

LAND TENURE CENTER
1525 Observatory Drive 310 King Hall
University of Wisconsin-Madison 53706

REVIEW OF THE LAND TENURE CENTER PROGRAM:
Response to AID Statement on Possible Issues
for LTC/Wisconsin Comprehensive Review

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Introduction

The current AID review of the Land Tenure Center is concerned not only with evaluation of our activities in the past three years but also asks the question: "What reorientation in LTC organization and program may be needed to achieve a better convergence with anticipated AID objectives?"

In the current fiscal year there has been a considerable increase in short-term advising for AID Missions. LTC staff members provided such assistance to Missions in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti, Thailand, and Swaziland. Only one of these requests (Thailand) was directly concerned with a "classic" land reform. A major factor for this increased activity was more consistent grant management in the Rural Development Office: seeking out and referring Mission requests to LTC and encouragement of increased personal contacts between AID and LTC staff members. This experience indicates that the problem is not one of being able to meet AID objectives, but more the need for better communication and personal contacts.

Much of the LTC capacity to respond to the needs of AID and other organizations was built up under our AID-financed contract on Latin America in 1962-69. That activity produced LTC faculty with Latin American experience and Spanish language capability, a large network of former students from Latin America and the United States, and accessibility to and rapport with key agencies and individuals in universities, national governments, and international organizations. Our other activities--education, Library, and publications--continued and were expanded under the 211(d) grant. These continuing activities

along with graduate student thesis research and with involvement in LTC activities of University of Wisconsin faculty with foreign area training enabled us to extend our program, including consulting, to cover Asia, Africa, and the Near East. But the amount of research under the grant has been significantly less than under the contract. As a result we have had lesser involvement with the tenure situation in these regions and less contact with AID Missions located there. The exceptions to this have been our AID-sponsored research in Honduras and the research and advisory program in the Philippines.

In the preceding year we have made a special effort to formulate ideas for research and consulting activities in Africa which would be useful to AID programs. A result of this is our preliminary report entitled "Land Tenure Issues in African Development." For example, we could assist Missions in aspects affecting project design such as the effect of existing land use rights on projects, role of cooperatives, and division of functions in land use and income-earning opportunities between men and women. As part of this effort we have also added faculty members and graduate fellows with African experience and interest to our staff. We would also be ready similarly to assist Missions in other regions.

We believe that LTC has always tried to be responsive to AID needs, and that more extensive use of our capacity depends primarily on continuation of the good communication and personal contacts that currently characterize our relation with AID. We also recognize AID's need to justify the money being spent to support LTC. At the same time we believe that we best serve the long-run interests of our country and of AID by cooperating with the world community of scholars and action agencies active in the field of land tenure. It is important that we function as scholars with impartial and objective interests, and that we not be viewed as solely a resource for immediate AID needs or as representatives of U.S. or AID policies.

This is important to us as an academic institution, particularly given the very sensitive and controversial nature of land tenure and land reform. It is one of our strengths that we have so far functioned in a scholarly and impartial manner, we have been sympathetic to movements for reform and social justice in the third world, and we have been open-minded to various intellectual and ideological positions. An illustration of our acceptability and the regard in which we are held is the fact that FAO requested the assistance of

two of our senior staff members to help them prepare the position paper for the 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development.

The AID issues paper notes: "It is somewhat ironic that while in its heyday the LTC was often subject to hostility for its rural poverty approach, now when AID's whole focus has shifted to rural income, peasant welfare, and participation, the LTC's role has not been perceived as important."

While this may somewhat overstate the case, it is an important comment and not an easy one to answer. A partial answer, attempted here, may help to explain problems of technical assistance in the area of land tenure, and may delineate some of the "unique" characteristics of the LTC.

It is relatively easy to explain the earlier hostility. The negative reactions toward LTC were formed in a period when the emphasis in development assistance was on production increases, with reliance on the "trickle down" effect to distribute more widely the benefits of development. In that context concern with land or other reforms was often seen as an obstacle which diverted resources from the effort to increase production.

The current commitment in development assistance to reach the rural poor and provide for basic needs generates attitudes much more sympathetic to reforms. However, this shift in emphasis increases the difficulty of technical assistance and associated research efforts. Development which is oriented to production increases, such as generating improved yield-increasing technologies or improving provision of credit, is a relatively technical matter in which experts can do research and advise political leaders on action programs so as to make better use of a nation's public resources. On the other hand, movements for reform are either situations of stress and conflict arising spontaneously from below or cases where political movements utilize opportunities for building new coalitions and reaching for power. These are less matters of established leaders choosing policies than matters of people with great responsibility devising strategies for staying in power or gaining power while they try to implement the desired changes in their societies. Therefore, the impact of expertise on policy choices is much more limited. Its role is more to understand the pressures and potentialities of the situation and, after policy commitments to reform have been made, to offer insights about making the reforms viable, and adapting technical solutions to post-reform situations.

This is but another way of saying that wide participation in the processes and benefits of development is very largely a matter of domestic commitment.

Within these limitations the LTC approach has a great deal to offer. Because we approach problems from an interdisciplinary perspective we have an understanding of political and social pressures combined with a technical competence about legal, organizational, and economic aspects of institutionalizing reforms. But saying this does not preclude the need for investigating new, relatively technical aspects of making development more participatory. We are interested in expanding our program in such directions to look at ways of helping rural poor use the existing systems more effectively.

One such effort, which we have just begun to explore with AID, concerns the question of whether peasant organizations and cooperatives could use legal assistance for, on the one hand, resolving problems which affect their security and efficiency such as title questions, contractual arrangements, protection against unscrupulous outsiders, etc.; and on the other hand, improving their accessibility to government agencies and their ability to manipulate these agencies to their own advantage. This type of effort might take several forms, such as preparing handbooks for peasant organizations, law schools, or other institutions interested in providing legal aid or services to peasants, helping to establish a program for training peasants as para-legals, helping to identify problem areas and possible methods of resolving them, and otherwise helping to organize and operate legal services centers for peasants. In this process the experience of already existing legal aid centers in Latin America and the experience of the legal services corporation and public interest law firms in the United States would be very relevant.

1. Focused Research Program

The LTC statement on "Land Tenure Issues in African Development" is an effort to provide a consistent and unified direction for a potential program in Africa. It is an attempt both to develop further the African tenure issues (the corporate group nature of tenure interacting with development) of the November 1975 "Proposed Research Foci" statement and to be responsive to AID objectives by emphasizing those aspects of tenure which are relevant to project design. Because of the latter objective, it is narrower in scope than the 1975 statement.

The "Land Tenure Issues in African Development" statement is an attempt to proceed systematically by developing a unified program which can provide direction to individual projects by LTC faculty and fellows. It is also designed as a first step which, by enabling us to meet shorter-term AID goals, would give us the experience, contacts, and capability for planning longer-term research on issues of general relevance to African countries. (For preliminary suggestions for such research, see Appendix A.) In that sense we are attempting to repeat an experience analogous to our 1962-69 research in Latin America. At the same time this approach carries the risk of staking too much on a unified approach which, if it fails to find acceptance within AID, leaves us without research outputs and research opportunities for faculty and for thesis projects by LTC fellows.

An alternate approach that we have frequently felt compelled to follow is to design doctoral thesis projects which build up knowledge on issues delineated in our research foci, but which are developed one at a time and financed by applying for competitive scholarships from foundations and similar sources.

The latter kind of research has been kept within the research foci, but it has been difficult to unify the various projects and it has been difficult to complete them on schedule. For example, the research in Tanzania anticipated in the 1975 "Addendum to Research Foci" could not be carried out because Tanzanian permission could not be obtained despite a prolonged effort, while similarly planned research on Latin American programs to include small farmers in development, which were to be funded by the government of two LTC research fellows, has been seriously delayed because both of them were appointed to important positions in the government.

In order to generate a systematic and unified research program it would be desirable to have assured funding for research in the field, longer terms of funding, and a climate of support from the funding agency. Our part in building a climate of support depends on better communication, personal contacts, and consulting that helps meet AID's short-term objectives. AID's part is an appreciation of their long-run need of our work in the area of land tenure, and of the fact that as an academic institution our major contribution is a combination of research and graduate training which produces not only research but future researchers. With a climate of support it would be easier to take risks in formulating larger-scale unified research programs.

The work LTC has done in the Philippines has been most directly useful for designing better rural policies and programs. Research by the LTC staff members was very helpful in identifying procedural problems in field operations of the land reform program that were designed to transfer title from landlords to tenants, and the staff members participated in efforts of Filipino officials and USAID Mission staff in correcting implementing procedures. LTC research also helped to document problems in valuation of land for purposes of compensation to landowners and payment by land reform beneficiaries; in this case the valuation procedure was changed from one of agreements between landlords and tenants to valuation on the basis of land classification by barangay (local unit of government) committees. The current LTC faculty member and an LTC research fellow have also initiated a study of the impact of land reform on the landless.

LTC research has had other potential policy applications. Several staff members contributed to a World Bank pamphlet on Land Reform, which was designed to lay out the issues in an orderly fashion for reform practitioners in LDCs and donor agencies alike. More recently, a World Bank publication entitled "Land Reform in Latin America: Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela" drew heavily on LTC research by faculty and graduate fellows in Bolivia, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela. Two senior staff members are currently deeply involved in preparing the papers which will be presented to the 1979 FAO Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development; they are drawing on years of LTC research to help in this effort.

LTC has accomplished the following in the five research areas: (See attached list of references, Appendix B.)

a) Monitoring land reform experiences: Reports on Honduras, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, and preliminary drafts on Chile and Turkey.

b) Interaction of land tenure system and development: Most significant findings document the dangers of introducing labor-saving technology in socially stratified societies with inequality in landownership and considerable proportions of tenants and landless workers. Labor-saving technology is often utilized for the advantage of some groups with decreased employment and income for other groups. In more homogeneous societies adoption of labor-saving technology is better synchronized with opportunities that rural families have open to them in their own farming, in part-time farming, or in employment off the farm.

c) Group farming: The results of the 1975 Group Farming conference document the great difficulties of generating full participation combined with effective management in cooperative farming. A study in Chile shows that private haciendas with resident labor have characteristics that are favorable for transformation into cooperative farms. A study in South Korea indicates that centralized top-down government planning defeats the formation of participation by and commitment of members to cooperative farms, while spontaneously organized cooperative groups formed around more directly felt needs function much better; government efforts to promote cooperative farming need to be very sensitive to local needs and respectful of local autonomy and initiative.

d) Peasant participation: Work on group farming also covers an important aspect of peasant participation. In addition, LTC working together with the University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives and the Agricultural Development Council prepared papers and organized seminars on Small Farmers, Cooperatives, and Development.

e) Legal aspects of land reform: Research was completed on access of rural poor to public services and on legal problems of implementing the Allende land reform in Chile. These studies show that administrative constraints to public services are less important than the impact of the socioeconomic structure.

In the period under review the largest amount of research has been completed on group farming, cooperatives, and monitoring land reforms. Another major activity was the 1977 International Conference on Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation, and Rural Development, with participation from developing countries in all parts of the world. As a result of this Conference we have made available 53 Seminar Papers and 10 Background Papers as well as the recently published LTC Newsletters 56 and 57 which present brief abstracts of the seminar sessions.

In the period ahead the following major program activities seem important and timely:

- a) Proceed with a program of research and consulting on Africa.
- b) Initiate a parallel effort in the Near East. Preliminary interest has been expressed by Egyptian scholars in collaborative work on cooperatives in Egypt. There is also a possibility of cooperating in a USDA/MUCIA program in Syria.
- c) Undertake a comparative analytic review of current issues in land reform, including the problem of the landless, alternative ways of benefiting the rural poor other than through land redistribution, the impact of land reform and development on roles of women and men, the relation between the food-energy-environmental crisis and the organizational structure of agriculture, the relation between land reforms and other internal reforms and the restructuring of international relations through the New International Economic Order.
- d) Continue work in the Philippines.
- e) Initiate work on legal services to the rural poor.
- f) Maintain the flexibility to respond to crises and new opportunities. For example, there have been expressions of interest in having LTC train land reform personnel in Portugal.

2. Education and Training Programs

Two groups of students have been associated with the Land Tenure Center program: (1) those who have entered degree programs within social science departments such as Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Journalism, Economics,

Rural Sociology, Sociology, etc.; and (2) those who have enrolled in the interdisciplinary Ph.D. program in Development Studies. A review of the list of alumni in both of these categories (see LTC Annual Report 1976-1977, Appendix B: "List of Land Tenure Center Graduates and Students Off-Campus") indicates that many of these graduates have achieved positions of influence and responsibility. The following list gives examples of the high levels of achievement of some of the more outstanding graduates and students selected from a total of over 300 alumni:

Carlos Amat y León	Director of Research, Dirección General de Asuntos Financieros, Ministerio de Economía, Lima, Peru
Luciano Barraza	Served as: Director General, Guanos y Fertilizantes de México (Mexican state-owned fertilizer enterprise)
Russell Brannon	Professor, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
Carlos Castillo	Served as: Vice President, Costa Rica
Elsa Chaney	Deputy Director, Office of Women in Development, COMAD, Washington, D.C.
*Heliodoro Díaz Cisneros	Secretario General, Colegio de Postgraduados, Escuela Nacional de Agricultura, Chapingo, México; and Director, PRONDAAT
Manuel Gollas Quintero	Professor of Economics, El Colegio de México, México, D.F., México; and Associate Director General, CONACYT
*Cassio Luiselli	Asesor, Oficina de Asesores del Casa Presidente de la República, México, D.F., México
Severino T. Madronio	Director, Bureau of Farm Management, Dept. of Agrarian Reform, Philippines
Rubens Medina	Chief, Hispanic Law Division, The Library of Congress Law Library, Washington, D.C.

*Development Studies Program student.

*Franklin Moore	Associate Peace Corps Director, Accra, Ghana
José Pastore	Associate Professor, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Brasil; and Served as: President, Latin American Rural Sociological Society
Rodolfo E. Quirós Guardia	Director, Alterno de Coordinación, Presidencia de la República, San José, Costa Rica; and Served as: Minister of Agriculture, Costa Rica
Kali Prasad Rijal	Director, Planning, Evaluation, and Publicity Division, Dept. of Land Reform, Kathmandu, Nepal
*Nimal Sanderatne	Senior Economist, Rural Economics Division, Dept. of Economic Re- search, Central Bank of Ceylon, Colombo, Sri Lanka
Roger E. Soles	Representative for Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, Inter- American Foundation, Rosslyn, Va.
Benjamín Villanueva	Minister of Economy, Tegucigalpa, D.C., Honduras
Fred Welz	Assistant Sales Manager, PL 480 Program, Office of the General Sales Manager, USDA, Washington, D.C.

Approximately half of the graduates who have been associated with the Land Tenure Center have gone into teaching, education, and research; about one-fourth have taken positions with government agencies; and roughly 20 percent have taken jobs with private and international agencies. To date, there are 15 alumni of the Development Studies Program. Of these, 8 hold teaching and research positions; 4 work for their governments, including national banks; 2 work for private agencies; and 1 holds a position with an international agency. The positions achieved by LTC graduates indicate that their university training has prepared them for careers with educational institutions and with action-oriented national and international agencies.

*Development Studies Program student.

The Land Tenure Center has also helped to arrange special training programs for students and public sector professionals from overseas, and has helped trainees to utilize the full range of educational resources available at the Land Tenure Center and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Trainees have been sponsored by USAID, USDA, their own governments, and private and international agencies, and they have participated in both long- and short-term nondegree programs.

Long-term trainees usually come to the University of Wisconsin for a full semester or more, and enroll in regular courses. Some of these trainees are pursuing graduate level degrees at other universities and come to the University of Wisconsin because of the special courses offered by the Land Tenure Center faculty. Several students have come as trainees from the Philippines in order to take up to a year of coursework here. Among these are:

Wilson Faderon Agrarian Reform Institute	9 month training program (Sept. 1975-June 1976)
Manuel P. Garcia, Jr. Agrarian Reform Institute	1 year training program (Jan.-Dec. 1978)
Filomena Javier Agrarian Reform Institute	1 year training program (Jan.-Dec. 1977)
Lilia Panganiban Dept. of Agrarian Reform	1 semester training program (Sept. 1971-Jan. 1972)
Belen Resma Dept. of Agrarian Reform	2 semester training program (June 1977-Jan. 1978)
Eduardo Santiago Dept. of Agrarian Reform	1 year training program (Jan.-Dec. 1972)
Violeta Saguin Agrarian Reform Institute	1 year training program (Sept. 1976-Aug. 1977)

Other students have also come to the Land Tenure Center for special coursework. During 1977 Gayle A. Morris, an Agricultural Economics Ph.D. student from the Institute of Agriculture and Natural Resources at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, came as a visiting student to attend the LTC's special 1977 summer programs (International Seminar on Agrarian Reform; Summer Session Course, Ag.Econ./Ag.Journ. 375; and Workshop for Young Professionals) and to take LTC courses during the Fall Semester. She worked very closely with Professor William Thiesenhusen, who served as her advisor and directed the preparation of her research proposal for a study of coffee credit systems among

small farmers in Costa Rica. The credits she earned here were counted toward her residency requirements at the University of Nebraska.

The special short-term training programs arranged by the Land Tenure Center have usually assisted professionals from LDCs to increase their knowledge of issues relating to tenure, agrarian reform, and development. Officials from Ethiopia, Turkey, Syria, the Philippines, Portugal and Sri Lanka are among those who have recently participated in short-term training programs at the Land Tenure Center.

A program of coursework and research, funded by USAID/Ethiopia, was initiated in the fall of 1973. This program for senior officials of Ethiopia's Ministry of Land Reform and Administration provided an opportunity for Ministry staff members to research problems related to their specific areas of responsibility within the Ethiopian land administration. Four Ministry officials studied under this program from 1973 to 1975:

Ato Lulseged Asfaw	Head, State Domain and Settlement Dept.
Ato Hailu Wolde-Emmanuel	Head, Land Tenure and Geography Dept.
Ato Aschenaki Tafere	Head, Land Grant Division
Ato Abebe Aklilu	Acting Head, Survey Division

An intensive three-month training program was held for a group of ten officials of the Turkish Agrarian Reform Undersecretariat from January-March 1976. This program involved English instruction; intensive coursework taught by staff members of the University Center for Cooperatives; a course on "Turkish Agrarian Structure" taught by Kemal Karpat, Professor of History and Chairman of the Middle East Studies Program; and a course on "Agrarian Reform: Theory and Experiences," taught by Kenneth Parsons, Emeritus Professor of Agricultural Economics. These trainees also attended special seminars and lectures, received individualized instruction, met informally with LTC faculty, were taken on several field trips and were given many specialized instructional materials and publications.

During the summer and fall of 1976, two participant trainees from the Ministry of Planning, Government of Syria--Mounir Haidar and Mouhamed Ihssan Al-Bahra--came to the Land Tenure Center to receive special training on agrarian reform. Their program consisted of several weeks of discussion sessions and classes devoted to a review of their duties in the Syrian government, and

to a review of experiences with land reform and rural development in selected countries. Professor Kenneth Parsons conducted a six-week session of these classes for three two-hour periods each week. The Land Tenure Center also arranged special meetings and seminars, field visits to local farms, and a one-week trip to study with Professor John Thompson, Chairman of the Dept. of Economics, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in Brookings. LTC made arrangements to extend their program from November 1976 to January 1977 to include an intensive three-month course on econometrics and linear programming, taught by Herman F. Karreman, Professor of Business with the U.W. Mathematics Research Center.

During the summer of 1977 four trainees from the Portuguese Ministry of Agriculture came to attend the LTC International Seminar on Agrarian Reform, and the related Workshop for Young Professionals and special Summer Session course, "Poverty, Agrarian Reform, Employment and the Food Supply." These officials were:

Rui B. Pinheiro Gomes	Institute for Agrarian Reorganization, Lisbon, Portugal
João Antonio Lopes	Regional Center for Agrarian Reform, Santarem, Portugal
Fernando Madeira	Regional Center for Agrarian Reform, Beja, Portugal
Luis C. Valente	Regional Center for Agrarian Reform, Beja, Portugal

It is hoped that there is a good possibility that the Land Tenure Center will establish a long-term working relationship with the Portuguese Ministry of Agriculture and with academic institutions in Portugal.

Other short-term trainees have included Isidro De Leon, Josefina Nuñez, and Naomi Capinpin of the Dept. of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines; and Anura Jayanthi Liyanage, Planning Officer from the Ministry of Plan Implementation in Sri Lanka, who came to LTC for one week of training during June 1978 as part of her work for a USDA-sponsored course on "Management and the Role of Women in Development." At present, Fraternid Miranda, librarian from the Agrarian Reform Institute, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, is at the Land Tenure Center for a three-month program of individualized training under the direction of Teresa Anderson, Head Librarian, LTC Library.

Ms. Miranda will visit several U.S. and Canadian research libraries, and is also selecting materials for the ARI Library.

Development Studies Ph.D. Program

There are no programs directly comparable to the Development Studies Ph.D. Program in the University of Wisconsin system or on other campuses in the United States. One other interdisciplinary degree program on the U.W.-Madison campus, leading to a Ph.D. in Land Resources, is designed for students who wish to broaden their field of knowledge related to land and natural resources, but that program does not emphasize the study of development issues in the LDCs. Like the Development Studies Program, the Land Resources Program has not yet received the final approval of the University of Wisconsin Graduate School.

Many universities have recognized the need for an interdisciplinary Ph.D. level development studies degree program, but none outside of the University of Wisconsin has shown sufficient administrative flexibility to meet that need. The uniqueness of the program is demonstrated by its ability to attract students from both the United States and many foreign countries; it serves to complete and enhance other international programs of the University.

The University of Pittsburgh has been trying to develop a similar program, but has not yet organized one that is exactly similar to Development Studies. There are interdisciplinary international relations degrees in schools such as Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and several universities offer degrees in development, usually through one academic unit. Stanford International Studies unit gives such a doctorate, as does the Harvard Graduate School of Education through their Center for Studies in Education and Development. None of these is really similar to the Ph.D. in Development degree.

The Development Studies Program is very integrated with the program of the Land Tenure Center. The administrative support for the Development Studies Program is funded through the LTC grant, and there is much overlap between the Program Faculties of the LTC and Development Studies. LTC supports a few Development Studies students, such as Paul Cox and Nimal Fernando, whose research is related to that of the Center. LTC support, however, also is given to graduate students in other social science departments. There are some Development

Studies students who are doing work not directly related to the research foci of the Land Tenure Center, and these students receive funding from outside sources and draw in faculty who would otherwise probably not be associated with LTC. Jorge Saravia, for example, is funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and is working on a study to relate agricultural transformation to the health status of the rural population of Colombia.

Faculty and student reaction to the Development Studies Program has been favorable. A professor from the U.W. Department of Agricultural Economics has endorsed the program, saying that the Development Studies students he has had are excellent, comparing favorably with graduate students he has in Agricultural Economics and Economics. A Political Science professor from another university has said that this program fills a vital need in terms of multidisciplinary work in this area; he feels that students who hold this degree often have superior preparation to those who have majored in one department. The students themselves have considered Development Studies to be a program of great value. The fact that Development Studies students are securing good professional positions speaks well for the program.

3. Information Capacity

LTC staff have worked in two different ways to make AID practitioners aware of the materials available through both the publications and the Library programs.

We have worked closely with the Information Cluster of DSB, helping to make certain that copies of all grant-supported documents are on file, supplying copies to be abstracted for Research and Development Abstracts, assuring that we share bibliographical control over new publications, etc. We have considerable evidence that this effort has been effective; this has taken the forms of frequent requests for collaboration by Information Cluster staff, and repeated requests for publications from development practitioners who cite RADA as their source of information regarding LTC publications.

Every AID Mission Director receives a copy of every new LTC publication. These are sent out automatically, and without cost to the Missions. They include regular Library Accessions Lists, which should enable Mission staff to

keep abreast of major new Library acquisitions which might be of interest to them. It is to be hoped that Mission Directors circulate these publications among their staff, but we are always willing to add to the mailing list any individual AID staff member who expresses an interest in receiving publications. As only one example of this latter service, in mid-1975 we added 16 rural development officers attached to the Latin America Bureau to the mailing list and sent each of them a free copy of our Annotated Bibliography on Land Reform in Latin America. This was done at the request of a senior official in The Latin America Bureau.

While it is true that AID requests for services which the Center's Information Capacity can provide are not numerous--in 1975-76, 1976-77 and thus far in 1977-78 they averaged just under 20 percent of all major requests received (35 of a total of 187)--they are all substantive in nature. They are requests of a kind which require considerable professional input on the part of publications and Library staff, on occasion up to a week or more of such time. Center staff have provided AID officials with, for example: multiple copies of publications for distribution overseas; data to repond to Congressional queries on land reform in LDCs; information prior to taking up a major overseas assignment; data to assist in drawing up new foreign aid legislation; films for use in a senior executive training program; help in answering questions from Missions; etc. Details can be found in relevant Annual Reports.

These are substantive requests, which are treated seriously and quickly by LTC staff members. We would welcome greater AID use of this valuable and integral part of our program.

4. Advisory Capacity

In recent years the 211(d) grant which funds the Land Tenure Center has never supported more than six (6) faculty members--one fulltime and the rest half time or less. Nevertheless, by drawing on its larger Program Faculty as well as this core group the Center has generated between 34 (1975-76) and 50 (1976-77) man-months of consulting time, at a cost to the grant of \$1,342 and \$1,016 respectively (figures for 1977-78 are not yet complete, but there is no reason to expect they will not be comparable).*

*In 1975-76, only four consulting requests were turned down by LTC staff--one because the host government requested postponement, three because (cont.)

We believe that these figures demonstrate the willingness of LTC staff to accept consulting assignments whenever it is humanly possible to do so. Table 1 indicates the breakdown by categories of organizations and man months for consulting requests which were fulfilled.

Table 1
Breakdown of LTC Consulting Assignments

Year	AID/W	AID Missions	Interna'l Agencies	Foreign Gov'ts.	Foreign Univs.	Foundations	Other*
1975-76 (34 man months)	14%	37%	20%	14%	3%	5%	4%
1976-77 (50 man months)	7%	20%	19%	7%	12%	3%	20%

*This category includes, among other agencies, other U.S. government bureaus such as USIA, USDA, the State Department, etc.

We believe further that the nature of the pattern of consulting shown in Table 1 is entirely consistent with the language in the grant documents which direct the LTC program. Below are three relevant quotations from the grant paper which provided for the current extension of 211(d) funding:

Because of the importance of land tenure structure on development, AID expects the demand for advice and assistance on land tenure problems to continue for many years. Thus, a capability must be maintained to service that demand as the need arises. Utilization of the LTC expertise may be more through the UN, FAO, or directly with the LDCs than with AID, depending upon the political environment of the country in question. Thus, due to great sensitivities in LDCs on land tenure matters, the utilization of the LTC services may often be more indirect than direct.

With regard to AID's field activities, it seems likely that one important reason for limited USAID utilization of LTC resources or minimum direct involvement in land reform activities stems from a lack of

they conflicted with prior commitments (in one of these instances an alternate was suggested). In 1976-77 again, four such requests were turned down--two were rescheduled for a later time, the others conflicted with prior commitments.

knowledge and perspective on the part of AID officers as to the critical role of such reforms. In too many cases, tenure systems are taken as a given and programs are structured which probably shore up tenure systems which limit the possibilities of major productivity increases. Mission personnel may lack the background to positively influence governments to move in the direction of reform. Beyond USAID, State personnel are often uninformed in this field. (p. 11)

The rationale for continuation of LTC funding cannot rest entirely on estimates of direct demand for its services by AID Missions in the near future. Rather, due to the extreme sensitivity of the LDCs on land reform matters, much of the utilization of LTC services will be on an indirect basis, perhaps through multilateral agencies or directly with the LDCs on an informal but confidential basis. Direct AID/LTC involvement in many situations may initially be confined to providing information, training, and consultation directly to AID personnel rather than to host governments. (p. 16)

This grant will provide continuing support to the LTC for maintaining a response capability for LDC and donor agency requests. The concept proposed is that selected LTC staff would accept responsibility for agrarian reform monitoring, with a proportion of their time being reserved for servicing LDC and donor requests on a contract basis. Funds under this grant would largely cover necessary back-up support for these faculty activities, and such pre- and post-consulting activities as research or publications within the grant purposes. A limited amount of funding will be included to cover short-term consulting requests where assistance is needed indirectly of AID by an LDC financially qualified to receive AID concessional assistance.

The off-campus activity will include, but not be limited to, providing land tenure and agrarian reform technical assistance, advice and training; preparing or reviewing program and project plans for LDCs and donor agencies; providing analysis and commentary on research or policy manuscript [sic] on agrarian reform prepared by LDC and donor agencies; and participating in agrarian reform seminars at other universities, with national and international organizations and in LDCs. (p. 24)

One indication that these consulting efforts have been relatively successful is a pattern of repeated requests, either for the same individual or for a colleague who could tackle another aspect of a problem. In the Philippines, for instance, when the first long-term staff member left at the end of his tour he was replaced by another, and this second man is now being asked to stay on if an extension of the project can be arranged. Similarly in Honduras, a former long-term field researcher there has been asked to write several policy papers. In El Salvador another staff member has been asked to return a number of times for short-term consulting.

This is not to deny that there have been difficulties--requests come in with too little lead time or for a specific staff member who is already too

heavily committed, or dates are changed repeatedly with little or no advance notice. These are not major problems: with good will and common sense operating on both sides they can be solved.

Perhaps a greater problem is that of educating constantly changing AID personnel to the kinds of services the Land Tenure Center can offer. Probably it can best be solved by personal contact between AID and LTC staff:

- Seminars could be arranged with Regional Bureau staff members at which LTC staff could help review planned or ongoing projects for the tenure implications.
- LTC staff could make presentations to Mission Directors when they return to the United States for periodic briefing sessions.
- LTC staff could be encouraged to visit Missions in countries where tenure issues seem likely to arise in the near future.

A potential danger to be avoided in any such educational effort is a too narrow definition of LTC expertise--i.e., the "classic" land reform. It might enhance AID utilization of LTC skills if it were made clearer to Bureaus and Missions that Center staff can help in many situations where change in tenure patterns is taking place--resettlement projects, irrigation projects, introduction of new technology, where cooperatives or other group activities of rural people are fostered, where new legal and administrative procedures are being introduced, etc. The Airgram drafted for dispatch to Missions by LTC and RAD staff could be very helpful in this effort.

Linkages

The grant documents which have guided the program of the Land Tenure Center since July 1975 stress a wide variety of linkages which it is expected the Center will pursue and strengthen: within the University of Wisconsin community; with other 211(d) institutions; with a range of LDC institutions, universities and government agencies alike; with international agencies; the informal linkages which grow out of visitors, students, trainees, etc.; and, of course, with AID, both Washington and the Missions. Successful utilization of the capability built up by the 211(d) grant requires effective collaboration with all these agencies and individuals, not just a selected few.

Within the University of Wisconsin community, we have firmed up our administrative relationships and greatly broadened faculty and staff participation in Center activities, both on the Madison campus and with other campuses in the UW system. We have added four members to the Program Faculty from campuses other than Madison, and have slightly enlarged the size of the Executive Committee to provide for greater breadth of intellectual interests. A collaborative relationship has been developed with the University Center for Cooperatives. These efforts have enhanced our ability to work with AID in a number of ways, including new capacity in African research areas, in problems of women in development, and in the whole area of cooperatives.

It has long been a policy of the Center to conduct research in close collaboration with host-country universities. In the United States publications and annual report exchanges have begun with a number of other 211(d) institutions, and the ongoing relationship with BERD at Virginia State College has been continued. The range of informal linkages between the Center and LDC institutions can be seen in the list in the Annual Reports of the jobs now held by students formerly associated with the Center. In addition, more formal linkages are being developed or are continuing with IICA, BANDAGRO and FUDECO of Venezuela, with CENDERCO of Chile, and with a variety of Philippine institutions beginning with the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, but also including other research institutions and government agencies.

Center staff members are actively working with FAO on preparation for its 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development. There has also been cooperation in recent years with ADC (a jointly sponsored conference on cooperatives) and IADS (a jointly written paper on land reform).

One individual linkage is worthy of special mention. Professor John W. Bennett of the Dept. of Anthropology at Washington University in St. Louis has developed a unique relationship with the Center over the past two years. He has visited the Center a number of times, recently for an entire semester as a Visiting Professor, bringing with him intellectual insights developed over scores of years of field research in rural development.

Relationships with AID have, in our judgment, improved over the past two years. It has become possible to carry on substantive and productive discussions on a wide range of activities and projects, ranging from the International

Seminar to a new emphasis on research in Africa. Keys to this improvement have been the Intra-Agency Committee which has taken some responsibility for conducting the Center's affairs within AID and more consistent grant management within the Rural Development Office itself. A deeply felt problem of the past--constant turnover of AID officials with whom the Center was supposed to work--has been greatly eased and we look forward to even greater cooperation in the years to come. Problems of communication are being improved by more frequent trips to Washington, telephone conversations, interim reports by letter of Center activities, and greater AID attention to our Annual Reports. Strengthened linkages with AID can only enhance our joint efforts to improve the condition of the rural poor.

Appendix A

Preliminary Suggestions for Research in Africa

The Land Tenure Center has for some months been giving special consideration to a research approach to the land policy and land tenure problems of tropical Africa. The statement "Land Tenure Issues in African Development" reports the results to date of approaching the tenure problem in African development through review of four USAID projects against the background of traditional agriculture and the historic tribal culture in the areas where the projects are sited. This analytical review has been undertaken in the hopes of widening the common ground, understanding, interest and concern between USAID and LTC. From this base it should be possible for the LTC to better understand the short-term goals and needs of USAID Missions in relation to the professional capacities of the LTC. Not only should this be mutually beneficial in the short run, but it should also provide a better basis of long-term planning and research.

As a sequel to the discussion of African problems by the International Seminar on Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation and Rural Development, July 1977, we have initiated a systematic analysis and overview of the issues in land policy which the nations of tropical Africa confront in rural development, taking into account the influence upon traditional agriculture and customary tenure systems of the colonial regimes during the approximately 75 years of colonial law and administration. Although much of the traditional system remains in both agricultural and grazing economies with deep similarities among the countries, there are major differences among the countries regarding the enduring consequences of colonial rule. We note only a few items of major consequence for national land policies.

Where large scale European settlement occurred, the African farmers were both limited in the land they could occupy and cash crops they were permitted to grow. Come independence, having experienced major growth in population in the meantime, there was tremendous pressure for land reform programs in the classical sense of land redistribution to the native people. The end is not in sight on this issue.

A similar but more difficult set of problems is now confronted in territories where colonial development policy was promoted by large concessions of land, as in Zaire, where something like half of the land in the territory was so granted. This is partly because such concessions were granted for mineral exploitations. But eventually there will have to be some sort of agricultural land policy if these countries are to achieve orderly development.

Where sufficient agricultural export crops were produced by African farmers as adjuncts to the traditional subsistence agriculture, the agricultural development occurred within the interstices of the traditional landholding system (as in west Africa). Here, the immediate need of tenure policy is not land reform in the conventional sense, but rather the transformation of the tenure system to give support to farming systems which incorporate improved technology and produce a market surplus. One avenue of agricultural development in this part of Africa, which now seems likely, is the reorganization of agriculture on a village basis to combine continued individual occupancy and use of home sites and subsistence plots with some sort of large scale group farming.

Where the development program of the colonial regimes turned to large scale irrigation projects to produce an export crop, as in Sudan, a new system of farming adaptable to flow irrigation had to be instituted which also required adjustment in the traditional tenure patterns to permit large scale farming systems. As irrigated farming is extended there will be recurrent and persistent problems of the reconciliation of claims to land under the customary rules of use and occupancy which will have to be worked out to the satisfaction of the people if civil disorder is to be avoided.

The tenure problems in the modernization of grazing economies differ basically from those in the transformation of crop economies in that the tenure system for grazing land was not, and could not, be based upon the exclusive use by individual ranchers. In these grazing situations new forms of group economies are being attempted. As these provide for range and livestock improvements, the controls run more upon participation in group enterprise, such as the allowable numbers of cattle, than upon direct land use controls.

The issues in land tenure policy which such transformations entail are both comprehensive and complex. As the LTC moves forward on a research program to investigate such issues, it is our expectation (and indeed a practical

necessity) that collaborative research arrangements be made with indigenous universities and research centers. Once such cooperative programs are under way, it will then be possible to work jointly on such difficult issues as the reconciliation of the customary rules of land tenure with the more systematic and comprehensive European legal systems (both British Common Law and the Continental Civil Codes) which the colonial powers implanted into their colonies.

Appendix B

List of References

Research Areas

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c) Group Farming

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d) Peasant Participation

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