of established land ownership and use rights. By the same token, they show what may not be accomplished by these measures.

Contrary to what too many people imagine, land reform is almost never just a single or simple "measure", a one-shot proposition to rob Peter to pay Paul. It is almost always a process -- complex and time-consuming.

Indeed, time may be the critical dimension. Land reform can often be set in an evolutionary context. The easiest shift from an original share tenure system is to one of lease tenure which gives perhaps most incentive to utilize current inputs. The next step, land redistribution, will be called for to ~~unshackle~~ managerial capability. Thus, transformations that are now taking place in South-East Asian countries occurred in Japan at the turn of the century.

The land reform appraisal undertaken in this Spring Review covers a wide range of degrees and directions of changes, from a wide variety of pre-reform conditions. In one or more of its attributes, each reform is found to be unique. Yet there are some features by which one may try to categorize the reforms into groupings having significant similarities. We have attempted to show for each of the countries covered the main effects of reform on land ownership and use-rights. The attached tabulation indicates that in all countries other than the communist nations and Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, large estates were distributed in family units. Public land distribution and title improvement are also widespread phenomena. The picture is more diverse with respect to land use. Abolished in all communist nations and in Taiwan, tenancy is regulated in most of Asia, but not in Latin America where most State supervised settlements have been established.

Table 1
MAIN EFFECTS OF LAND REFORM ON LAND OWNERSHIP

| Country | All Ownerships Nationalized | Selective Ownerships Nationalized | Large Estates Distributed In Family Units | Public Lands* Distributed In Family Units | All Cultivated Lands Distributed In Family Units | Title Basis Improved |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|----------------------------|
| <u>Europe</u> | | | | | | |
| Hungary | Hungary | | | | | |
| Italy | | | Italy | Italy | | |
| Yugoslavia | Yugoslavia | | | Yugoslavia ^{a/} | | |
| <u>Near East</u> | | | | | | |
| Iran | | b/ | Iran | Iran | | |
| Iraq | | | Iraq | Iraq | | |
| Turkey | | | | Turkey | | |
| <u>North Africa</u> | | | | | | |
| Algeria | | Algeria | | | | |
| Tunisia | | c/ | Tunisia | Tunisia | | |
| U.A.R. | | | U.A.R. | U.A.R. | | |
| <u>Black Africa</u> | | | | | | |
| Kenya | | | Kenya | | | Kenya |
| Nigeria | | - No measurable effects | | as yet - | | |
| <u>South Asia</u> | | | | | | |
| India | | | India | | | |
| Indonesia | | | Indonesia | | | |
| Pakistan | | | Pakistan | Pakistan | | |
| Philippines | | | Philippines | Philippines | | Philippines |
| N. Vietnam | N. Vietnam | | | | | |
| S. Vietnam | | | S. Vietnam | S. Vietnam | | |
| <u>East Asia</u> | | | | | | |
| Japan | | | | | Japan | Japan |
| S. Korea | | | | | S. Korea | S. Korea |
| Taiwan | | | | | Taiwan | Taiwan |
| <u>Latin America</u> | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | | | Bolivia | Bolivia | | |
| Brazil, NE | | | d/ | | | |
| Chile | | | Chile | | | Chile |
| Colombia | | | Colombia | Colombia | | |
| Cuba | | Cuba | | | | |
| Ecuador | | | Ecuador | Ecuador | | |
| Guatemala | | | Guatemala | Guatemala | | |
| Mexico | | | Mexico | Mexico | | Mexico |
| Peru | | | Peru | | | Peru |
| Venezuela | | | Venezuela | Venezuela | | |

*Including religious endowments where present.

^{a/} Some family farms recreated after collectivization.

^{b/} Farm corporations now being established have some collective aspects.

^{c/} Some lands collectivized but later redistributed.

^{d/} Proposed, but not yet carried out.

Table 2

MAIN EFFECTS OF LAND REFORM ON LAND USE RIGHTS

| Country | Tenancy Abolished | Tenancy Regulated, Including Rent Control | Group Farming Imposed | Private Operating Initiative Kept | Open Tribal Lands Enclosed | Scattered or Small Holdings Consolidated | State Farms Established | State Supervised Settlements Established |
|----------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|
| <u>Europe</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Hungary | Hungary | | Hungary | | | | | |
| Italy | | | | Italy | | | Italy | Italy |
| Yugoslavia | Yugoslavia | | Yugo. | a/ | | | Yugo. | |
| <u>Near East</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Iran | | Iran | b/ | Iran | | b/ | | |
| Iraq | | Iraq | | Iraq | | | | |
| Turkey | | | | Turkey | | | | |
| <u>North Africa</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Algeria | | Algeria | | Algeria | | | Algeria | |
| Tunisia | | | | Tunisia | | Tunisia | Tunisia | |
| U.A.R. | | U.A.R. | c/ | on most farms | | c/ | | |
| <u>Black Africa</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Kenya | | | | Kenya | Kenya | Kenya | | |
| Nigeria | | - No | effective | change | to | date | - | |
| <u>South Asia</u> | | | | | | | | |
| India | | India | | India | | | | |
| Indonesia | | Indonesia | | Indonesia | | | | |
| Pakistan | | Pakistan | | Pakistan | | | | |
| Philippines | | Philippines | | Philippines | | | | |
| N. Vietnam | N.Vietnam | | N.Vietnam | | | | | |
| S. Vietnam | | S.Vietnam | | S.Vietnam | | | | S.Vietnam |
| <u>East Asia</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Japan | | Japan | | Japan | | Japan | | |
| S.Korea | | S.Korea | | S.Korea | | S.Korea | | |
| Taiwan | Taiwan | | | Taiwan | | Taiwan | | |
| <u>Latin America</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | Bolivia | | | Bolivia | | | | Bolivia |
| Brazil,NE | | Proposed | | Brazil,NE | | | | |
| Chile | | | | Chile | | | | Chile |
| Colombia | | | | Colombia | | | | Colombia |
| Cuba | Cuba | | Cuba | on medium farms | | | | |
| Ecuador | | | | Ecuador | | | | Ecuador |
| Guatemala | | | | Guatemala | | | | Guatemala |
| Mexico | | | | Mexico | | | | Mexico |
| Peru | | Peru | | Peru | | Peru | | |
| Venezuela | | | | Venezuela | | | | Venezuela |

a/ Some family farm operations recreated after collectivization.

b/ Farm corporations consolidate holdings for group operation.

c/ Reform cooperatives are group farms.