

PD-AAR-808  
41275

December 28, 1982

THE LAND TENURE CENTER

AND

U.S. AID POLICY

an evaluation by

John D. Montgomery, Harvard University

John P. Powelson, University of Colorado

G. Edward Schuh, University of Minnesota

with the collaboration of

Albert Berry, University of Toronto

Thomas F. Carroll, Inter-American Development Bank

Alain de Janvry, University of California, Berkeley

Grace Goodell, Harvard Institute for  
International Development

Hung-chao Tai, University of Detroit

Persons (other than AID staff) consulted or interviewed  
in connection with this evaluation:

Dale Adams, Ohio State University  
Albert Berry, University of Toronto  
Thomas P. Carroll, Inter-American Development Bank  
Alain de Janvry, University of California, Berkeley  
Folke Doving, University of Illinois  
Carl Eicher, Michigan State University  
Walter P. Falcon, Stanford University  
Sarah Yudelman, Inter-American Foundation  
D. Gale Johnson, University of Chicago  
Uma Lele, World Bank  
Sein Lin, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy  
John Mellor, International Food Policy Research Institute  
Wyn Owen, University of Colorado  
Don Paarlberg, Purdue University.  
Philip Raup, University of Minnesota  
Vernon Ruttan, University of Minnesota  
Theodore W. Schultz, University of Chicago  
Rupert Scofield, American Institute for Free Labor  
Development  
Hung-chao Tai, University of Detroit  
Mary Temple, Land Council, Inc., New York City  
Abraham Weisblat, Agricultural Development Council  
Eugene Wunderlich, U.S. Department of Agriculture  
Montague Yudelman, World Bank

The writers are grateful for the research assistance of Carlos Pascual (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University), who also wrote Appendix II of this report.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Introduction: Land Reform and Foreign Aid                                  | 7    |
| I. Land Tenure in Development Theory                                       | 14   |
| II. LTC Contributions to Land Tenure Literature                            | 21   |
| III. LTC contributions to Research, Policy, and Field Operations           | 28   |
| IV. Looking to the Future  | 52   |
| V. Conclusions and Recommendations   | 56   |
| Special Recommendation   | 59   |
| <br>Appendices   |      |
| I. Land Reform in U.S. Foreign Policy, by John D. Montgomery               |      |
| II. Institutional History of LTC, by Carlos Pascual                        |      |
| III. Appraisal of LTC Bibliography, by John P. Powelson                    |      |
| IV. Assessment of LTC Country Operations, by Thomas F. Carroll             |      |
| V. LTC Contributions to the Study of Rural Development, by Alain de Janvry |      |
| VI. Socio-Political Implications of LTC Studies, by Grace E. Goodell       |      |
| VII. LTC Studies of the Political Impact of Land Reform, by Hung-chao Tai  |      |
| VIII. Productivity Effects of Land Reform, by Albert Berry                 |      |

## PREFACE

This report goes beyond AID's immediate need to evaluate the Land Tenure Center of the University of Wisconsin (LTC). It begins with the immediate issues - how well LTC has performed, whether AID has made full use of its resources, and what future position the Agency should take in developing and using the national capacity to deal with land policy. Then it turns to relationships between knowledge and policy, between universities and the government, and between nationally supported "centers of excellence" and the abundant other resources in the United States. It also touches upon questions about how best the U.S. Government can rely upon these pluralistic resources of individuals and institutions, and how it can protect the national interest in a structured policy situation where issues are sensitive, while still respecting the individual rights of self expression on the part of participants in such research.

The terms of reference of the assignment called for an examination of the "Center's written product. . .", and the "effectiveness of the program overall in terms of its innovativeness. . ." The Scope of Work asks us to consider how "the LTC stand(s) in the field relative to other centers of land tenure in the United States" and to consult experience "on the part of Missions and regional bureaus." The assignment is broad, but

its focus is immediate: how AID should negotiate changes in the LTC agreement to improve responsiveness to U.S. foreign policy needs.

The survey of LTC's activities would not be complete without considering its contributions to important problems in rural development theory and practice, and accordingly we commissioned several appendices for this evaluation, presenting judgments from informed specialists. Experience with LTC's operations is reported here through responses to cables we sent to AID missions describing and appraising their in-country services in Latin America, Africa and Asia. More than a dozen of these responses are quoted, sometimes in full; we have also included a few answers from host government institutions. Nearly a hundred alumni and trainees wrote us describing ways in which the Center had affected their work and their profession. Finally, scores of individuals in and outside of AID assisted us by allowing themselves to be interviewed, sometimes at length, about their experience with LTC and their judgments about its efforts.

One basic feature of the evaluation emerged as we sifted through these experiences: the fact that the Center has sustained itself almost as a permanent institution for over 20 years, a longevity greater than most of AID's relationships with the university community. The first stirrings of life began

with a grant from AID's predecessor in 1951; AID created the Land Tenure Center itself and has been its primary sponsor since 1962. The Center is a means to an end, of course: that of improving AID operations. It cannot be otherwise. Yet if the end is to be better policies and operations in matters affecting land tenure and access to natural resources in developing countries, there has to be a building and sustaining of an LTC institutional capacity as dynamic as the changing needs of development. Thus the question of the need for in-depth research in this area, along with operational assistance, seems inescapable. Where should research be done? Are other institutions than LTC likely to provide AID with equivalent services? Can the arrangements that have sustained LTC over the past twenty years be improved to serve both immediate and long term requirements better?

None of the informants we consulted - even those most critical of LTC - dissented from the judgment that the issues of land tenure and resource access will continue to be important dimensions of U.S. foreign aid. If the Agency concurs in that judgment, both the long-term and immediate questions can be placed in the context of a management strategy that will protect the institutional needs of a center that must anticipate its continued relationship to AID over a period of five years at least, while at the same time affording adequate safeguards to U.S. policy interests everywhere the LTC is asked to serve. This report seeks to respond to both needs.

John D. Montgomery  
John P. Powelson  
G. Edward Schuh

Introduction: Land Reform and Foreign Aid

Land tenure first became an issue in U.S. foreign policy when first General Lucius Clay and then General Douglas MacArthur requested the U.S. Department of Agriculture to assist in planning for the post-World War II military occupations. Subsequent analysts have considered the Japanese experience both an economic and political success, and the United States seemed to reenact the same land reform initiatives successively in Taiwan and South Korea. Thereafter the most far-reaching official support for land reform came during the Eisenhower administration, which considered this extension of the American ideal of small freeholding farmers a strong potential base for pluralistic societies elsewhere in the world. During the 1950's it was regarded a valuable strategy for countering the appeal of communist propaganda in Asia. Thus the United States continued aggressively supporting land reform even under the less favorable circumstances that prevailed in South Vietnam, when the hope of achieving political objectives led to the assignment of land reform specialists to the AID mission in Saigon. The U.S. internationalized the approach in the 1960's as the Alliance for Progress. By then land reform operations became a responsibility of the Agency for International Development. And AID still continues to provide technical assistance on land tenure issues whenever other governments and U.S. foreign policy call for it. (See Appendix I for a more

detailed discussion of land reform in U.S. policy.)

These experiences have not produced uniform successes. Redistribution of land to small private farmers has occurred only rarely in the past decade, and then usually on a small scale. Nor have the political, economic, and social outcomes been uniformly beneficial. Not all land reforms have stabilized the governments that carried them out; sometimes the very rhetoric of reform has stimulated revolutionary rather than peaceful change, and produced the destruction of rights that had existed before reform was undertaken. Sometimes the United States has helped land reform to succeed, only to encounter unexpected political developments that turned friendly governments against it. Sometimes without introducing reform at all, governments have tried to solve the perceived problem by introducing costly resettlement and land development schemes that strained their budgets and produced few significant economic and social benefits. And as the Agency for International Development has ventured into African tenure issues, it has found that land reforms of the Asian type are sometimes inappropriate because they might not serve either the political objective of stability or the economic one of productivity.

It is not surprising, then, that U.S. support to land reform has fluctuated, especially in cases where redistributive agrarian changes might actually threaten some American interests. By the 1980's, the American position had lost whatever

clear focus it had developed in the 1950's and 1960's. Both in Congress and the executive branch there have been occasional challenges to the appropriateness of official American involvement in land reform in other countries. Yet in 1982 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously to make land reform a condition of U.S. aid to El Salvador.

Despite the complexity of American attitudes toward land tenure issues, makers of U.S. foreign policy have to face both long-term and insistent questions. How can they best inform themselves about agrarian patterns that might seriously affect development assistance programs in friendly countries? How can they provide for continued accumulation of such knowledge for ready access by decision makers in the field? How can they be assured that knowledgeable advisors will be available to advise friendly countries when such policy thrusts are called for?

Whether there is official support for them or not, there can be little doubt that major changes in land tenure - both planned and unplanned, and whether in farming or pastoral societies, or under sedentary or migratory agriculture - have powerful effects upon a nation's development. They can either support or undermine U.S. efforts to support rural development or regional diversification; they may affect urbanization rates; they can even influence a country's foreign exchange position.

## Land Tenure and US AID

Regardless of the degree of American support or resistance to land reform as such, many AID officials have expressed the need for information about land tenure as a factor in economic development.

The decision to establish the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center as a national resource for policy guidance and for research came in 1962, before these issues and uncertainties had become so obvious. (See Appendix II for an institutional history of the LTC.) The LTC was one of several "centers of excellence" created and supported by the Agency for International Development,\* and though its activities have changed over the years in response to changing demands and needs, it is still at work after two decades and nearly \$10 million of grants, contracts, and a cooperative agreement. How has it performed? Is it still needed? Would different arrangements or mechanisms serve U.S. needs better? These are the questions this evaluation seeks to answer.

No single standard would be appropriate in appraising LTC's performance. It has done research, but usually in the context of the problem-solving needs of policy makers rather than as an

---

\* Similar centers were established at Michigan State University, Ohio State University, and Cornell University, among others.

abstract contribution to knowledge. It has participated in policymaking, but only as one element in a configuration of decisions made in Washington and the field. It has engaged extensively in education and training, but its influence through these efforts can be identified only indirectly. It has developed facts, made predictions, tested hypotheses, offered advice, solved problems - and created problems. In appraising these activities, data must be considered and professional standards and informed judgments must be applied. The facts are irrefutable, but some of the judgments will be controversial.

Land tenure has also been controversial at the University of Wisconsin. In the late 1960's the Students for a Democratic Society attacked the LTC as a fascist organization and demanded that the University abolish it along with ROTC. Its overseas offices were then labeled "centers of American imperialism." Now in the 1980's, some LTC staff members have been criticized for being too sympathetic to left-wing governments.

Being attacked from both left and right is not, of course, proof of purity. But it does call attention to the need for objectivity and professionalism in evaluating the LTC experience. LTC's personnel in the field have sometimes been charged with dubious judgment: in one case they were accused of representing the American position as being other than it was and in another of having criticized U.S. policy in public. They

Land Tenure and US AID

were said to have refused to offer advice to U.S. officials on questionable grounds of academic freedom. Such charges are now rare, however; only two or three cases have been reported during this survey, a surprisingly low profile for a set of activities that is potentially controversial, especially when LTC has operated over a twenty-year period, recently with an average of 70 work-months a year of consulting (See Table 5, Appendix II), using scholars not trained in diplomacy, while working under politically unstable conditions. These examples, moreover, have been countered during the course of this evaluation by references to the diplomatic finesse the Center displayed in other situations such as that of Chile, where it successfully advised four bitterly controversial regimes during three successive presidencies in the United States. To accept policy responsibilities in land tenure matters is as risky as it is necessary.

These controversies are relatively trivial if the LTC has otherwise performed well, and probably irrelevant altogether if its services are still necessary for American foreign policy-makers and for functions deemed to be appropriate concerns of the Agency for International Development.

The pages that follow will appraise the activities of LTC as reflected in its publication and its services. This review will include both the authors' judgments on the quality of its research and policy advice and an evaluation of the position it

occupies in the context of similar activities undertaken by other American scholars and institutions. It will incorporate, as well, judgments from the general community of "users" of LTC products and services, including other academics working in the field, U.S. AID missions and American foundations, foreign institutes of rural development, and alumni of the Center, especially those now in the public service of developing countries.

Finally, this report will include an evaluation of the changing field of rural development studies in which the LTC is operating, in order to identify future needs and recommend further action in the context of current and anticipated needs of the Agency for International Development.

Land Tenure and US AID

I. Land Tenure in Development Theory

At the end of World War II a series of political decisions and intellectual developments combined to give agriculture second or third place in the priorities of development policy, practice, and thought. The policy decisions were made largely by the less developed and previously colonial countries themselves with the objective of reducing their dependence on the international capitalist system. This policy preference was a reaction against the historical fact that the crises of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II had placed severe strains on the economies of the "periphery" states, whose protagonists now believed that severance from the international economy would strengthen their internal structure and produce a forced-draft industrialization. Raul Prebisch provided the most celebrated intellectual rationale for this perspective with his arguments predicting ever-declining terms of trade for the less developed countries.

The 1950's and early 1960's witnessed a series of economic growth models defining possible relationships between industry and agriculture. For the most part these models treated agriculture as a reservoir of human labor to be tapped as needed for expansion of the industrial sector. The assumption that there was excess labor in agriculture implied that such transfers could easily be performed without constraining the expansion of

agricultural output. To the extent that labor shortages became a constraint on the agricultural sector, the early theorists assumed that mechanization could compensate for them.

These development models reinforced the predilection of planners and intellectuals in the developing countries to ignore agriculture as a focal point of development efforts. Agriculture was not neglected by the international community, however, even though there had not yet emerged a well-defined economic paradigm to support investments in agriculture (see Appendix V). There was an important convergence of views at the end of World War II that a freeholding system of small owners would lead to the most efficient agriculture possible. This view was reinforced by the apparent success of the occupation-imposed land reforms in Japan and the later successes in South Korea and Taiwan: successes that kept tenure issues on the agenda of development planners. But industry continued to dominate the aspirations of national leaders.

Land tenure issues have long been on the political agenda in Latin America. The ownership of land has historically been highly concentrated in that region, and neither internal nor external observers have viewed this fact as a constraint to development. Much of the land tenure literature in the early post-World War II period is therefore associated with Latin America.

The prevailing view towards agricultural development in this period was that new production technology could be transferred from the advanced to the less developed countries, and that agriculture could easily be strengthened in this way. This was the heyday of programs designed to strengthen extension services and to provide direct means of technology transfer. Little attention was given to land tenure or structural issues.

Theodore W. Schultz challenged many of these views in his influential book Transforming Traditional Agriculture (1964). He called attention to the importance of developing agriculture as a policy objective, while at the same time challenging the prevailing assumptions about excess labor in agriculture and the transferability of technology. He argued, moreover, that human capital - investments in knowledge and education - were the key to developing a modern agriculture, and that to modernize agriculture required substantial investments in agricultural research and in the education of rural people.

Events of the middle and late 1960's reinforced the intellectual framework that Schultz had outlined. A series of bad weather experiences in 1965 and 1966 reminded the world that food could still be in short supply and that improvements in agriculture needed special attention from development planners. The development of the "miracle" wheats and rices in the latter half of the 1960's called attention to the potentials of new

agricultural technology. And by the middle of the 1960's, forced draft industrialization policies of the 1950's and 1960's had demonstrated their inability to generate employment on a scale sufficient to absorb rural labor productively. This development caused planners and intellectuals to turn to agriculture as an employer of last resort. Land tenure now became, perhaps inappropriately, an important development issue because access to land provided a means of absorbing "surplus" labor in the rural sector. The perceived need was to provide the widest possible access to the land.

Land tenure issues received further impetus from another source. The 1960's was the decade of Keynesian economics. Peter Dorner of LTC effectively articulated a Keynesian rationale for land reform, arguing that a more equitable distribution of income was necessary to sustain a fully employed economy and thus to generate the employment necessary for countries with rapidly burgeoning labor forces.

The decade of the 1970's opened with Hayami and Ruttan's work on induced technical change. They put the creation and distribution of new production technology and investment in human capital firmly at the center of agricultural development theory and practice. New production technology was seen as the source of new income streams for the development of the agricultural sector. Investment in agricultural research and other forms of human capital was seen as the motive force for agricul-

tural development, and it was recognized that this new technology had to be adapted to local economic, climactic and resource conditions. Hayami and Ruttan's work focused on the larger set of institutional arrangements.

At the same time, equity issues began to receive more systematic treatment in development theory. The chronic and serious unemployment that most developing countries were experiencing made equity, in the view of many observers, an inescapable obligation of government policy. But as countries experienced rapid economic development, they found that the distribution of income was still skewed against the poor. Moreover, there was some initial evidence that the new miracle seeds were contributing to a more unequal distribution of income. More recent studies have shown this to be a complex issue, however, and some evidence points in the other direction.

The emergence of these equity issues led the Congress in 1973 to establish a new direction for U.S. foreign assistance programs, giving priority to the equity question. This mandate shifted an important part of both economic analyses and development programs toward rural development, a perspective that gave equal emphasis to increasing gross domestic product and seeking a more equitable distribution of benefits. As might be expected, this new perspective emphasized local institutional arrangements.

At this time, a new intellectual debate arose about land tenure and sharecropping. Steven Cheung's The Theory of Share Tenancy (1969) challenged the belief that share arrangements led to an inefficient use of agricultural resources. He demonstrated that tenure systems and the size of tenant units were subject to market forces and could change under competition to achieve an efficient use of resources.

Cheung's work led to an explosion in the literature on land tenure and to a significant broadening in the context in which the tenure question was discussed. The ensuing intellectual debate has led to some qualification of Cheung's original propositions, but not of the main thrust of his analysis. Share tenancy is now viewed as one means of obtaining an efficient use of agricultural resources and not as an impediment to efficiency.

In the 1980's an important consensus is emerging in agricultural development theory. Institutional-historical economics and classical market-oriented economics are merging. Institutional arrangements are now part of the analytical framework, and they are also viewed as responsive to economic forces. Economic theory seeks to explain their role in influencing the speed and direction of development.

New production technology continues high on the policy agenda (the original supply-side economics), but attention is also directed to the institutions necessary to bring about the

production and distribution of that technology. The importance of institutional arrangements in determining who benefits and who bears the costs of development has become central to that analysis.

As the focal point of development efforts shifts to the African continent, this new perspective offers a rich analytical framework for development policy and research. It focuses on the importance of institutional arrangements on that continent and of understanding these arrangements as a basis for formulating development policy.

Historically, then, land tenure and the larger institutional issues of which it is a part have evolved away from a rather ad hoc addendum to development policy and theory, in which agriculture has been neglected, and toward a central focus of both development theory and practice. The Land Tenure Center has been an active participant in and has influenced the evolving debate, with one important exception. This exception was the Cheung challenge to the traditional perspective on sharecropping, which we believe has not been adequately confronted by LTC. This will be explained in the next chapter, which contains a more detailed review of recent literature from the LTC.

## II. LTC's Contribution to Land Tenure Literature

Twenty years ago, social scientists studied land tenure only to address problems of agrarian reform. In its "state-of-the-arts" literature, LTC has extended this horizon significantly. Land tenure as now conceived includes not only the legal principles of land holding but all cultural attributes associated with it. In much of the Third World, these attributes are so different from Western experience that serious errors are almost inevitable - in diplomacy, project design, and foreign aid policy - if they are not taken into account. In many countries, the rights to land are much more complicated than they are in freehold systems, since one person may have rights to live on the land, another to cultivate it, another to its water, and so on. In general, such sets of rights grow up in conformity with ecological conditions and agricultural technology; hence they are deeply embedded in a social system. Those who would help the rural poor do so at their peril, and that of the poor as well, if they ignore the peculiarities of land tenure systems.

The analysis of these cultural features has still not been linked to Cheung's economic approach described in the preceding section, nor has the efficient rationale of alternative tenure systems been explored. Such a synthesis could display impor-

but still unknown interactions in land tenure systems and could be of great value to AID. It is in the relationship between such theoretical insights and the practical dimensions of land policy that the greatest potential for LTC lies.

A detailed review of LTC publications appears in Appendix III, which presents a one-paragraph annotation for each of 11 newsletters, 27 LTC numbered papers, 14 research papers, 14 LTC reprints, 10 miscellaneous papers, and four books: a total of 80 publications. Several of the reports constitute "state-of-the-arts" papers in that they describe the forefront of knowledge in their fields. LTC itself has contributed pioneering work in group farming, through the publication of Cooperative and Commune (1975), edited by Peter Dorner. Probably their principal contribution lies in extension of knowledge concerning how land tenure relates to agricultural development, project analysis, and wider areas of social change, rather than in agrarian reform narrowly defined.

LTC publications fall into five clusters:\*

(1) Efficiency of Agriculture. How can the structure of land tenure systems promote increases in productivity per acre?

---

\*Recent writings, not in final form, are yet to be incorporated into the LTC numbering system. These items, referred to in the text only by date (1982 and 1981), are reviewed in sections 1, 2, and 3 of Appendix III. The reviews of LTC papers (text references to LTC followed by a number) are found in section 4 of that Appendix, while research papers (RP followed by a number) are reviewed in section 5.

Bruce and Dorner (1982) reported that presidential ownership of all land in Zambia distorts production and distribution. Njeru (RP 75: 1978) showed how multiple claims to land interfere with mortgaging, while Barchfield (LTC 121: 1979) examined social efficiencies of private minifundios, ejidos, and large farms in Mexico. Other papers in our sample dealing with efficiency and tenure are LTC nos. 119, 113, and 112 and LTC research reports 75, 74, 72, 71, and 56, as well as several articles in the newsletter.

(2) Misconceptions and Ethnocentrism. What kinds of errors do planners commit because of misconceptions about land tenure? Riddell, Parsons and Kanel (1982) explored how traditional tenurial systems affect the abilities of tribal groups to benefit from irrigation, black-fly control, and range development, all of which are the object of AID-sponsored projects. Njeru (RP 73: 78) reported how tribal customs were upset and individual rights infringed by the Kenya government's land adjudication program. Other papers that examined potential misconceptions in project preparation are three on Botswana, by Manzardo, Rude, and Brown respectively. A fourth paper, by Childers and others, attempted a similar but somewhat less successful analysis for another part of Botswana.

(3) Data, Descriptions, and Ideas. There are many ways in which the experiences of individual countries may be applied to other countries. LTC has thus become an institutional memory, with an ability to transfer information. By far the largest number of papers reported on progress in agrarian reform in different countries, often showing how their aggregate experience provides insights into land tenure generally. Seligson (LTC 115: 1978) quantified the degree to which land concentration was reduced in Costa Rica. Thiesenhusen (LTC 111: 1977) studied a minifundio community to demonstrate that the individual passes through several stages of land tenure relationships during the course of his lifetime, and that technological complexities cause variations in these stages. Steele and Kanel (LTC 110: 1976) did a similar study of a Brazilian community. Other studies in our sample that reported on the progress of agrarian reform are LTC papers 122, 109, 108, 106, 105, 103, 101, 100, 87, and 73; and research reports 70, 62, and 59. Several articles in the Newsletter also fall in this category.

(4) Background and History. How does the history of a land tenure system affect present conditions? This topic is covered by an appropriate but small part of LTC research. Riddell and Campbell (1981) described the history of the varied land tenure systems in North Cameroon, pointing out how indigenous populations have adapted their social systems to a

hostile environment. Horton and Horton (LTC 84: 1973) assembled indigenous source materials for the investigation of Peruvian agrarian history. De Shazo (LTC 83: 1952) described the colono system on the Bolivian Altiplano from colonial times to the revolution of 1952.

(5) Concept Papers. What over-all judgments emerge from studying tenure problems in a comparative analytical perspective? Parsons (LTC 116: 1978) drew on insights from China, England, and elsewhere as background for analyzing the political economy of agricultural development. He also drew (LTC 114: 1978) upon his extensive experience in Honduras to propose a land tenure system grounded in individual family farms. Dorner (LTC 107: 1975) assessed the potential impact of the Congressional directive of 1973 to focus foreign aid on the rural poor. Another of his papers (LTC 102: 1974) described how strong is the role of institutions as a support system in economic development. Drake (RP 52: 1973) philosophized on the need for a pluralist rather than an elitist society, in the perspective of his experience with elites and voluntary associations in one community in Colombia.

These LTC publications achieved the ideal of scholarship, objectivity, and independence. There are exceptions, such as the abstracts of Ph.D dissertations, in which the student's ideas sometimes compromised academic rigor. Idealism and rigor are

Land Tenure and US AID

uneasy companions; professors walk a narrow line in dealing with students who find rigor an undue constraint upon idealism. Both are necessary in establishing communication with the Third World, and then using it to advance policy.

Overview of LTC Scholarship. While the LTC has supplied invaluable operational insights nowhere else to be found, it has not stood in the forefront of scholarly contribution. This lack was emphasized by Theodore Schultz,\* prominent agricultural economist and former President of the American Economic Association, in an interview in connection with this report. LTC has not participated in the intellectual debate generated by Cheung (see previous section).

In carrying out its obligations to AID, LTC need not be a leading innovator in scholarly research, however. Far more important to AID's immediate purposes are LTC's insights on the relationship of land tenure to project implementation, which are in their own way innovative contributions. Even so, such operational insights depend upon advances in scholarly knowledge. LTC would therefore be a more dynamic organization if its efforts did include new scholarly contributions.

---

\* A list of scholars consulted in connection with this evaluation appears on page 1 of this report.

The values and limitations of LTC scholarship are well summarized by Vernon Ruttan in a memo dated Oct. 14, 1982:

While it (the LTC) did not open new ground intellectually, at least in terms of advancing our theoretical understanding of land tenure and property relationships, it did mobilize existing knowledge and experience in support of tenure and agrarian reform policies in developing countries. The Land Tenure Center's focus was primarily on Latin America. It also made selected contributions in Asia and Africa.

On October 22, 1982, Albert Berry wrote:

...one regrets the fact that no big up-to-date picture or synthesis seems to have emerged from the Center with its great resources of information and personnel. It's better to have the good detailed empirical work without the synthesis than vice versa, but best of all would be both . . .

LTC has perceived that a choice exists between theoretical explorations and operational analysis. Largely because of AID preferences, it has opted for the latter, especially in recent years under the terms of its present cooperative agreement.

III. LTC Contributions to Research, Policy  
and Field Operations

The Land Tenure Center has directly participated in both U.S. and foreign research on land tenure and institutional issues. It has provided data and interpretations to policy makers. And it has contributed to field operations of both AID and host governments. This section identifies contributions the Center has made in each of these areas.

A. Research on Land Tenure and Institutional Arrangements

The Land Tenure Center's indirect contributions to other research activities supplement its own work, reviewed elsewhere in this report. Research institutions in the United States and abroad have made use of LTC in dealing with land tenure and other issues.

1. The LTC has provided indispensable support to scholars doing research on land tenure. It has provided documentation services essentially on demand; at one time it was able to diffuse these services to the entire academic community, wherever situated. The Center's extensive series of bibliographies on land tenure developments throughout the world have been a unique aid to researchers. No comparable bibliographical series has existed; since the FAO discontinued its modest reference service. Through its series of occasional papers and reprints, LTC has made available "fugitive" documents

Land Tenure and US AID

not elsewhere annotated or accessioned. Documentation services such as this are an important "public good." They exemplify a relatively small investment that can have a large payoff.

Although less well recognized, the Center's documents have also contributed to teaching both in this country and abroad. Its publications are used in reading assignments; they enable teachers and professors to keep their reading lists focused on current issues and the most recent state of the art. The Center has also been generous in making multiple copies available for the library research of students.

The following comments are replies received from questionnaires to professors in the United States who attended courses at LTC:\*

I use it constantly. Wrote most of one book there, just published. Am working on an LTC project now, concerning African pastoralism. All my writings on development and kindred problems are based on my association with LTC.

---

\* Letters were sent to all LTC alumni soliciting their opinions and recollections of the influence and direct use of the Center.

If the results of LTC work on co-ops in agricultural development could have been translated into development policy, it would have benefited the countries concerned and the co-op movement. Too much reliance on the official policy was put on U.S. farm co-op organizations, and not enough on the indigenous needs and organizational strengths.

Conceptual notions gained have been invaluable in my work. I refer students to LTC literature regularly. [My] presentations on World Food Problems to general public (3 or 4 per year) draw on LTC experience.

Such comments refer to an earlier period in LTC's history. It is regrettable that USAID, in response to budget stringencies, reduced its support of the Center's infrastructure functions such as the library and documentation services.

An official of an international development agency, who is also a professor at George Washington University, reported on October 20, 1982:

The present cooperative agreement (like similar arrangements with other university groups) is very lean; it does not provide for continuous building up. The assumption that other resources would materialize was false. If LTC is to continue on the cutting edge, it must continue to renew its personnel, adding new human resources. Budget-wise it is not able to do that now.

2. The LTC has helped develop research capability worldwide through training scholars interested in land tenure. This training has serviced both U.S. and foreign scholars. It has ranged from short courses in the field, designed to teach researchers how to collect field data on institutional arrangements, to the most advanced graduate training and even post-doctoral training for visiting scholars.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the Center has been in providing a core of trained people to universities and government agencies who can speak knowledgeably about land tenure problems outside of the United States. Among the users of this research capacity is the USAID mission in Ecuador, which cabled on October 14:

LTC assistance has been very helpful in creating an applied research capacity at the national level as well as the provincial level via the training of 20 middle-level researchers and 2 librarians in Madison and via on-site training in Ecuador.

The impact of this research capacity has been especially important in Latin America, because that is where LTC's greatest and earliest commitment has been. But LTC now has the expertise to provide a similar corps of trained people for Africa.

The contributions of the United States to the economic development of other countries are inevitably marginal, but they achieve maximum effect when they take the form of skilled nationals who can contribute to their country's development policies. Professor Philip M. Raup wrote on October 22, 1982:

Perhaps its greatest impact has been in providing a core of trained people to universities and governmental agencies who could speak knowledgeably about land tenure problems outside of the United States. This impact has been especially important in our relations with Latin America. The Center has provided visible evidence that we are concerned about land tenure problems that have convulsed so many countries. It has demonstrated that we are willing to invest in the study of these problems at first hand.

Land Tenure and US AID

Yakub Layiwola Fabiyi, a senior lecturer in Nigeria, confirmed this statement in October, 1982 in describing his current work:

It is difficult to say when I don't use the knowledge [gained at LTC] because my teaching and research are mainly on land tenure problems in Nigeria. I use the knowledge daily.

Inderjit Singh, a senior economist with the World Bank, reported that he used knowledge gained at the LTC in writing a book on Small Farmers and the Landless in South Asia. Kamjorn Chosawasde, a graduate of LTC, reported on assisting the Thai government in setting up the Agricultural Land Reform Office. M. Michael Msuya, principal agricultural economist in Tanzania, stated in October, 1982:

I am always using knowledge and analytical techniques learned in courses and discussions at LTC.

In defining future problems and directions for the Center, the complementarity between teaching and research should be kept firmly in mind. The effectiveness of the Center's training program in the past has been due in no small part to its operational research and field work. Without a strong research program, the teaching and training efforts of the Center would soon atrophy.

3. Another major contribution of the LTC has been its operational research program. Operational research has been an important by-product of the close relationship that has evolved over the years between the Center and AID. (See Appendix IV.)

Its continued contributions to development efforts has provided a continuous flow of knowledge to policy makers and program managers in the form of "feed back" information about their development efforts. This potential of LTC has not always been fulfilled, of course. The USAID mission in Botswana cabled in October 1982:

Research on land use planning and resource management has been conducted and the conclusions of that research are available. There has not been, however, any significant effort toward planning nor have there been major policy changes. Research in local institutions has been done. This information could be of potential assistance to districts in the implementation of their programs. Its impact at the district level as well as its impact on national policy remains to be seen. A manual on the implementation of training activities designed for use by district and village extension staff also has potential but an assessment of its usefulness is premature.

A more positive note was sounded in the following cable, received from the American Embassy in La Paz, Bolivia in October, 1982:

1. During February of 1981, the mission requested and received technical assistance from Mr. Jeff Dorsey, a rural development specialist funded through the ST/MD's cooperative agreement with the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center. He directed a comprehensive evaluation of the land clearing component of the AID Loan 511-T-059 working with a soil specialist from USDA and a mission economist. The in depth evaluation was well done and completed in a timely manner. The Office of Rural Development of USAID/Bolivia and implementing agencies have used the recommendations to improve efficiency and quality of land clearing, including the addition of long-term technical assistance in soil conservation and erosion control.

2. The recently installed civilian government has highlighted its continuing commitment to agrarian reform. The specific plans and problems to be addressed have not been public, nor is it clear that there is a consensus on the scope and magnitude of future programs.

3. The mission is, however, initiating a dialogue with the new administration on sector activities and will attempt to ascertain possible areas of assistance related to the implementation of agrarian reform and settlement schemes. Land titling remains a serious problem, with a large backlog of farmers unable to obtain titles for land distributed under the existing agrarian reform program initiated in the 50's. Given a clearer definition of the GOB's perception of this and other land reform problems the mission may request additional specific technical assistance under the cooperative agreement in the near future.

The successes and failures are well documented in this cable from the American Embassy in Mauritania which, though lengthy, is worth quoting in full:

1. USAID/M has been in contact with and has used services of LTC since 1980.
2. In 1978-79, USAID, in the process of designing several projects, came face to face with seriousness of land tenure issues as a constraint to agricultural development. At that time mission had the services of a full time PSC social scientist with legal background who was able to collect extensive empirical evidence on the subject and incorporate project specific solutions as part of the design efforts. However other duties plus PSC social scientist lack of related experience from other areas prevented expansion of project-specific solutions into any sort of national recommendation or program.
3. Beginning in 1979 through 1981, USAID's RAMS project (Rural Assessment Manpower Survey) conducted wide scale research and analysis for GIRM which further highlighted importance of land tenure issues to country's development. However RAMS team members were unable to translate their specific observations on the issue into meaningful policy recommendations.

4. Based on specific request from GIRM director of plan, USAID/M requested assistance of LTC for consultant services to help develop an overall analysis of situation and preliminary policy suggestions for the country's fourth development plan. LTC provided services of Andrew Manzardo. Funding was divided between USAID/M PM and R funds and AID/W cooperative agreement. Manzardo spent approximately six weeks in-country. He relied mainly on previously collected AID and RAMS data supplemented by short field visits. Based on this, his previous relevant experience in a somewhat similar situation in Syria, and overall knowledge of the field, he produced within this short-time an excellent report summarizing the overall situation; highlighting important variations and contradictions; and suggesting a model of reform which could be adapted to regional and social differences. This report has been much sought by various consultants and researchers and represents probably the single best available resource on land practices in Mauritania.

5. Based on mission's positive experience with Manzardo, USAID/M requested another visit of an LTC team, led by Manzardo, with a resource management specialist and a lawyer with expertise in Islamic law. The TOR was to both help develop a PID for an AIP project and to assist in drawing up definite legislative propositions on land reform for the GIRM's fourth development plan. In early 1981 a team from LTC came but without Manzardo who was unavailable due to another AID long term assignment. This team proved disappointing because of its lack of fluency in French and true expertise in Islamic law, both of which had been clearly required as a priori qualifications. As a result the team was unable to participate in the type of high level dialogue with GIRM officials as hoped for. There also seemed to be excessive friction between team members and a general lack of the type of hard practical operational orientation called for. As a result the team was totally unable to provide the requested assistance for GIRM planning purposes. They did however leave sufficient material from which the mission, after extensive reworking, was able to use as the basis for a PID and PP for the now authorized land tenure project 625-0937.05.

6. Because of USAID/M mixed experience with LTC an attempt was made through queries both via AID/W and professional circuits to see what other implementing agents might exist other than LTC. While various

individual experts were located, mainly non-Americans, no other institution was located that had LTC's primary dedication to the problems at hand nor the necessary interdisciplinary perspective and program flexibility necessary to design a training/research proposal suited to Mauritania's specific program. Moreover no other institution was prepared to provide the investment in time and energy to work out basic implementation problems prior to a USAID contractual commitment. LTC provided this, mainly through the services of John Bruce, its Africa program coordinator, who brought to the situation the operational perspective vis-a-vis training, research and law in general that had been missing in the prior team. He and LTC also demonstrate a commendable capacity to endure the delays and continuous renegotiations that plague development activities in countries such as Mauritania.

7. As a result of all of the above, USAID/M has requested per ref B an amendment to the AID/W - LTC cooperative agreement AID/DSAN-CA-0183, Project No. 936-5301, to carry out implementation of our project 625-0937.05. In fact, were this possibility not available it is doubtful USAID could fulfill its commitments as outlined in its project agreement with the GIRM.

8. Conclusion: (A) LTC and its cooperative agreement with AID represent a much needed, unique resource. (B) From our specific perspective LTC itself does seem to suffer severe weaknesses, which do interfere with its ability to readily fulfill one of its tasks. These include poor language proficiency in French; little experience in Islamic law, and a seeming over reliance on very young, temporarily available consultants and a concomitant lack of depth in mature professional personnel with solid legislative/public administrative, operation oriented backgrounds as often needed for meaningful project implementation. (C) LTC's budget seems insufficient to allow it to perform many needed supportive services such as translation of documents into other languages. (D) LTC's major reliance on University of Wisconsin facilities seems to limit its capacity to provide worldwide appropriate training. (For example, the University of Wisconsin has virtually no program in Islamic studies or arid land development.) In the case of our needs LTC plans to arrange additional training elsewhere but in overall terms it would seem that LTC has need to

expand its institutional connections and resource base.

9. Recommendations: Despite its shortcomings USAID/M experience argues for the continued need of services such as those provided by LTC. However positive action seems called for to overcome the noted deficiencies. At least three possibilities would suggest themselves. One, a major institutional building grant to LTC to allow it to remedy its shortcomings, especially in experienced professional staff; two, an effort to create several LTC type organizations with area or discipline specific specializations depending on the resources of the institution to which they were attached; three, the creation of some type of umbrella organization, consortium or BIFAD type board that could coordinate U.S. available resources related to land use law, regulation and management thereby offering a greater gamut of training, research, and project implementation activities better adapted to specific areas. All this of course would take time. Meanwhile, we see the necessity of continuing the cooperative agreement with LTC to permit continuation of immediate activities such as our own land tenure project.

LTC's second contribution to operations has been its demonstration effect; for example, the training opportunity it provides for those directly involved in generating information for project planners. The reliability of data available in time for policy-making poses risks, but where no data are available, policy suffers even more seriously.

John W. Mellor of the International Food Policy Research warned, on October 15, 1982, of the difficulties to be faced if LTC is not continued:

Institutional structures are very difficult to build. There is far too much building and then tearing down of institutions when there should be building and advancing. Thus the question should be more one of how to find the right niche for the Land Tenure Center and improving its operations.

4. LTC's country and situational descriptions are themselves raw material for researchers as well as policy makers. Analytical research itself - like policy and programs - has to be adapted to knowledge of local institutions.

The Center's research on the minifundia-latifundia complex in Latin America has served as a knowledge base for most of the research on agricultural development problems in that region. The more recent work designed to identify and describe local institutional arrangements in Africa has the same potential for future research and policy.

#### B. Policy

The Land Tenure Center has participated in the formulation of policy by means of (1) consultancies to USAID offices both in Washington, D.C., and in country missions; (2) technical support to agencies in friendly countries; (3) research directly relevant to policy formulation; and (4) conferences and workshops held abroad that contribute to contemporary policy debates. This section cites examples of these efforts.

1. The Emphasis on Cooperative versus State Farm in Nicaragua. When the Sandinistas came to power in Nicaragua in 1979, Jaime Wheelock, one of the nine military commanders, became the Director of Agrarian Reform. He was considered one of the most radical members of the Junta and hence predisposed to radical reform measures. USAID invited the Land Tenure Center to present a seminar on comparative experiences in land

reform for members of the new government. After the seminar, an agreement was worked out by which the LTC would provide participant training for provisional staff members of the Agrarian Reform Agency. One direct result of the seminar (held in February, 1980) was that planners for the first time discovered that Western-style cooperatives might work very well in Nicaragua. For a time, at least, government policy favored that approach.

Whatever the outcome of policy may yet be in that revolutionary setting, new information was communicated to decision-makers: the fact that cooperative-style collectivization is a more flexible institutional arrangement than state farms or coercive consolidation. Not only did decision makers become aware of a more efficient economic organization presented, but they were also exposed to important degrees of freedom left for future policy maneuver.

In a cable from Managua dated October 12, 1982, the AID mission made the following comments:

LTC technical assistance in the areas of research and evaluation listed in report on first year of project . . . proved beneficial within CIERA's program. Assistance in gathering and analyzing data on land tenure, in providing legal and technical advice on land reform and titling programs, in developing an instrument for monitoring extension among small producers, and in training research and library personnel also proved valuable to CIERA during the initial phase of its institutional development.

LTC efforts could perhaps be classified as the most effective component of AID's program due to the quality of the relationship that developed between the two research and evaluation centers. Despite the fact that LTC from its inception to the present has maintained a characteristically US perspective on agrarian issues, a perspective markedly distinct from that of the Sandinista popular revolution, LTC manifested a refined capacity to respect perspectives different from their own and to recognize in a practical fashion the sovereign right of Nicaragua to seek its own path in rural development. Difficulties presented by distinct perspectives served in a context of mutual respect to improve and broaden the scope of CIERA's work.

2. The Policy Debate in Chile on Land Reform. Soon after it was created, the Center began working in Chile, performing research on land tenure and size-of-farm issues, developing an important cadre of Chilean professionals, and providing in-service training and technical assistance inputs for national land reform and rural development agencies.

President Frei carried out a gradualistic, moderate land reform program over a significant period of time. The Center participated in these reform efforts and observed and recorded their performance. When Allende came to power, at AID's request the Center continued to assist in the more radical reform he implemented, partly through its own research and partly through the activities of the trained people it had left behind. When President Pinochet took office the Center was again called upon to reinforce the program, drawing on its previous case studies and working with its own alumni in the field. The knowledge base it had generated once more provided the basis for comparative studies that were helpful to policy makers.

The multiple contributions the Center made to policy debates in both Chile and Nicaragua drew on these assets: (1) empirical knowledge based on well-conceived field research; (2) an effective institutional memory; (3) skilled professionals knowledgeable about the issues; and (4) a pluralistic, non-ideological approach to the problems which enabled them to be credible participants either directly or indirectly, in the on-going policy debates. (See also Appendix V.)

3. Policy and Project Corrections. The Center started working in Africa only recently, but it has already begun to clarify policy issues and to supply information that may protect development efforts from missteps. African agriculture tends to involve multiple uses of land and multiple tenancy arrangements. The resulting tenure and institutional arrangements are exceedingly complex. For example, irrigation projects are difficult to design under such conditions. In one case, where both USAID and a host government were eager to proceed with irrigation projects because of their complementarity with improved seeds and fertilizers in increasing agricultural output, they benefited especially from information about the complexities of these local institutional arrangements.

USAID Liberia reported on LTC's ability to adapt to changing policy needs:

1. USAID/Liberia has utilized LTC since 1979 to assess the feasibility of a land tenure project in Liberia and assist in writing a PID.

2. The anthropologist and international law consultant furnished by LTC in 1979 were competent and high caliber technicians who were able to assess the constraints of the present land tenure policy and address possible solutions in the form of a draft PID. After the coup d'etat in 1980 the political climate changed and it was necessary to reassess the land tenure strategy with the GOL. LTC representatives again visited Liberia at USAID request and held discussions with the Ministries of Agriculture, Lands and Mines and Justice to re-evaluate land tenure options. The PID was redrafted and subsequently updated in June 1982 by LTC.

3. Mission appraisal of LTC is that it has been responsive to mission requests and has provided highly qualified and trained personnel who enjoy the confidence of GOL officials they have dealt with. USAID/L recommends that AID continue its cooperative agreement with LTC.

In a somewhat similar context, the central government in another country found itself unable to standardize institutional arrangements for program implementation because of the diversity of local institutions. The Center identified the lack of congruity as an important constraint on the preferred approach, helping to avoid a policy impasse.

A problem of the same kind was encountered by an LTC alumnus, who wrote in October, 1982:

Last year I visited land settlement projects in Northern Thailand that were attempting to maintain inefficient production patterns in order to promote self-sufficiency in food. The peasants were rapidly shifting into more profitable corn crops and a policy conflict with their government. I attempted to analyze this issue in a training session with government officials drawing on a range of knowledge in this area [derived from conceptual notions gained from LTC].

Land Tenure and US AID

USAID Pakistan cabled in October 1982 to suggest a possible use of LTC resources to avert errors in project design:

There are two projects under development in the mission which could draw on the expertise represented by the LTC. Baluchistan Area Development Project ... and Forestry Planning and Development Project ... The first may involve communal rights to grazing lands utilizing the informal system in place seeking means of improving the management of these lands. The second project could encourage community wood lots under village land development.

4. The Systems Perspective Imperative for Successful Reform Projects. Current LTC doctrine departs significantly from the single-minded and narrowly-focused reformism of a decade ago. The early research of the LTC showed that successful land reform goes well beyond mere redistribution: it sometimes requires subsistence support until the productive capability of new units can be developed. Such support includes credit for purchased inputs and the marketing of the crop, some of which may have been supplied by the former landlords. Technical assistance might be necessary to deal with unexpected problems, including training programs to provide the skills to convert erstwhile laborers into decision makers and entrepreneurs. But other research has shown (for example, in Bolivia) that peasants may be capable of organizing many of these activities themselves. In still other cases (Iran, Turkey, Venezuela, Philippines), government support has been monopolistically applied such a way as to damage the positions of land reform beneficiaries. LTC research has identified conflicting circumstances

of some government support that has helped or impeded the efforts of peasant farmers. More research is needed to determine the causes and characteristics of these differences. This broader perspective is now under review in several land reform projects, in large part due to the efforts of the Land Tenure Center.

In an interview on October 22, 1982, Albert Berry cited specific examples of research sponsored by the LTC that has broadened perspectives on land reform issues:

Dorsey's work on the ex-post effects of land reform in Bolivia were by far the best study of the consequences for productivity. There had been a general belief that agricultural output had declined until Dorsey's correction came out, showing that the decline was partly in marketed surplus and not in productivity. His work was careful, competent, solid, and not ideological. In connection with the World Bank mission to Pakistan in which it was dealing with policies on income distribution and employment, it found the LTC study by Henning and Chaudhrey the best source on land reform.

5. The Chronic Threat to Free Enterprise. The middle-man and the large land-owner are common whipping boys in the policy debates of LDC's (just as they sometimes are in the more developed, industrialized countries of the West). The large landowner has been a particular villain in Latin America because of his commonly perceived exploitative but symbiotic relationship with small farms. This paradox is often referred to as the minifundio-latifundio complex.

In practice, however, the state itself may be a serious threat to farmer independence through its sometimes misguided

efforts to deal with the rural poor (see Appendix VI). A special case arises where land reforms force individual farmers to join state-run collective enterprises, or where governments launch a wide range of subsidized agricultural services in direct competition with local middlemen. Such actions can drive out existing enterprises and actually reduce the options available to local producers. In some cases, by taking over the middleman and service function, a government establishes a monopoly position for itself as buyer and marketer of the products and as a provider of inputs.

These actions are typically carried out in the guise of improving the welfare of the small producers and the landless workers. The ultimate consequence, however, can be a reduction in the opportunities open to producers, along with failure to recognize the diversity of local, economic, social, and physical conditions that can arise under competitive circumstances.

LTC's field-based research and activities have underlined the pluralistic nature of development and the subtle nuances of reform. It has shown how a plurality of policy choices can permit efficiency and also reduce the potential for exploiting peasant farmers.

### C. Field Operations

This evaluation did not include any independent study of overseas experience, but the range of activities can be suggested on the basis of reports from AID missions:

Land Tenure and US AID

1. The Drafting of Legislation and Administrative Decrees. Legislation and administrative decrees are only first steps in policy making, but they are critical elements in conducting reforms and changes of institutional arrangements. The Land Tenure Center played a large role in the drafting of legislation and administrative decrees in both Sri Lanka and Colombia.

A cable from the AID mission in Honduras shows the difficulty of carrying out such technical operations as titling in an unfamiliar context:

The resulting study was very unsatisfactory with regard to quality and to addressing the terms of reference in the PIO/T. The major reason for the poor quality was due to the choice of the individual sent to do the major portion of the work and the lack of time available for the person chosen for the legal analysis. The dissatisfaction of the mission was expressed to the LTC which offered further help in the project preparation if the mission would identify the area of activity. In this second effort the LTC sent a capable and experienced technician in land registry who provided excellent suggestions and analyses which were incorporated into the final project. Working relations between the agricultural division and the LTC remain good and contact is maintained with the LTC when it is felt that the mission can use consultation in the LTC areas of expertise.

2. Operational Staffing. The Center has contributed to operational staffing indirectly through the professionals it develops in its graduate and other training programs on campus, who often become either part of the field staff for program implementation or provide supervisory and managerial inputs for

the field staff. Somewhat more directly, it has provided intensive in-service training programs for staff of operational units. Finally, and more directly, its own staff has provided technical assistance to field-operation units to deal with unexpected problems. (See Appendix II, table VI.)

3. Guidance to Local Institutions. LTC has recruited specialists in Africa and elsewhere to study local institutional arrangements and has helped USAID avoid mistakes in project design.

The USAID mission in Indonesia cabled in October 1982:

LTC provided short-term socio-economic specialist to assist mission design land mapping, titling and registration ... from February to April 1979. Primary focus of project is to assist government of Indonesia in its effort to accelerate LMTR in rural areas by developing cost and time-effective methods of land record keeping, mapping and administration. Secondary focus is to demonstrate that land registration and titling has economic and social benefits for the rural population. LTC consultant contributed significantly to project design from a standpoint of policy orientation.

USAID Ecuador weighed LTC's contributions to local capacities thus:

1. LTC involvement in USAID/ECUADOR program has been limited to the design, implementation and evaluation of a subproject with the Ecuadorean Institute for Agrarian Reform (IERAC). This subproject, which forms an integral part of the portfolio of subprojects under the mission-sponsored Rural Technology Transfer System (ATTS 518-0032) project, is designed to strengthen IERAC's capacity to conduct policy-relevant research and analyses. Initially, the LTC provided a design team to IEPAC in order to assist in the formulation and presentation of a subproject proposal for RTTS funding.

During project implementation, the LTC has been responsible for the training of 21 Ecuadorean professionals in research methodologies, agrarian structure policies and the interrelationship between land tenure, agrarian policies, and agricultural development. Additionally, the LTC has provided several months of short-term technical assistance and 18 months of long-term advisory services.

2. Our assessment of the LTC's performance follows:

A. Design and develop a subproject proposal: This aspect of the work was extremely useful to the mission, IERAC and CONACYT as we attempted to identify critical problems and constraints to Ecuador's complex agrarian structure. The short-term TDY, which was in part funded by the AID/WS&T/MD cooperative agreement, provided the necessary timely input for the development of a subproject which would begin to address some of Ecuador's land tenure problems. In this effort, the excellent analysis conducted by Dr. William Thiesenhusen should be underlined. Dr. Thiesenhusen's many years of working on similar problems in Latin America provided the scope and depth needed to put the subproject proposal in the appropriate institutional and technical context.

B. Training during project implementation: As indicated above the LTC has trained 21 Ecuadoreans at the University of Wisconsin. A cursory sampling of participants leads us to conclude that the program was excellent. The quality of the teaching staff was very good; the technical context of the training sessions was appropriate to the mix of professionals involved; and the administrative back stopping was superb.

C. Short-term technical assistance during project implementation: Since project implementation began, month of T.A. This, in general, has been good. Our assessment, however, reveals that this aspect of the program could be improved by providing technicians which are more institutionally sensitive and culturally aware of working in a LTC setting. Mission has informally communicated this concern to the LTC.

D. Long-term technical assistance: The long-term advisors arrived in Quito during the month of June 1982, after an unfortunately long delay, the reasons for which are familiar to ST/MD. During the short-term period, their performance has been outstanding. They have worked in a difficult institutional arrangement resulting from personality conflicts between Ecuadorean counterparts. The advisors, however, have maintained their professional integrity

and excellent sense of priorities. We are confident that the necessary ingredients for obtaining the long-term institutional objectives will be established with the assistance of the LTC's long-term advisors.

3. Mission's viewpoints also reflect our consultations with host country counterpart agencies.

By identifying and documenting local diversity, the Center has enabled planners and program implementers to become familiar with the variety and details of institutional arrangements that are not always known or understood in the capital city.

#### Use of the Land Tenure Center by AID

Earlier evaluations have suggested that neither AID nor the State Department have made optimal use of the potential of the Land Tenure Center. A small part of the problem is simply the task of keeping field missions informed. For example, a cable from Lima dated October, 1982, reported:

Mission has three projects which include a land titling/registration component. If the LTC project has developed/described/designated/generalized and simplified methodologies for carrying out titling activities from their experience in Ecuador, Nicaragua, or Honduras, mission would be interested in learning about it. This information would assist missions in deciding whether to utilize the services available and/or assist in project implementation and design.

USAID/Upper Volta also asked for more information:

USAID/UV is unaware of the French language capability of the LTC or its success in analyzing traditional landholding patterns, institutions, or rules governing

land use. USAID/UV notes the only francophone country named in paragraph 2 is Mauritania. USAID/UV would appreciate receiving an info copy of Nouakchott's reply to the REFTEL to aid in considering the possible use of the LTC in the design of the agricultural sector project or during its implementation.

The AID mission in Zaire presented the same request:

Similar analysis of land tenure constraints to agricultural production in certain areas of Zaire.... could prove useful to USAID and GOZ. Accordingly, USAID would be interested in receiving further detail as to how LTC program might assist USAID and GOZ in conducting such a study.

But even well informed field missions are constrained by their short term perspective. Requests for LTC services tend to follow project needs, like this cable from AID mission in Zambia, October 1982:

We have had initial discussions with the World Bank representation regarding possible assistance in implementing the results of the land tenure study. Because of AID/Zambia limited staff, if anything comes of this it will be an agreement between the World Bank and the Land Tenure Center.

In an interview in September, 1982, Wayne Nilsestuen, Peter A-kin, and Richard Hough said:

The Latin American Regional Bureau launched LTC's career. In addition to work in El Salvador, the bureau now needs (1) an assessment in Guatemala; (2) in Honduras, help in a \$15 million project for people on public domain land as in the reform sector; (3) assistance with a colonization project in Costa Rica; and (4) help in the Dominican Republic, where the new President has asked for assistance in swine repopulation (after the African swine fever) and on agrarian reform. The LTC is active in training. In Ecuador, LTC is doing well with its long-term advising. The needs of AID in this area will continue and LTC is the only place capable of fulfilling them.

LTC's improved capacity to respond to such field needs has developed at some cost to the resources available for its larger obligations to policy makers and land tenure analysts, however.

The Center has made major sacrifices both in its library budget and documentation services and in its commitment to basic and comparative research as it has moved toward its present service mode.

IV. Looking to the Future

This evaluation was prompted in part by AID concerns over developments that might render LTC activities obsolete and further AID support therefore inadvisable. Four such possibilities emerge: (1) technological changes in agriculture might change factor proportions in land use or otherwise invalidate findings and conclusions upon which LTC's present policy advice rests; (2) changes in U.S. foreign policy might reduce the relevance of LTC experience; (3) AID might change its own policies; (4) the intellectual dimensions of the field may change.

(1) The Technology Issue. Land tenure issues will remain important in most LDCs into the foreseeable future. Research on U.S. agriculture shows that changes in farm size respond to the need for larger units, whose income is comparable to that of commerce and industry. Similar factors are at work in LDCs, producing emigration from the agricultural sector. (See Appendix VIII.) The need to recombine farms into larger units in the future will create new tenure problems.

When this stage is reached, the fragmentation of land holdings will become increasingly serious. Constructive means of solving such problems have yet to be found: dealing with them will be the key issue to the modernization of agriculture in many countries.

The next decade will probably see a continued major development thrust on the African continent. Researchers have barely touched the surface in understanding the richness and diversity of the local institutional arrangements that characterize African agriculture. Yet a satisfactory understanding of these arrangements is imperative if development efforts are to be adapted to local conditions.

(2) The Foreign Policy Issue. Even if U.S. foreign policy were to reverse its long-standing preference for liberal land tenure systems, it will have to accommodate the needs of contrasting patterns of agricultural management and ownership in different parts of the world where it supports rural development programs. But the U.S. is not withdrawing from its commitment to aid friendly countries interested in improving their land tenure arrangements, as the Reich testimony before the Helms Subcommittee made clear (see appendix I, note 3.) The U.S. is no longer the "dominant" donor in many parts of the world, but its involvement in land issues continues even where USAID is a minor actor. Such involvement is not wholly discretionary; it is hard to refuse requests from friendly governments, or to ignore congressional expressions associating U.S. foreign policy with tenurial improvements considered desirable on the world.

Nor would it be appropriate to forgo an advantage American experience in land reforms confers. As the relative position as an aid donor declines, and as the "off-the-shelf" technology the

United States can deliver from its own R & D becomes less valued, its comparative advantage derives from field experiences. The access the United States has had over the years to knowledge on land policies gives it the benefit of comparative insights not readily available to other international donors. The problem is how to retain the capacity to develop and deploy this knowledge sensitively, sometimes exercising a very low official profile, and still perform responsibly and effectively. If the LTC is to fit these circumstances, its governance and direction need to be reviewed constantly, but its continued existence should not be in doubt.

(3) The Aid Issue. AID is often under political siege. Critics have accused it of lacking continuity in policy, yielding to faddish changes in its approaches, and rotating its dwindling force of specialists so rapidly that its policies never achieve maximum impact. But its reputation for inconstancy is not really deserved. AID's most important policy positions have outlasted its frequently changing leadership and the uncertain political environment. For example, the 1973 Congressional mandate had been anticipated both by AID and its predecessors; its use of economic planning approaches (in fixing country aid levels and apportioning sectoral aid, for example) precedes the coming of present planning mechanisms. A similar continuity must be found for AID's concerns in land tenure. An independent source of knowledge and research in land tenure issues and support to field operations will continue to be needed.

(4) The Intellectual Dimensions of the Field. Knowledge about land tenure has changed since LTC was founded. Research has moved away from static questions of farm size and productivity (see Appendix VIII) to larger issues associated with the impact of land tenure patterns upon other developmental activities, ranging from irrigation practices to extension and farm credit, all of which can be powerfully affected by conditions unique to each setting. Identifying patterns of relationships, and tracking down the consequences of different policy interventions, will be an important problem for research in the future.

LTC has made a start in these directions. It is alerting AID to cultural complexities of tenure that might bedevil pastoral projects in Africa and to local variations in Botswana that might weaken the influence of standard central interventions.

The intellectual dimensions of the field are changing with technology. New technology not only affects optimal farm size, but calls for new inputs and new institutions. Both have been traditionally associated with personal claims to land, and as the former change, so also will the latter. Successful operations in rural development require knowledge of these changes and the relationships among them.

## V. Conclusions and Recommendations

Ten major conclusions and recommendations flow from this study.

### A. General Conclusions

(1) The Land Tenure Center is a unique national resource. It has generated knowledge useful to development scholars and to U.S. agencies concerned with the Third World. No individual or group is performing or planning to undertake its functions. It provides a unique institutional memory. Its potential has not been fully realized, however. AID itself has found it valuable as a support for field operations, but it has also made use of other sources of advice on land policy. Those sources have, on the whole, performed much less satisfactorily than LTC.

(2) Government support should sustain this national resource, since no private organization is likely to do so. AID is the logical funding source. Although private scholars also benefit from its activities, the LTC output is used primarily by national agencies. Neither the private sector nor individual states have the incentive or means to support the Center's essential base.

(3) As AID's expectations for the Center increase, it should consider means of building upon its limited resource base. In terms of human resources, the Center has been, is, and will likely continue to be, relatively small. None of its

faculty members is committed full-time. While it must continue to be responsive to U.S. Government needs, the Center should not confine its services to consulting and operational activities. It should provide critically needed inputs to ongoing policy decisions and operations, but should also be encouraged to participate in the current debates in development theory.

(4) Long-term institutional development, not just field operations, needs support. Many LTC programs will be shaped by the agency's own needs, but the state of knowledge and contributions of the larger academic community also need to be considered if the agency is to keep ahead of the game. LTC should take initiatives beyond its demand-driven functions, with AID financing of promising ventures and its library and documentation services.

#### B. Recommendations to LTC

(5) The Center should be encouraged to integrate itself more fully into its home institution. It should reach departments now only peripherally involved in its activities (see Appendix II, especially Table II and discussion.) It should draw more effectively on the basic disciplines at the University to strengthen its intellectual reach.

(6) LTC should now make a major effort to develop a core approach to problems of land tenure and related factors. It needs to synthesize its work, both comparatively and theoretically.

(7) LTC needs to use its already strong institutional potential to achieve a greater impact on the scholarly community by bringing in visiting professors, researchers, and policy makers on annual terms in order to disseminate its work to the most influential users and to gain from new knowledge being generated outside its own staff. It also needs to broaden the base of its own recruitment to include graduates of other institutions and to incorporate disciplines (such as political science) not yet involved in its work. It needs more visibility in the United States and abroad, and for that purpose it needs both more coherence and more diversity.

#### C. Recommendations to AID

(8) Funding should be provided for continuing research efforts and for technical assistance programs. The two are complementary. Strong technical assistance programs can continue only if a strong knowledge base is sustained. If other sources are not available, AID should be prepared to provide essential institutional support.

(9) AID should continue to expand the scope of LTC activities. It has already expanded them somewhat, to include environmental and ecological resource issues, and it has used LTC capabilities in activities complementary to agrarian reform. It has encouraged AID missions to make use of LTC advisory capacity, though there are distinct limits to its operational capabilities. On the other hand, AID has

discontinued funding of LTC's publications and library programs, thus reducing LTC's service and growth potential. If this policy is continued, in a few more years LTC may become obsolete.

(10) Continuing requests from the field for the services of the LTC testify to its vitality. AID/Washington needs to keep field missions informed about the services available but should also be prepared to maintain a balance between its response to field requests and its responsibilities as a research center.

#### D. A Special Recommendation

Many of these recommendations touch upon issues that AID and the Center cannot address in their totality, such as keeping LTC's activities abreast of the latest developments in the field, linking the Center to the University's core social science departments, maintaining its capacity to respond to changing and sensitive demands of U.S. foreign policy, and enlarging AID's perception of its own roles and responsibilities in maintaining its institutional capacity. No single recommendation can encompass these ends, but specific attention to them, and a constant reminder of their importance in the rapidly changing context of LTC operations, can do much to improve the performance of both parties.

The team considered and rejected various proposals that would contribute to those ends. One would be to recommend that LTC conduct seminars that would bring in outstanding scholars outside the University of Wisconsin to advise it on research

directions (a proposal the team considered too casual and lacking in focus). Another option would be to create a new structure within the University that would give LTC an interdepartmental rather than free-standing status (a proposal that would not be likely to appeal to the University or provide incentive for either the Center or the financially pressed departments to reconsider their present relationships). A third proposal would give AID a greater role in the actual management of the Center (an invasion of University prerogatives that would be offensive to both parties without necessarily producing better mutual understanding). Finally, the team considered the possibility of locating the responsibility for the management of the LTC cooperative agreement somewhere else in the Agency, seeking an appropriate level whose access to its regional bureaus, its policy-making elements, and its field missions might be more authoritative or more sensitive to the nuances of its current operations. This idea, too, proved unappealing, not only because no one was able to come up with a better administrative arrangement within AID, but also because such a solution seemed gimmicky and irrelevant.

The problem is more fundamental. LTC needs institutional links outside itself to protect against administrative and intellectual inbreeding, to give it greater visibility within the University and on the national scene, and to reinforce its credibility with its sponsor (which itself is not by any means a homogeneous force). For that purpose it should be asked to consider establishing an advisory board to the President of the

University or his designated officer.

The proposed advisory board should be chaired by a distinguished private American knowledgeable about rural development matters but not currently holding a government or university appointment. Its members might include two distinguished academics outside the University, one University representative outside the present circle of LTC's associates, and two representatives from AID nominated by S&T (possibly on a rotating basis to incorporate both regional and functional concerns of the Agency).

The functions of such a board would include reviewing the changing intellectual and policy dimensions of the field in terms of the LTC's contributions and potential; considering ways in which the University can make greater use of the facility and the opportunities it presents; reviewing AID's options in supporting and utilizing the Center; providing advice on policy matters such as publication rights and responsibilities attending privileged access to government materials; reviewing and evaluating the Center's field operations; and establishing procedures for recruiting and evaluating consultants and short-term field staff.

These functions should be advisory, but they should be addressed to levels of the University and the Agency above those of the Center and the project manager, so that larger questions of direction and policy can be introduced into the context of decision making.

The Center will probably have to continue to operate on short-term budgets, grants, and contracts, but it should prepare itself to deploy these year-to-year resources with a long-term perspective that will serve the intellectual needs of the University and the scholarly community as well as advance the policy-making and operational capacities of the government.

APPENDIX I

Land Reform in U.S. Foreign Policy

by John D. Montgomery

## LAND REFORM IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The freeholder . . . is a natural supporter of a free government, and it should be the policy of republics to multiply their freeholders, as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply tenants.<sup>1</sup>

On many occasions since World War II, Americans have acted on Senator Benton's belief that a nation's "free holding" farmers strengthen its democratic prospects, and the U.S. government has supported land reform in developing countries as a means to that end. Advocacy of freeholding societies has not always meant blanket approval of agrarian reform abroad, however: the 1954 intervention against radical reforms in Guatemala shows that the policy has been tempered to fit specific country circumstances. But on the whole American officials have tended to view land reform as a useful tool in their "mission" to support democracy abroad.<sup>2</sup> It was in light of this mission that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously in the summer of 1982 to make land reform a condition of U.S. aid to El Salvador.<sup>3</sup>

Official U.S. advocacy of land reform was by no means a new phenomenon as applied to El Salvador. During World War II Lucius D. Clay's planners prepared for land reform in Germany; and in 1946 General MacArthur drew on his personal experience and the advice of professional land economists in designing and overseeing in Japan the first successful land reform carried out as a major aspect of U.S. foreign policy.<sup>4</sup> Japanese technicians and agricultural interests also strongly supported the effort; its success should be credited to both American and Japanese skills. But the experience in Japan encouraged many Americans to ally themselves with agrarian reformers in the Nationalist Government on Mainland China and again in Taiwan after the fall of the regime. The land redistributions that followed have enhanced the international image of the Nationalist Chinese ever since the late 1940's, and the efforts of the joint Sino-American Commission on Rural Reconstruction and later the Land Reform Training Institute in Taiwan sought to radiate the Chinese experience throughout the developing world.

American activity in China and Japan was only the beginning of a continuing effort to support countries that had developed strategies compatible with strong freehold farms. The Japanese experience had shown the importance of using local committees made up of peasants and landlords to implement land reform policies, and this "devolved" style of administration was transferred directly to Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter U.S. disciples of decentralization working in foreign aid agencies and the U.S.

Department of Agriculture provided advice and assistance to land reforms in Korea (both before and after the invasion from the North),<sup>6</sup> to the Philippines during the campaign of Ramon Magsaysay,<sup>7</sup> and to Ngo Dinh Diem in Viet Nam in the late 1950's.<sup>8</sup> An interagency committee on land tenure problems declared in 1951 that agrarian reform was an "important part of U.S. foreign policy."<sup>9</sup> In 1960 President Eisenhower summarized the U.S. position by stating that: "The U.S. has given evidence over a period of years of its interest in and support for agrarian reform movements." And Secretary of State Christian Herter indicated the direction of future policy when he stated: "If we support the premise that the dignity of the individual in a free society is strengthened when he acquires his own home, so we must also recognize the importance of land ownership to the man who owns land."<sup>10</sup>

In international arenas, too, the U.S. had championed the need for land reform as early as 1950, when Poland presented the U.N. General Assembly with a draft resolution on agrarian reform.<sup>11</sup> The U.S. position was to offer amendments favoring family-sized holdings, rural cooperatives, and small scale agribusiness ventures.<sup>12</sup> The U.S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Isidore Lubin, spoke at that time of America's "determination to place increasing emphasis on international programs which are designed . . . to give effect to such principles as land reform as weapons of peace."<sup>13</sup> In pressing FAO to support land tenure programs, delegate Lubin argued that "the greatest objective of FAO cannot be achieved unless a high percentage of the world's farmers . . . owned their own land."<sup>14</sup> Even "the attainment of peace and stability," said Lubin, "depends to a considerable degree on immediate and positive steps to correct systems of land tenure which exploit the workers of the land."<sup>15</sup>

The fact that small freeholders were fast disappearing in the United States itself did not bar President Kennedy from expressing his hopes for a hemisphere of small farmers in Latin America. Kennedy's presidential task force strongly recommended that land reform become a base (along with other tax and economic reforms) from which the Alliance for Progress would be launched, and the President indicated in his appeal to Congress that "the uneven distribution of land is one of the gravest social problems in many Latin American countries."<sup>15</sup> Indeed, Kennedy encouraged Congress to use foreign aid assistance as "leverage" for reform by suggesting that funds for improving land usage "should go to those nations in which the benefits will accrue to the great mass of rural workers".<sup>16</sup>

The Alliance for Progress dramatized the movement from general American support for regimes sympathetic to land reform in Asia to an explicit endorsement of social reforms in Latin America. Initially, the switch from support to leadership stemmed from the Kennedy Administration's aspirations for a global role. It paralleled other idealistic plans (such as a

Peace Corps of American volunteers) for Third World development. Then as differences with Cuba heightened, particularly after the Bay of Pigs, new concerns began to dominate the scene, especially the fear that Marxists would exploit inequitable land tenure systems wherever they found them to gain support for radical revolutions. At this point the U.S. focused its attention on preemptive reforms that would weaken the appeal of communism in Latin America.

That is not to say that Americans abandoned political idealism as a base for supporting land reform after 1961. There remained in the American political vision, as expressed by leaders of both parties, a strong ideological residue of early democratic theories and populist movements that sought to protect private freeholders.<sup>17</sup> Both before and during the Alliance this national ideology ran across the entire spectrum of American politics: Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother and special assistant for Latin American Affairs, examined the prospects for supporting Latin American land reforms in the late 1950's; the AFL-CIO created the American Institute for Free Labor Development in 1962 to promote, among other goals, reform movements in Latin America;<sup>18</sup> Adolf Berle, a corporation law specialist, encouraged the Kennedy Administration to make land reform a condition of U.S. assistance. Even the opponents of agrarian reform found use for the American freeholding tradition in cases where they believed that U.S. property interests were at stake: fear of confiscation of private farms for purposes of collectivization was said to have led to CIA activities against the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954;<sup>20</sup> the U.S. labor movement, too, while supportive of private-redistributive brands of agrarian reform, opposed leftist regimes that might force collectivization.

Overall, then, the U.S. position on land reform has reflected a mixture of experiences and concerns: support, when land reform was derived from democratic principles and respected the rights of all participants; suspicion, and sometimes active opposition, when confiscation was threatened; doubt, when authoritarian regimes seemed likely to force the agrarian population into farm collectives that might destroy the incentive structure of a free agriculture.

The use of agrarian reform to preempt communist takeovers has not contradicted but has further obscured this already complex position. The Castro march on Havana sharpened U.S. demands for land reform in the negotiations for the Alliance for Progress and produced a direct configuration in international forums on development planning in Latin America.<sup>21</sup> Although evidence suggests that the United States has supported land reform most persistently and strongly in countries whose leadership has already embarked on such programs, there are also several Latin American cases where most of the enthusiasms came from the indigenous political leadership. Most recently, Congressional pressure for land reform as evidence of regime stability and

humanitarian concern in El Salvador coincides with the prevailing American judgment that land reform can contribute to the development of free institutions, and that its effective implementation can forestall authoritarian regimes, especially those that might otherwise commit themselves to communism.<sup>22</sup>

This brief summary of the role of land reform in American foreign policy is not meant to obscure the many conflicts that have occurred in practical development diplomacy, in the design of country programs, and in the implementation of agricultural development strategies where the ideology is vague and the policy wavering. There have been many instances when an AID mission favored land reform in a given country and the ambassador condemned it; when the U.S. foreign aid agency opposed State Department calls for reform; when Congress advocated reform and the President remained indifferent to it; when Republicans and Democrats split within their own ranks on the appropriateness of American advocacy of land redistribution. In part, the lack of consensus stems from uncertainty about the facts - when land redistribution increases agricultural productivity, when collectivization contributes to local repression, or when social reforms are a political asset. There is no universal principle. There is no proof that small freeholdings constitute the most efficient agricultural system for all countries, and no simple yardstick for measuring the different institutional infrastructures required for improving tenure patterns, as in the case of communal land systems or in pastoral agriculture.

It was in the hope of resolving some of these factual issues and testing some of the hypotheses about the utility of land reform, both as a development strategy and as an instrument of foreign policy, that the Land Tenure Center at the University of Wisconsin was created and has been employed in the service of the Agency for International Development. The Land Tenure Center has responded to requests from AID and from countries friendly or important to the United States for advice on land policies that affect distributive justice through all kinds of devices from taxes and ceilings to credit and services. Whether or not land reform is an important U.S. foreign policy in a given case, many technical decisions about land tenure are endorsed or foreclosed by actions the United States takes in supporting development in friendly countries.

106

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Ladejinsky, Wolf, "Agrarian Revolution in Japan", (1959), Foreign Affairs, October 1959, in Louis J. Walinsky ed., Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business, (New York, Oxford University Press for World Bank, 1977), pp. 280-88.

<sup>2</sup>For prewar formulations of the "mission" as an element in U.S. foreign policy see Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (New York: The Ronald Press, 2d Edition, 1956), pp. 387, 396-9, 451-2 Parington (1930), pp. 404-11. For a review of the ambivalent American role see Robert Endicott Osgood, Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Policy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

<sup>3</sup>Amendment offered by Senator Christopher J. Dodd to the fiscal 1983 foreign aid authorization request (S2227), in Congressional Quarterly, Vol. 40, N. 22, May 29, 1982, pp. 1257. The most recent review of the policy, with the current AID view stated by Otto Reich, occurred during the Helms hearings. Testimony on Economic and Social Reforms in El Salvador, U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Aug. 4, 1982.

<sup>4</sup>Philip M. Raup. in Kenneth H. Parsons, Raymond J. Penn, and Philip M. Raup, Land Tenure (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), pp. 49. Ladejinsky gave MacArthur credit for originating the land reform on the basis of his own experience, though he himself is generally credited with being its principal author. Compare "From a Landlord to a Land Reformer", June 1951 and "The Plow Outbids the Sword in Asia", June 1951, both reprinted in Walinsky (1977). His references to MacArthur's role appear, respectively, on p. 149 and 152. Walinsky notes that MacArthur is often described as the "chief architect" of the Japanese land reform, in his introduction, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Both T. H. Shen and Raymond Moyer, former commissioners on the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, credited Ladejinsky with this contribution and regarded it as a major element in the success of the program. Walinski (1977), p. 95.

<sup>6</sup>Military Government Ord. No. 9, October 5, 1945, fixed rents. Ord. 52, February 21, 1946 created the "New Korea Co to manage all rural lands. Ord. 173 and 174, March 22, 1946 initiated the "Land to the Tiller" program under the National Land Administration.

<sup>7</sup>Gittinger, J. P. "United States Policy Toward Agrarian Reform in Underdeveloped Nations", Land Economics, XXXVII:3, August 1961, pp. 195-206.

<sup>8</sup>Walinsky (1977) p. 216. Ladejinsky did some prodding on his own. Ladejinsky (155a), pp. 226, 227 and (155b), p. 230, 234-5.

<sup>10</sup>(35) Steel, Henry A., "A Review of U.S. Policy on Agrarian Reform," Washington, U.S. Department of Agriculture, processed, 1961.

<sup>11</sup>UN General Assembly Economic and Finance Committee, Fifth Session, Official Records, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup>Gittinger (1961), p. 196.

<sup>13</sup>U.S. Department of State, Land Reform: A World Challenge, Feb. 1952.

<sup>14</sup>Department of State Bulletin, December 17, 1951, p. 999; Gittinger (1961), p. 197.

<sup>15</sup>U.S. Department of State (1952).

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid*, p. 344-5. Of the \$500 million, \$394 million were to go to the Social Progress Trust Fund of the Inter-American Development Bank, to be used for agrarian reform, not land purchases. (Social Progress Trust Fund, First Annual Report, Annex 2 (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank, 1961), p. 235, quoted *Ibid*, p. 229. But \$100 million dollars were to go to the U.S. foreign aid agency for grants, and \$6 million to the Organization of American States.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid*, p. 344-5.

<sup>18</sup>John Strasma, "The United States and Agrarian Reform in Peru," in Daniel Sharp, Ed., U.S. Foreign Policy and Peru (Austin: University of Texas 1972), p. 157-62.

<sup>19</sup>Lawrence R. Simon and James C. Stephens, Jr. El Salvador Land Reform, 1980-81, Impact Audit (Boston: Oxfam America, 1981), p. 50, note 18, observes that the organization received financial support from AID, the Department of State, W. R. Grace, ITT, Exxon, Shell, Kennecott, Anaconda, American Smelting and Refining, IBM, Koppers, Gillette, and 85 other multinational corporations.

<sup>20</sup>Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, Bitter Fruit, The Untold Story of the American Corporation in Guatemala (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1982).

<sup>21</sup>Constantine Menges (1967), Ch. III, pp. 13-16; Ch. V, pp. 32-33; and Ch. VI, pp. 1-2.

<sup>22</sup>Amendment offered by Senator Christopher J. Dodd to the Fiscal 1983 foreign aid authorization request (S2227), in Congressional Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 22, May 29, 1982, p. 1257.

**APPENDIX II**  
**An Institutional History**  
**of the**  
**Land Tenure Center**  
**by Carlos Pascual**

## AN INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE LAND TENURE CENTER

A 1962 contract between the Agency for International Development and the University of Wisconsin made possible a Land Tenure Center that has become the world's leading resource on land issues. In return for government support, the Center has consulted with AID on rural development problems ranging from agrarian reform to population growth and migration. Government agencies and universities have different needs and interests, of course, but such differences have both increased the Center's concern for operational issues and sharpened AID's sensitivity to long-term policy questions. Indeed, the twenty-year relationship between AID and the Land Tenure Center exemplifies the potential policy and research benefits from government and university cooperation. This appendix recounts the Center's institutional development, including an analysis of the LTC's relationship with AID and trends in its research and consulting efforts.

## ORIGINS

The idea for a Land Tenure Center emerged from the 1951 World Conference on Land Tenure held at the University of Wisconsin. The conference itself embodied the principles of interdisciplinary study and training later incorporated into the Center, and foreshadowed the importance of government cooperation with universities on development issues. Responding to a request from H. G. Bennett, the director of Point Four,\* for Land Grant College support for international technical assistance programs, the University of Wisconsin submitted a proposal for a World Conference on Land Tenure. By April 13, 1951, the University had received a letter of intent from Point Four.

Held in November 1951, the conference brought together three representatives - a senior university professor, a government administrator, and a graduate student - from each of forty countries. For six weeks the conference participants shared information about land reform programs in the Middle East, South Asia, China, Japan, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe and the United States. Convinced of the importance of continuing the dialogue on land tenure, the Conference Steering Committee (which excluded University of Wisconsin and U.S. personnel) recommended establishing a Land Tenure Center and Library at the University of Wisconsin, and called for regional meetings on land tenure problems. The steering committee recommendations became the basic design of the Land Tenure Center.

The tradition of "institutional economics" at the University of Wisconsin was as important a factor in the

---

\* Point-Four was the popular name of the U.S. Agency set up to administer technical assistance in developing countries. Its name came from the reference to technical assistance in Point 4 of President Truman's inaugural address.

Center's origins. Professor Bryant Kears, vice chancellor of the University, traced the tradition to the efforts of agricultural economists and lawyers from the University who worked with state officials to reconstruct Wisconsin's decimated farming economy after the 1914 Chicago fire. Raymond Penn, the first director of the Center, has attributed the institutional economics tradition to individual professors such as Richard T. Ely and John P. Commons who "emphasized the need to look at a problem where it exists and to study the causes of the problem as well as the procedures that might resolve it."\*

Whether Ely, Commons, or the Chicago fire influenced the Center most is secondary to the approach to land studies institutionalized in the University in the early twentieth century. Several aspects of this philosophy should be emphasized:

- (1) Land issues raise a broad set of policy questions which require multidisciplinary analysis for their resolution.
- (2) Since land policies directly affect the lives of people - those without land included - policy evaluations must be based on primary data collected in the field.
- (3) Long-term solutions to land problems must combine current research and analysis with training in order to transfer skills to those responsible for policy decisions.

Despite this rich tradition for land studies and the guidelines set by the World Conference, efforts for a land tenure center stalled after 1951. Few funds were available for studying international agrarian issues. By state law, the University could not finance field research outside of Wisconsin, and Federal money for research and training dried up after Mr. Bennett's death in 1952. Pursuit of the conference's recommendations was limited to ad hoc efforts by University faculty. Professor Kenneth Parsons, for example, "consulted with the India Planning Commission in 1952, participated in an Asian Regional Conference on land tenure in Bangkok, and with Professors Jacob Beuscher and Wyn Owen was responsible for the Middle East Regional Land Tenure Conference in Baghdad."\*\* Raymond Penn participated in a Latin American Regional Agrarian Reform Conference in 1958 and advised USAID officers at an agrarian reform conference in 1961. But in general, the extreme

\* Raymond Penn, "The Land Tenure Center," Wisconsin, December 1972, p. 4.

\*\* Ibid, p. 16.

anticommunism of the McCarthy period made any "radical" subjects such as land reform difficult to pursue in the mid-1950's.

The Cuban Revolution and the ensuing land reform in 1959, recalls Professor Parsons, helped change government attitudes toward agrarian reform. Rather than condemn the concept of reform, aid administrators acknowledged the need for social change (particularly in Latin America) and sought an alternative to the Cuban example. Soon after John F. Kennedy's inauguration in 1961, the signing of the Alliance for Progress mandated - although ambiguously - agrarian reforms in Latin America. When U.S. legislation pursuant to the Alliance Charter included a provision for funding University research on land issues, the University of Wisconsin, with a tradition of land studies, pursued the opportunity for a land tenure center. Professor Robert Clodius, chairman of the Agricultural Economics Department and later vice president of the University, and Raymond Penn believed that government funds would allow the University to formalize its international research and training efforts on rural development. "Thirty-five staff members from 13 departments and the administration participated in preparing the proposal." sent to AID on April 7, 1961.\*

Between April 1961 and April 1962, Professor Raymond Penn travelled to Washington D.C. about once a month to discuss the proposal "with new people in new decision-making positions."\*\*

The problems that stalled the negotiations in 1961 still exist today. AID legal officers wanted a contract for a specific number of hours, in specific time period and country, resulting in a specific report. The University envisioned a long-term research and training program in Latin America that would work with local universities and governments and would make all its findings public. By mid-April 1962, writes Penn, it did not appear that AID would enter into a contract.

AID's decision to accept the University of Wisconsin proposal came suddenly, and possibly for mixed reasons. AID had not funded any research during its first ten months of authorization, and had come under Congressional and Administration pressure to begin doing so in May 1962. On short notice, AID officials came to Madison on May 10, and the University and AID signed the contract the next day at a luncheon meeting. It was only the third AID contract for research.

The agreement allowed the University of Wisconsin to establish a Land Tenure Center and Library in Madison and two centers in Latin America, all three focusing on research and

\* Ibid., pp. 18-19.

\*\* Ibid., p. 20.

training. The LTC was free to take a multidisciplinary perspective on land problems, to cooperate with local agencies and universities, and to publish all research findings. LTC work, however, was limited to monitoring agrarian reforms required under the Alliance for Progress, thus forcing the Center to abandon temporarily the worldwide perspective on land issues advocated in the 1951 conference.

Since 1962, the Land Tenure Center has established direct ties with foreign governments and other development organizations, but AID continues to provide its core support. As shown in Table 1, the LTC has received funds under three types of agreements with AID: first, a contract extending to 1969, then a grant with two supplements from 1969 to 1979 under section 211 (d) of the 1966 Foreign Assistance Act, and currently a Cooperative Agreement with a consulting focus. Since AID money finances the LTC's international activities, each agreement has affected the content and geographic orientation of the Center's work.

II-6

TABLE I

Summary of USAID Contracts, Grants, and Cooperative Agreements  
with the Land Tenure Center

| <u>AID Contract</u> |             |  | <u>Amount</u>    | <u>Cumulative</u> |
|---------------------|-------------|--|------------------|-------------------|
|                     |             |  | <u>Obligated</u> | <u>Total</u>      |
| 6/62                | AID/REIAS-3 | 11 May 1962-10 May 1965  | \$1,393,275      |                   |
| 9/62                | Amdt. #1    | Program objectives in-<br>corporated into contract   | ---              |                   |
| 9/63                | Amdt. #2    | Amendments re Latin<br>American participants and<br>Research Specialists and<br>travel and transportation                  | ---              |                   |
| 3/65                | Amdt. #3    | Supplements and extends to<br>30 June 1966   | 570,000          | 1,963,275         |
| 6/65                | Amdt. #4    | Provides supplemental<br>statement of work; changes<br>est. cost of contract to<br>\$2,463,275; extends to<br>30 June 1967 | 500,000          | 2,463,275         |
| 5/66                | Amdt. #5    | Extends to 30 June 1968  | 500,000          | 2,963,275         |
| 10/66               | Amdt. #6    | Changes authorization to<br>permit overseas purchase<br>of cars  | ---              |                   |
| 4/67                | Amdt. #7    | Revises the budget and<br>authorizes expenditure<br>in 1968  | ---              |                   |
| 6/67                | Amdt. #8    | Extends to 30 June 1969  | 540,000          | 3,503,275         |
| 4/69                | Amdt. #9    | Establishes overhead rates<br>1 July 1961-30 June 1969   | ---              |                   |
| 5/71                | Amdt. #10   | Provides closing funds   | 9,851            | 3,513,126         |
| - - - - -           |             |  |                  |                   |

AID 211d Grant

|      |              |  |             |  |
|------|--------------|--|-------------|--|
| 4/69 | AID/csd 2263 | 28 Apr 1969-27 Apr 1974                                  | \$1,500,500 |  |
| 4/74 | Amdt. #1     | Extends without additional<br>funds to 27 September 1974 | ---         |  |

AID 211d Grant, cont.

|        |   |  |         |           |
|--------|---|--|---------|-----------|
| 6/74   | Amdt. #2                                | Supplements and extends to<br>30 June 1975             | 205,000 | 1,705,000 |
| 10/74  | Amdt. #3                                | Changes standard provisions                            | ---     |           |
| 6-7/75 | Supplement                              | Supplements and extensions<br>1 July 1975-30 June 1977 | 415,000 | 2,120,000 |
| 6/76   | Amdt. #1 to<br>Supplement               | Increase to cover focused<br>research                  | 180,000 | 2,300,000 |
| 8/77   | Supplement<br>No. 2                     | Supplements and extends to<br>30 September 1979        | 838,000 | 3,138,000 |
| 3/79   | Amdt. No. 1<br>to Supple-<br>ment No. 2 | Increase in funds                                      | 7,500   | 3,145,500 |
| 8/79   | Amdt. No. 2<br>to Supple-<br>ment No. 2 | Increase in funds                                      | 6,200   | 3,151,700 |
| 9/79   | Amdt. No. 3<br>to Supple-<br>ment No. 2 | Increase in funds                                      | 3,300   | 3,155,000 |

- - - - -

AID Cooperative Agreement

|         |  |                     |
|---------|--|---------------------|
| 8/27/79 | Established AID/DSCAN-CA-0183<br>(8/31/79-8/30/83)   | \$ 1,000,000        |
| 5/1/80  | Amdt. No. 1. Additional funds for<br>Nicaragua Seminar                                     | \$ 33,000 1,033,000 |
| 11/7/80 | Amdt. No. 2. Additional funds for<br>Conference on Land Tenure in the<br>Eastern Caribbean | 18,453 1,051,453    |
| 11/7/80 | Amdt. No. 3. Additional funds for<br>K. Nair, Land & Labor Use in<br>Agriculture           | 43,999 1,095,452    |
| 1/5/81  | Amdt. No. 4. Obligates additional<br>funds under initial Co-op Agreement                   | 500,000 1,595,452   |
| 2/25/81 | Amdt. No. 5. Provides additional<br>funds for:   |                     |
|         | -Nicaragua Research  | 300,000 1,895,452   |
|         | -Nicaragua Training  | 150,000 2,045,452   |

II-8

|          |   |         |           |
|----------|---|---------|-----------|
| 4/1/81   | Amdt. No. 6. Provides additional funds for:                                 |         |           |
|          | -Botswana Land Use-Applied Research   | 17,902  | 2,063,354 |
|          | -Mauritania 5-Year Econ. Development Plan                                   | 7,420   | 2,070,774 |
|          | -Mauritania Design Land Tenure System                                       | 43,006  | 2,113,780 |
| 8/19/81  | Amdt. No. 7. Provides additional funds for:                                 |         |           |
|          | -Assessment of Honduras Agrarian Reform                                     | 28,775  | 2,142,555 |
|          | -Evaluation of Honduran Land Transfer                                       | 19,430  | 2,161,985 |
|          | -Development Ecuadorian Training Program                                    | 67,000  | 2,228,985 |
| 9/24/81  | Amdt. No. 8. Provides additional funds for:                                 |         |           |
|          | Suppl. K. Nair, Land & Labor in Agriculture                                 | 25,203  | 2,254,188 |
| 11/9/81  | Amdt. No. 9. Changes indirect costs to the modified total direct cost base: |         |           |
|          | 43% on campus   |         |           |
|          | 25% off campus  |         |           |
| 11/16/81 | Amdt. No. 10. Provides additional funds for:                                |         |           |
|          | -Botswana Rural Sector Grant  | 36,213  | 2,290,401 |
|          | -Ecuador Applied Research with IERAC  | 56,000  | 2,346,401 |
|          | -Ecuador Add. to Training Program   | 77,328  | 2,423,729 |
| 12/9/81  | Amdt. No. 11. Obligates additional funds for Cooperative Agreement          | 350,000 | 2,773,729 |
| 3/3/82   | Amdt. No. 12. Provides funds for Ecuador Research with IERAC to 11/30/83    | 149,435 | 2,923,164 |
| 4/29/82  | Amdt. No. 13. Obligates additional funds for Cooperative Agreement          | 175,000 | 3,098,164 |
|          | Total Funding, 1962-1982  | 9,766   |           |

## INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS

The 1962 contract with AID challenged the Land Tenure Center to create a multi-disciplinary center within a University where power is concentrated within departments. To a large degree, the Center's existence depends on communication with the departments and good will. Even at the student level, doctoral candidates in Development Studies must prove their competence in various departments while maintaining a broad perspective on their own research. Beginning with a discussion of the LTC's leadership, this section examines the Center's ability to institutionalize the multidisciplinary principles that have informally guided land studies at the University of Wisconsin since 1914. Also concerned are links between the LTC and the rest of the University and student programs.

Leadership and Faculty

The LTC director and the Executive Committee make the Center's policy decisions. Both the director and the Executive Committee are responsible to the dean of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences. The staff of the Land Tenure Center decides on a director through informal discussions\*, and the Executive Committee recommends a choice to the dean, who then appoints the director. Each year the director nominates nine faculty members to join him on the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the dean of their colleges. Directors have no set terms, but most serve just five years since negotiations with AID and University administrators consume much of their research time.

Although the Executive Committee and the director set policy guidelines for the Center, the philosophy underlying LTC activities generally follows the institutional economics tradition that influenced the 1951 conference and the initial proposal to AID in 1961. Such continuity is not surprising. The founders of the Center, particularly Raymond Penn, Bryant Kears, and Kenneth Parsons, participated in the World Conference, and many have served on the committee for at least 13 years, and all but Raymond Penn\*\* are now active (see Table II). Three LTC directors, Donald Kanel, William Thiesenhusen and Marion Brown, received their doctoral degrees while working with the Center in the 1960s and have since been on the University of Wisconsin faculty. All of the directors have received at least one degree from the University of Wisconsin, and all have worked in the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, where the institutional economics tradition has survived most strongly.

\* The current director is said to play an important role in these discussions.

\*\* Raymond Penn left the Executive Committee when he became Professor Emeritus in 1975. He died in 1982.

TABLE II

Selected Executive Committee Members by Years of Service

(\* Indicates Directors)

| 13 or more Years                           | Discipline | Years of Service      |
|--|------------|-----------------------|
| *Raymond J. Penn (Director, '62-'65)       | Ag. Econ.  | 1962-1975             |
| Bryant Kearn                               | Ag. Journ. | 1962-68; 1975-        |
| *Peter Dorner (Director, '65-'67; '68-'72) | Ag. Econ.  | 1965-                 |
| Joseph Thome                               | Law        | 1966-68; '70-'78; 79- |
| *Don Kanel (Director, 1967; '76-'80)       | Ag. Econ.  | 1967-                 |
| *Marion Brown (Director,                   | Ag. Journ. | 1968-                 |
| *W. C. Thiesenhusen (Director,             | Ag. Econ.  | 1969-                 |

| 5 to 9 Years         | Discipline | Years of Service |
|----------------------|------------|------------------|
| Eugene Wilkening     | Rural Soc. | 1963-66; '69-'75 |
| William Flinn        | Rural Soc. | 1966-68; '70-'75 |
| Kenneth Parsons      | Ag. Econ.  | 1966-68; '71-'75 |
| Eugene Havens        | Rural Soc. | 1968-70; '71-'75 |
| Robert Seidman       | Law        | 1968-69; '70-'74 |
| Herman Felstenhausen | Ag. Journ. | 1969-75          |

| Now Serving in Addition to the Above | Discipline   | Years of Service |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Joseph Elder                         | Sociology    | 1977-            |
| Marta Tienda                         | Rural Soc.   | 1978-            |
| James Riddell                        | Anthropology | 1979-            |
| John Bruce                           | Law          | 1981-            |

Ex officio members are not included in the table. Twenty five additional members have served on the Executive Committee for four or less years. Many served one year terms to fill in for long-term members on sabbatical. Other departments represented on the Executive Committee have been Political Science, Commerce, Indian Studies, History, and Spanish.

Each director has different research interests, and the director's job has evolved over time due to changing demands from AID. But the Center continues to approach land tenure problems through multidisciplinary lenses that require primary research. Recently, policy decisions by the Executive Committee have focused on whether to accept controversial assignments, such as a recent AID request for assistance in El Salvador. Generally, faculty members can accept consultancies and research grants without the Center's approval.

Many faculty members have agricultural journalism and economics backgrounds, but most of the social sciences are represented on the staff. All faculty members but one have appointments in departments throughout the University and must gain tenure in their own disciplines. Faculty work for the LTC according to their interests and the Center's needs, and in return the Center pays their salaries for the time spent on LTC projects. The Center sometimes recruits specialists, but self-selection usually determines the LTC staff. The Director must win departmental approval for interested faculty, however, by offering the departments salary savings. In the past such savings facilitated cooperation with the departments, but the University now often requires departments to cut part-time positions, making them hesitant to release faculty to the LTC.

The Center's faculty has strongly supported the institutional economics tradition. Much of the LTC's multidisciplinary nature stems from several faculty members joining efforts, but also depends on broad individual perspectives. The LTC, says William Thiesenhusen, consists of "people who may be more interested in policy-oriented research than in the cutting edge of their disciplines - and sometimes the two don't coincide." Eugene Havens, Chairman of the Rural Sociology Department, adds that most "LTC faculty have difficulty staying within disciplinary boundaries."

#### University Relations

Just as AID's financial assistance has made possible the LTC's international work, the Center could not continue without the support of the University of Wisconsin. The University has gathered the faculty which comprises the LTC staff and has made professors available for international research and consulting. It has also given the Center a home in King Hall\*, thus providing a gathering place for faculty and students as well as

\* Remodeling of King Hall, however, will force the LTC to move in the near future.

keeping the Center from degenerating into a letterhead organization. The Administration, particularly the Dean of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, has upheld the importance of the Center's international work, despite occasional conflicts with foreign and domestic government officials.\* Professor Kenneth Parsons suggests that the Administration "expects fireworks from any work on land-tenure issues."

In addition to cooperation on faculty services, some departments have financed multidisciplinary courses developed by LTC staff. The African studies program funds two courses on land tenure and law, taught by John Bruce and James Riddell. The Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology offer a speciality in Sociology of Economic Change that was developed by LTC faculty. The center also initiated two courses on law and social change in Latin America, taught in the Law School. Such cooperation with the departments has enhanced the international development curriculum at the University, since many of the country studies programs focus on language, culture, and history. From the LTC's perspective, departmental support for development courses has allowed professors working with the Center to communicate research and consulting experiences to students. Without the department's help, LTC faculty could not teach development courses since the current Cooperative Agreement with AID does not support regular university instruction.

The Land Tenure Center Library also receives financial assistance from the University, but it is limited to \$7,500 a year for new purchases. University help with library services includes management of the LTC circulation through the Steenbock Agricultural Library, but LTC materials are not cross-referenced in the main University library. Although students from a wide variety of disciplines use the LTC library, financial constraints prevent the University from providing more extensive funding. Such constraints, together with a cut in AID funds under the Cooperative Agreement, have left the library with just one permanent employee funded by AID. Contracts with AID missions and other projects finance another full time position, but funding can be assured for just six month intervals.

The LTC library has felt federal government and University austerity measures more severely than other parts of the Center. The current library staff can handle daily requests but cannot keep up with cataloguing new materials. Until 1979 materials were indexed by subject, title, country, and author, and filed

\* Based on interviews with Professor Emeritus Kenneth Parsons, Vice Chancellor Bryant Kears, and Chairman of the International Studies Program Peter Dorner.

with other documents from the same country. New acquisitions now sit on shelves organized by country, and can be referenced solely by country and title. There is no money to continue publishing bibliographies of available materials or to send duplicate documents to libraries in developing countries. The librarians hope that a recent grant from the National Agricultural Library to create a data bank of the library's materials will allow better service for AID and the University.

### Students

Tight finances have also affected student research, particularly for students from the United States. AID financed student field research under the 211(d) Grant, but funds are now limited to provisions in individual contracts with AID missions. Many students from developing countries have their government finance their field research, but U.S. students must usually find assistance from foundations outside of the University since the departments typically support research in the United States. Students in departments that traditionally work with the LTC have increasingly turned to domestic issues, as is the case with about 90 percent on the American students in the rural sociology and sociology departments.

To compensate for the lack of financial support, the LTC has a full-time student coordinator who monitors administrative and academic requirements, as well as available grants and research fellowships. Other departments generally do not help students find support for international work, and students from various departments regularly come to the LTC for suggestions on financial assistance.

The types of student programs sponsored by or associated with the LTC have broadened since the Center's inception. Until 1970, all students received degrees from the established departments throughout the University, and could use LTC faculty in their departments as advisors. In the late 1960's, both students and faculty saw the need for an interdisciplinary degree geared to the needs of professional and academics working in developing countries. In 1970 the University accepted, on an experimental basis, a Ph.D degree in development studies.

To apply to the development studies program, students must present a research proposal to an admissions committee appointed by the University Graduate School, which uses the proposal as well as grades, GREs and outside recommendations to make its selections. Once accepted, a student receives an LTC faculty advisor and creates an advisory committee from faculty in various departments. The interdisciplinary nature of the program depends on student initiative and interest. Although there are some core course requirements, students can choose their studies from any department as long as their committees approve. Most programs are interdisciplinary within the social sciences, but

there has been less interest and less faculty support for integrating the physical and biological sciences.

The University continues to run the Development Studies Ph.D. as an experimental program. The LTC has not pushed to have the degree accepted on a permanent basis. As an experimental degree, the program receives extra vigilance from the University. Such scrutiny, says William Thiesenhusen, has helped "curb departmental criticism of interdisciplinary degrees as inferior."

In 1980 the LTC created special non-degree programs, based on a training course for Turkish administrators held at the Center in the late 1970's, designed to help Third World governments improve their research capabilities. The first program, conducted in Spanish for eight Nicaraguan students, was funded by the Managua AID mission. For six months the students participated in modules on statistics and research design, basic economics, farm management, and comparative agrarian reform. The courses focused on helping students develop policy-oriented research proposals which they could pursue in their home countries. Most students were mid-level bureaucrats who returned to their countries to form the nucleus of a research unit in one of the government ministries. Since the initial program, the modules have been scaled down to three months, and the courses tied to the Center's research programs abroad. Two groups of the students from Ecuador have participated in addition to the Nicaraguans, and the LTC hopes to settle an agreement with the Dominican Republic soon.

In general, the student programs associated with the LTC may be the aspect of the Center's work with the greatest long-term influence. Over 57 percent of the LTC's graduates work in developing countries; 20 percent are professors in the United States, many of whom work on development issues (see Table III). Another 7.5 percent work for international development organizations. Very few of the students from developing countries stay in the United States; most return to their home countries or other developing countries and take with them both specific skills and a capacity for relating research to policy.

62

TABLE III

Student and Graduate Origins and Destinations\*  
1964-1982

| From<br>(% Total)         |                 | Destination   |                    |                                   |                                 |               |               |        |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
|                           |                 | Non-Univ.<br>Position<br>in Develop-<br>ing Country | University<br>U.S. | Position<br>Developing<br>Country | Int'l.<br>Development<br>Agency | Other<br>U.S. | Other Unknown |        |
| Latin<br>America<br>(37%) | % Total         | 26  |                    | 8                                 | 1                               | 1.5           | .5            | (--)** |
|                           | % Region        | 69  |                    | 21                                | 2.5                             | 5             | 1.5           | 1      |
|                           | % Total         | 2.5   | .5                 | 4                                 | .5                              |               |               | .5     |
| Africa<br>(8%)            | % Region        | 31  | 7                  | 45                                | 7                               |               |               | 10     |
|                           | % Total         | 9   | .5                 | 4                                 | .5                              | (---)         |               |        |
| Asia<br>(14%)             | % Region        | 65  | 2                  | 29                                | 2                               | 2             |               |        |
| United<br>States<br>(37%) | % Total         | 2   | 18                 | 1                                 | 5                               | 9             | 1             | 1      |
|                           | % Region        | 5   | 50                 | 2                                 | 12                              | 26            | 3             | 2      |
|                           | TOTAL<br>(100%) | 41.5  | 20                 | 17                                | 7.5                             | 11            | 1.5           | 1.5    |

Notes: \* Total number of graduates: 351.

\*\* Insignificant relative to total.

## RELATIONSHIP WITH AID

Difficult as cooperation with the departments throughout the University may be, LTC Director Marion Brown considers the Center's relationship with AID even more difficult. Requests for consulting service come at short notice and may conflict with teaching commitments at the University. Quick responses to consulting requests have caused tensions at the University when professors have asked colleagues to take over their classes. Many LTC faculty members have reorganized their schedules to create large blocs of research time which can also be used for consulting. Some professors have linked their consultancies to the University, often by encouraging a training component in their projects which brings officials from developing countries to Wisconsin.

More fundamental than these logistical problems, however, the conflicts arising over short-term consultancies suggest that AID and the Land Tenure Center perceive their relationship differently. Although generally concerned with policy questions, the LTC prefers a long-term, scholarly view of problems. "At times," says William Thiesenhusen, "AID has had difficulty seeing what the Center's long-term approach has done for them."

Particularly since the Cooperative Agreement of 1979, the conflicting perspectives have become salient. Under the Cooperative Agreement, the LTC has worked extensively with AID missions and has become more integrated in AID operations than in the past. From the LTC's perspective, the shift has had both costs and benefits. The Center has clearly gained more opportunities for fieldwork, and is better able to integrate work on short- and long-term policy issues. The negative side is that extensive policy studies, such as those in Latin America in the 1960's, are now almost impossible. AID missions tend to perceive their needs more narrowly than the Washington office, and the Center must attempt to meet these narrow demands. Project evaluations may now consume more time than policy analysis. Although the LTC continues to work directly with the governments of developing countries, AID sometimes sets project guidelines and in some cases has become the direct client. Overall, the Center now produces more comprehensive policy packages than it did and fewer state-of-the-art papers outside of those commissioned by AID.

The conflict between short- and long-term views also extends to perceptions of AID's commitment to the LTC. Even during negotiations for the first LTC contract, AID argued for a short commitment that would allow the Center to build a "response capacity" for the future. The LTC, on the other hand, believed that a long-term relationship was necessary to continue its international work, to keep abreast of changing theories and technologies, and to maintain its library. Changing political

84

interests in Washington, says Marion Brown, can threaten yearly funding levels even when the Center has a multi-year contract. Strong relationships with AID officials like Tom Mehen can reduce the uncertainty, but frequent personnel shifts within the Agency make such relationships difficult to maintain.

The Center has insisted that its research and consulting work be made public and when possible translated into the language of the host country. In cases where individuals associated with LTC have criticized U.S. policy as in Nicaragua and El Salvador, AID officials have sometimes identified the criticism with the Center as a whole rather than the individuals. When this happens, "they tend to see the Center cutting its own throat," says Marion Brown.

As the LTC has expanded to new regions, the content of its work has also broadened even though the components of the philosophical debate with AID have not changed. The following section will examine the trends in the Center's research and consulting, particularly the shifts promoted by changes in LTC agreements with AID.

#### RESEARCH AND CONSULTING

As previously indicated, the LTC's approach to research remains consistent with the principles established by Ely and Commons in the 1920s. LTC faculty members emphasize the need for field work and primary data, place policy questions ahead of disciplinary boundaries, and attempt to combine research with training. Faculty members do not claim a bias for micro-level analysis, but most agree that micro data are more useful than macro for analyzing land policies. Professor Donald Kanel considers the key to land tenure research to be "a process of monitoring institutional progress" to determine who benefits as "political groups struggle for power." Inevitably, such monitoring requires micro-level analysis to determine how national policies affect individual households.

The LTC's concern for a wide variety of rural development issues ranging from equity to productivity also dates back to Ely and Commons and is considered an inevitable part of land studies. In a summary report on LTC activities from 1962-1966, former Director Peter Dorner addressed the Center's work on ownership concentration, the use of power, population growth and migration, income distribution, and land reform administration. Many of these activities were popularly criticized as deterrents to productivity until 1973, when Congress promulgated the New

attention on rural poverty. Today the issues addressed by Dorner in 1966 are a standard element of development rhetoric.

Using LTC publications\* and dissertations as indicators of research activity, Table IV indicates that the most obvious trend in the Center's research is a shift away from Latin America, beginning in 1972. The diversification can be attributed largely to the 1969 211(d) Grant which authorized the LTC to reassume the worldwide perspective on land reform advocated by its founders. Since the initial contact with AID was tied to the Alliance for Progress, virtually all of the Center's research for the first decade focused on Latin America. The shift toward more dissertations on Asia and Africa required several more years, but at least a three-year delay should be expected for new students to complete their doctoral work.

Two changes in the content of the Center's work have accompanied the geographic expansion. The first is a peak of theoretical and general development work from 1972 to 1974. Many faculty members attribute the rise to a decade of long-term projects in Latin America which provided a basis for comparison and resulted in the LTC monograph, Land Reform in Latin America. To date, healthy debate continues in the Center on the proper level of theoretical and general work, with little overall consensus.

The second substantive change in LTC research stems directly from the Center's work in Africa. Africa specialist John Bruce explains that "the problem in Africa is not skewed distribution, but how to develop a land-tenure system so that Africa doesn't become another Latin America." Professor Don Kanel commented that "African tenure is complex, largely unwritten, and subject to considerable local variation. The tenure problems of pastoralists are in a way more complex than those of cultivating people because pastoralists share use of land and water differ from those of agriculturalists. Clearly African tenure issues are different and require different terminology, and are confusing to persons familiar with tenure in other regions such as Latin America and Asia." If for no other reason than the fact that little work has been done on pastoralism, LTC research in Africa will have a major impact on the continent's development.

The trend of declining publications since the 1975 supplement to the 211(d) Grant, however, suggests that progress on field research has slowed since the Center's relationship with AID has focused on consulting. LTC publications dropped from 28 in 1974 to 8 in 1975, the lowest level since 1978, and then dropped again to five after the Cooperative Agreement took

\* LTC publications include Reprints, Research Papers, Training and Methods Papers, LTC Papers, Special Bibliographies, Special Papers, Monographs, Agrarian Reform Bibliographies, Discussion Papers, and Latin America Research Briefs.

effect in 1979. Dissertations followed a similar pattern, with an expected two-year delay.

Since the original AID contract was designed for a program of "research and training," consulting played a small role in LTC activities in the mid-1960's. Not until 1965 did the Center's annual report mention consulting services. Although the LTC cooperated with AID missions in Latin America, most of the consulting work was with other development organizations or with local governments. Groups with which the LTC cooperated in its early years included the Inter American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the Inter American Committee of Agricultural Development, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. The Ford Foundation also provided substantial support and sponsored a Rural Modernization Program in the Andes from 1969 to 1972. Connections with organizations outside of AID developed as the Center worked closely with Latin Americans and increasingly gained respect for its research and training efforts.

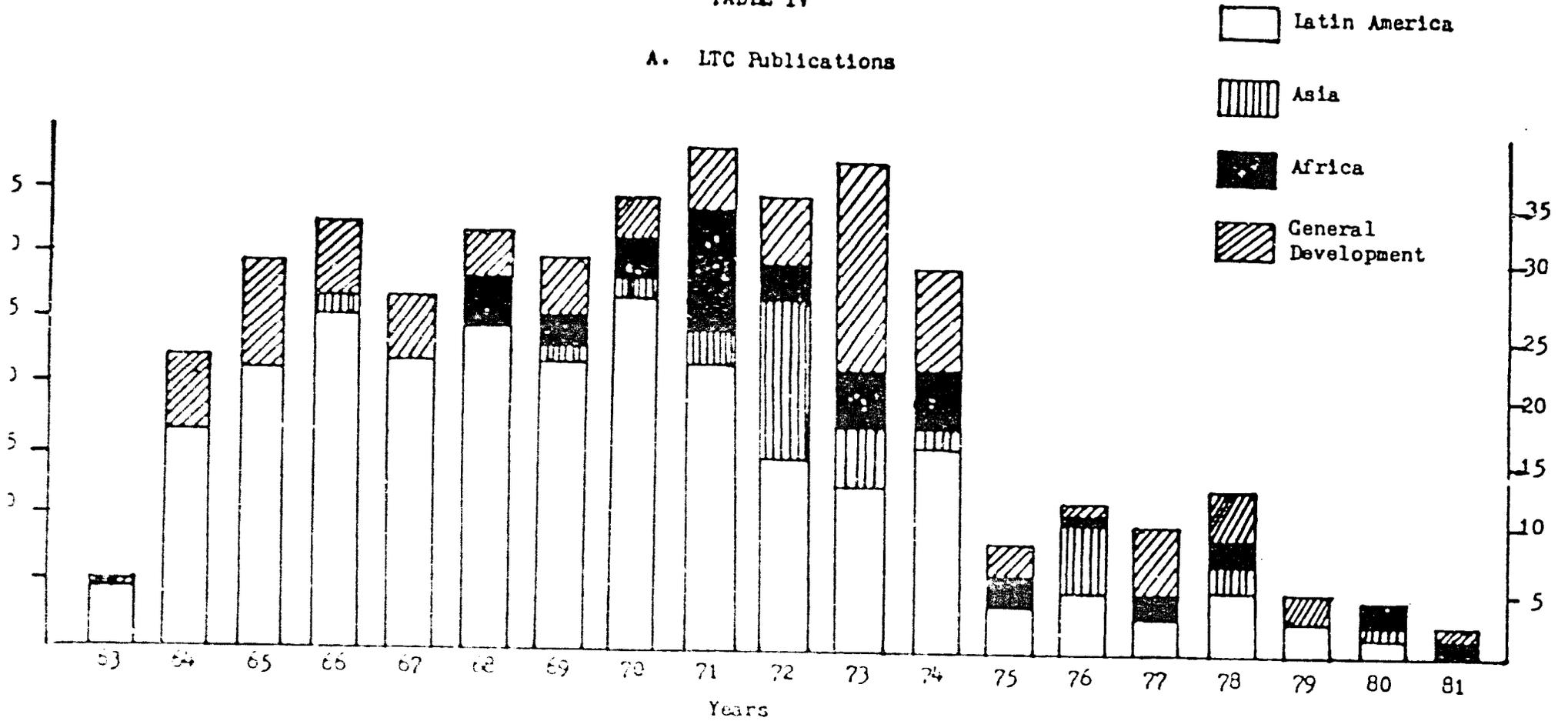
Once the 211(d) Grant authorized the LTC to work in Asia and Africa, consulting services for AID also increased. In a random sample of 30 consultancies from both 1971-72 and 1974-75, individual projects for AID rose from 20 percent of the Center's consulting work to 30 percent. Although the increase is not statistically significant in a technical sense,\* the trend should be well noted since much of the increase is attributable to a long-term project in the Philippines with AID, which Professor Duncan Harkin initiated in 1973. One year after Harkin's work began, AID contracted for a two-year project led by Kenneth Parsons in Honduras.

Beginning in 1975-76 and continuing until 1977-78, the LTC closely monitored its consulting work (recording both its clients and the hours spent) in order to satisfy the conditions of the 1975 and 1977 Supplements to the 211(d) Grants (see Table V). Over the three-year period total consultancies in Latin America rose slightly, but the percentage of jobs in the region fell from 40 to 20 percent. Two trends explain the decline. The first is an increasing role in Asia, particularly a long-term project with David King in the Philippines that continued Duncan Harkin's work. The second is a steady growth of consulting in Washington (shown by the increase in U.S./General policy work in Table V), largely attributable to the Center's stronger ties to AID/Washington under the 1975 and 1977 Supplements. Although total consulting time rose over two and a half times during the three-year period, consulting for AID increased at a slower rate. The largest increase is attributable to short-term jobs with groups such as FAO, the Inter-American Foundation, OAS, the Agricultural Development Council, and CIMMYT. Total time dedicated to other universities and governments also increased.

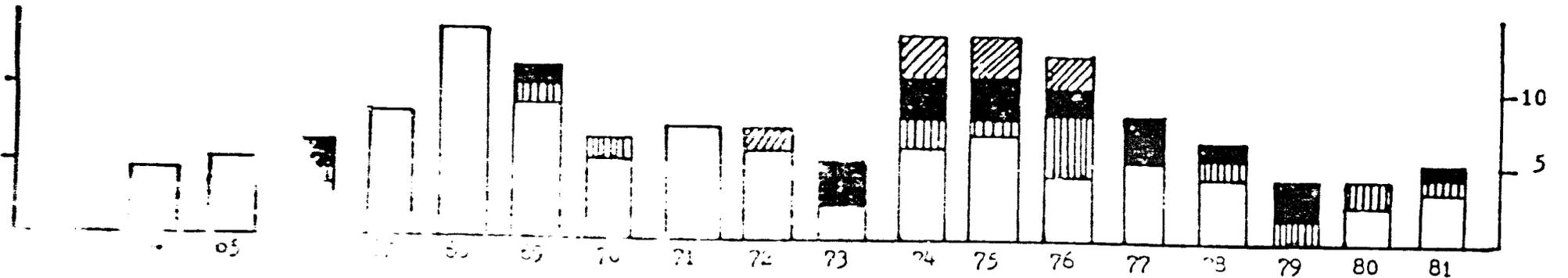
\* Tested for significance at 5% level

TABLE IV

A. LTC Publications



B. Doctoral Dissertations



A comparison of LTC consulting before and after the 1979 Cooperative Agreement would help determine the operational effects of the current arrangement with AID, but consulting records by client and region ended with the last supplement to the 211(d) Grant. The information in Table V for 1979-1982 comes from LTC travel records, which indicate the purpose and duration of trips, but do not account accurately for consulting time, particularly for work done in Madison. Reports completed subsequent to field visits, such as the state-of-the-art paper on pastoralism in Africa, do not enter the consulting record, resulting in an undercounting. Several trends are evident since 1979 -- particularly increasing work in Africa due to projects in Botswana, Mauritania, and Liberia as well as a greater role in Latin America stemming from a long-term project in Nicaragua -- but the accuracy of the trends is hard to verify. The increasing percentage of time spent of AID projects suggested in Table V should be better documented to determine whether the cooperative agreement has significantly changed the Center's outside linkages.

Although Latin America and Africa specialists are interested in combining consulting work with long-term general analysis, the substance and quality of future LTC research will depend on the nature of contracts with AID. William Thiesenhusen and others at the Land Tenure Center say that "the attractiveness of the Cooperative Agreement is that once (the Center) helps AID get a project going, (the LTC) can develop ties to continue research in the country." The LTC currently administers long-term research and consulting programs in Ecuador and Botswana, and plans one for Mauritania. Differences of opinion with local ministries and AID missions over the proper objectives and scope of the program, however, have at times slowed progress.

#### EFFECTS OF A CUTBACK IN AID FUNDS

The LTC has expanded its consulting to a wide variety of development organizations, governments, and academic associations, but continues to depend on AID for the bulk of its international work. Most consultancies pay for incurred expenses, but could not support a research and training program in Wisconsin. Some consulting occurs on an informal basis with visitors who come to Madison and no fee is charged. The University has felt the drain of a depressed economy and many departments could not finance international courses if AID consultancies did not allow professors to do the research necessary for teaching. The LTC staff believes that AID makes the Center possible; it is not difficult to predict the effects of a cutback in AID funds, since there are no other major supporters. In this light, this section will present LTC faculty perceptions of how an end to AID support would affect various aspects of the Center.

Research and Teaching

Some international work would continue with LTC contacts, but would decrease over time as expertise diminishes with less field work. In the first years after a cutback, courses on development work would also continue but professors would have to accept more domestic work, and their international experiences would become outdated. Joseph Thome, for example, estimates that he could not continue his Latin America agrarian reform course for more than three years. After about five years, Peter Dorner and Bryant Kearn predict that the Center would return to the ad hoc international work characteristic of the 1950's. As current LTC faculty retire, research and teaching on land tenure issues would further decline if the University could not find professors willing to use their own initiative to continue work in developing countries.

Faculty

Several faculty members have come to the University of Wisconsin solely because of the Land Tenure Center. John Bruce has said he would leave the University if the Center could not continue. Many young professors interested in development would be lost to other universities because the agricultural economics, rural sociology, and law programs could not offer sufficient support for international research. Most international Studies Programs already concentrate on history, language, and culture and their attractiveness to professors interested in international development would decline without the opportunity to work on land-tenure issues at the LTC.

Students

Even with the LTC's increased orientation toward consulting, the Center has lost many students interested in development because of its inability to finance research or provide fellowships. Foreign students will likely decrease since many learn of the Center through direct contact with LTC staff in their home countries. Those foreign students funded by AID missions will have to receive support from their governments or end their studies. The LTC's overall impact on development policy would inevitably decline since it depends largely on students carrying particular skills and attitudes to their home countries.

Library

Without a trained staff capable of handling documents in foreign languages and responding to information requests from around the world, current librarian Terri Anderson says the "library would just sit." The library was not approved as a branch of the University system because current financial constraints prevent the University library from accepting new

monetary commitments. Since the LTC library is housed within the Steenbock Agricultural library, the Steenbock staff could manage the circulation but could not handle new material.

Consulting

Without a long-term commitment from AID which would give LTC faculty a basis for planning their time, faculty members would be less available to handle short-term AID requests. As consulting work decreased and professors became more involved in domestic issues, state-of-the-art knowledge at the University would decline. Potential contracts would likely be lost to private consulting firms with a quicker response capacity.

APPENDIX III  
Review of LTC Publications  
by John P. Powelson

## REVIEW OF LTC PUBLICATIONS

This review is done in eight parts, according to type of report. The first three (1, Africa general; 2, Botswana; and 3, Nicaragua) contain very recent reports which have not yet been published in the regular numbered series. Many of them are still tentative, and reviews should be understood accordingly. The remaining four are (4) LTC Papers, which are short reports put out in xerox, given as LTC 122, LTC 121, etc.; (5) LTC research reports, summaries of longer research, such as PhD theses, given as RP 75, RP 74, etc., (6) LTC Reprints, which are published articles, mostly done by professionals associated with LTC (shown by asterisks), but sometimes by others; (7) the LTC Newsletter; and (8) books.

1. Africa Program: General

"Land Tenure Issues in African Development," a position paper by James C. Riddell, Kenneth H. Parsons, and Don Kanel, September 1978.

The authors reviewed about a dozen current USAID projects and selected four (from Senegal, Chad, Upper Volta, and Botswana) "to illustrate the relevance of tenure and related issues of social structure to typical development projects supported by USAID in Africa." They show how traditional tenurial systems affect the abilities of tribal groups to participate in and benefit from irrigation, black-fly-control, and range-development projects. All of these projects relate to land use, and all must take into account the existing tenurial systems. The authors describe briefly the indigenous tenurial systems. They show how these systems are institutional constraints which must be removed or adapted to in order for projects to be successful. The case is well made, and the information would be of great value to project designers.

"Agricultural Land Tenure in Zambia: Perspectives, Problems, and Opportunities," by John W. Bruce and Peter Dorner, September 1982.

This paper presents a critical analysis of the land tenure system set up in Zambia after independence. Based on Kaunda's concept of "Humanism," the system assigns all land to the President to hold in perpetuity. Land is then leased to the people. However, all alienation of land requires Presidential approval, and when leases are transferred, there is no cost for

the land, only for improvements (for land belongs to all the people). The authors point out that the system is cumbersome and inefficient, and that the concept of "land without value" distorts production and distribution patterns in a situation where land does have value because of its scarcity. The authors propose a system of private exploitation of land under leasehold. The paper is well presented, containing viewpoints and insights which ought to be considered by Zambian officials.

"Land Tenure Issues in the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe Tradition," by James C. Riddell, published in William and Mary Department of Anthropology, Studies in Third World Societies, Publication no. 8, July 1979: "Changing Agricultural Systems in Africa," Emilio F. Moran, guest editor.

This article presents a useful review of the British occupation of Rhodesia and its impact on land tenure. It argues that four generally-accepted propositions are fallacies: that traditional Zimbabwe economics lacks potential for change; that British imperialism was profitable; that European farmers brought efficient, sophisticated technology, and that Rhodesian settlers were hardy yeomen. Considerable circumstantial evidence is presented that these conclusions are reasonable, and the article is generally well-written.

"Plaiting the Strands of a Basketcase: Rural Development in the Mandara Mountains, North Cameroons," Draft, February 1981, James C. Riddell and David Campbell.

This paper describes the history and many and varied systems of land tenure in what might be supposed to be an area so ecologically hostile that it would be hard to understand how it could have become so densely populated. Much of the information was gathered by interview. It presents an overview of agriculture in the northern Cameroons that is probably not available in any other spot.

## 2. Botswana

See also review of LTC research paper no. 75, presented under Research Papers.

"Planning for Local Institutions of Development in the CFDA's (Communal First Development Areas) of Botswana," March 1982, by Andrew Manzardo.

This is a preliminary discussion paper reporting on the first phase of a research program designed to provide information for

programs in rural development operating at the village level. The purpose of the present phase is to prepare an inventory of village institutions and to make some comments on how they appear to be functioning. This paper reports that the authority of the village headman is declining, along with village administration in general. The Village Development Committee, an alien institution grafted on to village structures which had consisted only of headmen and village assemblies, has not been working well, and the author lists several reasons. There are also Village Extension Teams, Agricultural Demonstrators, and various other agencies, many imposed from outside. The author points out that these agencies will be perceived, not as working in the interests of the villagers, but as performing work for outsiders. The warning against creating "standard organizations" to be intruded into villages is well taken and should be listened to. The tenor of the paper would indicate an inundation of interference in villages from central government. The author warns effectively against this. His advice should be listened to.

"Report on Local Institutions in Five Villages in the Southern District Communal First Development Area," August 1982, by Andrew Rude (principal author) and five co-authors.

This report follows on the subject matter of the preceding one by Manzardo. It reports on a research program undertaken during May-July 1982, on institutions in five villages in the Southern District. It examines these institutions in detail, describing their structure, information systems, communications, and functioning. It concludes in all cases that while the traditional institutions are probably weakening anyway, action by the government tends to weaken them further. The government is apparently trying to supplant these institutions with different, modern ones. The authors argue that the traditional institutions still claim legitimacy; indeed, the legitimacy of the modern institutions depends on the traditional institutions endorsing them. Therefore, the authors suggest a policy of greater coordination with and respect for village institutions. The research is professionally done, the writing is clear, and the message is important for any concerned with rural development in Botswana.

"A Study of Local Institutions in Kgatleng District, Botswana," February 1982, by Chris Brown (principal author) and four co-authors.

Although studying a different area, the present researchers reached findings similar to those of the preceding study. They blame the decline in village authority squarely on government policy in the post-Independence period. "Government has taken

away the chiefs' authority to regulate most aspects of peoples' social and economic lives, at the same time reducing most of their financial, material, and human resources" (p. 91). The result is that chiefs are losing legitimacy. Yet the chiefs and the village assemblies are known, and when outside planners ignore them, they lose a major source of potential support. The authors also find that the accomplishments of the main "modern" village organizations (development committee, thrift and loan society, health committee, parent-teachers organizations, social welfare committee, red cross, etc.) are meagre. They make "little tangible contribution to rural development." Again a report that should be listened to.

"Government Settlement or People's Community?: A Study of Local Institutions in Ghanzi District," June 1982, by Gary Childers, Joyce Stanley, and Kathryn Rick.

This report covers the West Hanahai settlement, the first of four intended for remote area dwellers to improve their economic prospects. It began with the drilling of a bore hole in 1978. The report describes the types of economic activity expected, but it makes no over-all estimates of the limits. The area is being settled mostly by Basarwa people who have lost their rights to traditional land and who do not possess too many live-stock. Since the community is new, "traditional" institutions do not exist; but of course the people come from areas with such institutions, so there is the prospect for setting them up anew.

This report does not possess the same high quality as the preceding three. While it criticizes government institutions for being too "confused" and for not paying sufficient heed to traditional forms, it also bewilders the reader with no less than seventy specific suggestions on how the community should be organized, going into such details as how many members should be on the village development committee. It seems to this reviewer that the researchers have forgotten that they themselves are outsiders, and that the respect they advise to be shown to village organizations - and the capacities of these organizations to make decisions - ought to apply to themselves as well.

### 3. Nicaragua

(In addition to the papers reported here, see also review of LTC paper no. 122: "Nicaragua's Agrarian Reform: the First Year (1979-80)."

Joseph R. Thome, "The Nicaraguan Agrarian Reform Process: 1979-82" (no date, but obviously written in 1982).

This paper provides a good, factual description of the origins of the Nicaraguan agrarian reform and its implementation up to early 1982.

David Stanfield, "A Revolution at Work: The Distribution of Agricultural Credit in Nicaragua since 1979," September 1982.

On the basis of sample questionnaires to farmers, the author concludes that the Sandinista government has succeeded in increasing the amount of resources at the disposal of small farmers. Possible problems that the author foresees include the appropriateness of size of loan to the conditions of the farmer and his ability to pay, along with potential survival rates of the cooperatives, through which much credit is channeled. The author reports significant peasant participation in cooperatives. Possible problems which the author may not have foreseen include whether cooperatives are the preferred form (by the peasants) of agricultural production and marketing and whether therefore their support will continue.

#### 4. LTC Papers

122. October 1980. Nicaragua's Agrarian Reform: The First Year (1979-80), by David Kaimowitz and Joseph R. Thome.

This paper views the Nicaraguan revolution in optimistic - indeed, starry-eyed - manner. It neglects answering the questions economists might raise over the efficiency of the bureaucratic structure and controls imposed by Sandinistas.

121. January 1979. Land Tenure and Social Productivity in Mexico, by John Barchfield.

This paper studies the relative social efficiencies of private minifundios, ejidos, and large farms, concluding that they are efficient in the order stated, but that the quality of land is in the reverse order. The determination of social (as opposed to market) values can be criticized (as such values always are conjectural). The conclusion, that resources should be directed more toward small farms, has a further substantiation, but it is nothing new.

120. January 1979. Zinacanteco Women: Prediction for Change in a Mexican Village, by Joanne Hogan and Marta Tienda.

This paper describes the social organization of a Mexican village, with particular reference to the role of women. It

presents a rough, aggregate model of how social change may be occurring, depending on population growth, resource pressure, etc. The model is untested and its generality unknown.

119. December 1978. Organizational Issues in Group Farming in South Korea, by Edward Reed.

The author compares voluntary group farming for single operations with state-imposed joint farming for continuous operations, arguing that the former have been very successful while the latter are mainly "paper organizations." Thus a strong case is made for democratic cooperation and against state control. However, more study is needed; the paper does not have enough data.

118. September 1978. Maximizing Human Resources in a Finite Labor Situation: Labor Economics of the Gbannah Mah, by James C. Riddell.

This paper describes the adaptability of an African tribe to changing economic and political circumstances as well as the ability of the tribe to initiate culture changes in its favor. It also covers the tribe's successful achievement of economic planning. It is the kind of reading essential for any Westerners who might otherwise disparage the capabilities of African tribes to initiate change or to be economically efficient.

117. July 1978. Land Tenure and Agricultural Development, by Ralph W. Cummings, Jr.

This paper is a brief "primer" on land tenure and agrarian reform. It sets forth a typology of tenure systems, describes the relationship of land reform to economic development, and cites the activities and institutions necessary to implement it. It describes alternative strategies. It is well-written and may be of use to the novice, but it offers little to those familiar with the field.

116. April 1978. The Political Economy of Agricultural Development, by Kenneth H. Parsons.

This paper is a philosophical overview by an elder statesman in the political economy of agricultural development, drawing on insights from China, England, and elsewhere, to make a case for including the excluded. It does not offer data on nitty-gritty, but it sets a mood and a framework for those who would think creatively.

115. January 1978. Agrarian Reform in Costa Rica, 1942-1976: The Evolution of a Program, by Mitchell A. Seligson.

This is an optimistic report on Costa Rica's agrarian reform. The degree of concentration, and how it has been lessened, are quantified. Landless farmers and reform peasants were questioned on attitude toward government; the latter showed greater trust in government. A worthwhile study.

114. January 1978. Key Policy Issues for the Reconstruction and Development of Honduran Agriculture Through Agrarian Reform, by Kenneth Parsons.

This is a "think piece" following upon the author's more extensive (and previously-published) examination of agrarian reform in southern Honduras. The author declares that individual family farming should surely be the firm basis of Honduran land tenure, but that certain kinds of collective or cooperative farming might be considered on individual merits. He believes the thrust toward cooperative farming by Honduran authorities is too great, hence ill-advised. A stimulating article.

113. October 1977. The Cooperative Approach in Implementing Land Reform Programs: The Tunisian and Egyptian Experiences, by P.J. Van Dooren.

This paper has criticized the co-operatives and compulsion, but it has failed to show their results quantitatively or to render a firm, substantiated judgment on them. The author believes the peasants to be ignorant and in need of guidance.

112. January 1977. Industrialization in Advanced Rural Communities: The Israeli Kibbutz, by Yehuda Don.

This article describes the process and philosophy of industrial plants in the Israeli kibbutz. These plants defy the laws of economic rationality, in that wages are distributed equally and not according to marginal product, and individual welfare rather than profit maximization is the goal. But they work. The author concludes, however, that they work only under very special circumstances, and where these circumstances do not exist, their replication would "lead to disaster."

111. January 1977. Current Development Patterns in Latin America with Special Reference to Agrarian Policy, by William Thiesenhusen.

This paper reports on a study of a minifundio community which demonstrates that the individual passes through several stages of land tenure relationships during the course of a lifetime. Technological complexities cause variations in the stages. The author believes that the findings are generalizable. A stimulating piece, which implies that land tenure, like employment (reviewer's comment), ought to be studied on an age-structure basis.

110. December 1976. The Agricultural Ladder in a Brazilian Community, by John Steele and Don Kanel.

This paper reports on a study of a minifundio community which demonstrates that the individual passes through several stages of land tenure relationships during the course of a lifetime. Technological complexities cause variations in the stages. The authors believe the findings are generalizable.

109. December 1976. Hill Land Farming: An International Dimension, by William C. Thiesenhusen.

This article vividly describes the pressure of population on hillsides, showing how the deterioration occurs gradually and is accepted. One wonders whether the gradualness is the reason for acceptability: would the participants be horrified if instead they were faced, at one blow, with the consequences of their actions over generations. International comparisons are made, including Latin America, Ethiopia, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. A thought-provoking piece.

108. April 1976. Land Reform, Land-Use Changes, and Capital Gains: The Philippine Case, by Duncan A. Harkin.

While the author believes that history shows freehold to be, in general, the most efficient kind of land title, nevertheless limited title, as practiced in the Philippines, has some attractions. But it also has the problem of who will get the capital gains when agricultural land is converted to urban use. The author does not - indeed, could not - answer this question. But pointing it out serves a very good purpose, since it is the kind of consideration that might well have been forgotten.

107. September 1975. International Assistance for Agricultural Production: New Directions? by Peter Dorner.

This paper assesses (in 1975) the potential impact of the congressional directive of 1973 to focus foreign aid on the rural poor. While expressing sympathy with this ideal, the

author points out that the real problems will remain in employment creation, income distribution, and broad-based rural development. This is a think-piece which, in the hindsight of 1982, has turned out to be prescient.

106. April 1975. The Role of State Domain Lands in Ethiopia's Agricultural Development, by Lulseged Asfaw.

Written before the military government's agrarian reform, this paper describes the land tenure situation in different parts of Ethiopia (small farms in the North, large ones in the South). It provides useful historical information conveniently summarized for persons concerned with land reform, who must know background, but who do not have time for more detailed research. The purpose of the paper is to examine state domain land and policies concerning it to date, and to make recommendations for its future management. In view of the subsequent agrarian reform, however, the usefulness of this paper in providing background goes beyond its original purpose.

105. April 1975. Land Tenure, Land Use, and Development in the Awash Valley, Ethiopia, by Hailu W. Emmanuel.

The author was member of a subcommittee set up to report on land rights in the Awash Valley, where irrigation had upset traditional claims of nomadic tribes for grazing. The paper includes a general background of Ethiopian agriculture, a description of the Awash Valley Authority and its development projects, the procedure for land allocation under customary tribal law, earlier settlement schemes, and an outline of current problems of land tenure. The Gezira Scheme of the Sudan, group ranches in Kenya, development of tribal lands in Libya, and irrigation agriculture in southern Iraq are offered as comparable examples, but the comparative analysis is weak. The principal value of the paper lies in its use as a case study.

104. December 1974. Land Tenure among the Rural Hausa, by William W. Starns.

This prize-winning paper provides a concise, excellent history and summary of land tenure among the Hausa, which is precisely the information that should be taken into account before any agricultural project is undertaken. Its final section, on Projects, makes some unwarranted assumptions about the usefulness of mechanization in agriculture, a topic not covered in the body of the report. But this blemish is minor, compared to a superb paper, which this reviewer would have been hard put to criticize if the final section had simply been omitted.

103. October 1974. The Effects of Continued Landlord Presence in the Bolivian Countryside during the Post-Reform Era: Lessons to be Learned, by Peter Graeff.

The Bolivian agrarian reform is sharply criticized 21 years later for its vestiges of landlordism and for the fact that unequal distributions of land made it possible for campesinos themselves to take on characteristics of landlords. Four case studies provide the data. This article is very informative and ought to cast doubt in the minds of readers as to the potential achievements of agrarian reform. Unfortunately, it does not cause the author to doubt; rather, he attributes the failures of reform to the fact that the Bolivian government did not live up to its commitments to reform more forcefully. To this reviewer, who believes that the Bolivian reform may be among the more successful ones (see LTC reprint #42), the fact that the government did not lay its strong arm on the peasant is probably a blessing. This reviewer's perspective could also be questioned, but it should not be ignored.

102. September 1974. Institutions as Aids to Development, by Peter Dorner.

This nine-page, thought-provoking paper reminds us of the strong role of institutions as a support system in economic development, stressing land tenure as one such institution. It is well worth a more leisurely reflection than the few moments required to read it.

101. September 1974. Land Reform and Participation of the Rural Poor in the Development Process of African Countries, by David J. King.

Land reform is seen as essential to wider participation by the rural poor in African development because (1) there will not be enough non-agricultural jobs and (2) tribal tenancy systems impede agricultural development. The author regrets that there is little demand for land reform from any sector in Africa, with a few exceptions (such as Ethiopia). What totally escapes the author (for he does not mention it) is that either he is criticizing the Africans for their low level of consciousness about their own problems, or else he has himself (an outsider) not fully understood their aspirations. One suspects a little of each.

100. September 1974. Agrarian Reform in Ecuador, by Charles Blankstein and Clarence Zuvekas.

This is a description of the Ecuadorian agrarian reform, along with a defense, by the two authors who (one suspects) may have had something to do with its original preparation, through their assignments in AID/Ecuador. It is well-written. The defense is theoretical since the events had not yet occurred.

87. June 1973. A Longitudinal Analysis of Three Small-Farm Communities in Colombia: A Compendium of Descriptive Statistics, by Robert Whitenbarger and A. Eugene Havens.

In its introductory section, this study makes some remarks on land distribution and small-scale farming, without providing essentially new ideas. This section is followed by a compendium of data on household income and expenditures, with means, standard deviations, and ranges, but no other analysis, for three communities. The data would be useful for further studies in rural economics.

84. February 1973. Sources for the Investigation of Peruvian Agrarian History, by Susan and Douglas Horton.

This paper points to the deficiencies in Peruvian historiography in its neglect of agrarian developments. To make good the deficiencies, the authors have examined and listed original sources. Their citations will be extremely helpful to any wishing to do original work on Peruvian agrarian history, both past and contemporary.

83. No date. The Colonato System on the Bolivian Altiplano from Colonial Times to 1952, by Peter De Shazo.

This is an excellent paper, drawing from many historical sources not usually available to English-speaking readers, to create a vivid picture of the antecedents of the Bolivian revolution of 1952, which brought Bolivia's sweeping agrarian reform.

73. October 1970. Agrarian Reform Legislation in Peru, by Rubens Medina.

This paper, written less than two years after the 1969 agrarian reform, attempts to analyze the legislation from a number of practical points of view: legal and administrative obstacles, enforcibility, implementation, etc. The author offers a number of useful insights, which read like a descriptive catalog of items in the law and how they should be evaluated. But he fails to present an over-all picture integrating them.

5. Research Papers

75. October 1981. "Observations on Land Tenure and Housing Development in the Major Villages of Botswana," by John Bruce.

This report examines customary residential allocations to see whether the tenure system can be improved with a view to facilitating the mortgage market. The author concludes that tenure is sufficiently secure, but that other factors impede mortgages. One is Land Board control: the involvement of an additional party, and the accompanying vague legal status. Another is that village land has little or no market value. Three options are suggested: (1) conversion to freeholds, which would be expensive and might lead to inequitable distributions; (2) government action to encourage acceptance of mortgages within customary law; and (3) development of common law leases. The author favors the latter for its simplicity.

74. September 1981. "Interventions in Land Markets to Benefit the Rural Poor," by Peter Dorner and Bonnie Saliba.

This paper outlines a number of ways in which land markets can be improved, through taxation, land registering and titling, financing land transfers, and through state acquisition and disposition. It addresses situations where governments may be unwilling to expropriate and redistribute land itself, but where they might undertake other methods that would improve the access of the rural poor to land. Throughout the paper the assumption is present that freeing up markets for private property will indeed improve access for the poor. Some might question this assumption, on the ground that the poor do not have the requisite finance. But that begs the point, that when the poor do acquire the necessary finance, even for small amounts of land, there must be institutions through which the transfers may take place. Principles of taxation to improve efficiency and to promote land transfers are included. This is a very worthwhile article, which discusses a dimension of land reform that is often forgotten.

73. November 1978. "Land Adjudication and its Implications for the Social Organization of the Mbere,:" by Enos Hudson Nthia Njeru.

This paper, which comes out of the author's B.A. dissertation in the University of Nairobi, competently provides insights

into the reactions of a tribe to the Government of Kenya's program of land adjudication (providing titles to private property on land formerly under customary tribal law). Many of the reactions were negative, for tribal customs were upset and individual customary rights were infringed. Land sales increased greatly, but neighbors became less trusting of each other. The author suggests government action to prevent the poor from being imposed upon by the more knowledgeable and rich, who might persuade the poor to sell property at less than reasonable market value.

72. May 1978. Land Reform in Plantation Agriculture, : An Analysis of the Case of Sri Lanka, by Nimal Fernando.

This author is critical of tea plantations in Sri Lanka, arguing that their inefficiency is manifest in their poor replanting and poor fertilizing practices, as well as in their tendency to pay dividends rather than to re-invest earnings. All these points are beyond the scope of this reviewer's competent comment. Oddly, however, plantations are also criticized for using labor-intensive methods, which this reviewer has always believed were desirable in labor-abundant areas. At the same time, plantations are shown to have yields 50% higher than small tea farms (although small tea farms elsewhere, e.g., Kenya, have comparable high yields). The author is highly critical of the domination of the reform by the state bureaucracy and its failure to distribute land to peasants or to incorporate peasants into the decision-making process. A very useful study.

71. February 1978. Venezuela's Agrarian Reform at Mid-1977, by Paul Cox.

This is a highly competent report that reveals serious shortcomings in the implementation of Venezuela's agrarian reform. Apparently well-meaning government intervention is shown to have probably deteriorated the economic position of beneficiaries of the reform.

70. December 1976. Some Structural Constraints on the Agricultural Activities of Women: The Chilean Hacienda, by Patricia M. Garrett.

The author shows data demonstrating low participation of women in agriculture on the hacienda in Chile. While the author is clearly critical of this proportion, she does not show how it has occurred (except to imply traditional discrimination against women), nor what policies might overcome it. Although the paper

was presented in 1976, the data carry only until 1965, and the Allende years are therefore not discussed.

62. September 1974. The Redistribution of Income in Chile and its Impact on the Patterns of Consumption of Essential Foods (1970-71), by Flavio Machicado S.

The author concludes that the redistribution of income between 1970 and 1971 led to an increase in nutritional consumption on the part of poorer families. He did not discover this by an independent survey, but by extrapolation (using elasticities) based on household surveys of 1968-69 by income categories and by data on the redistribution of income. This reviewer would be skeptical that such a method would yield accurate results.

59. June 1974. Rural Land Invasions in Colombia, by Roger E. Soles.

This study presents some useful information concerning agricultural structures in coastal Colombia, some of which is new and some not. It is, however, rather a hodge-podge, with the ideas not logically following one from the other. The analysis of land invasions is disappointing, and the author does not support his contention that invasions are more probably in areas of greater repression, such as coastal Colombia compared to the interior.

56. November 1973. Studies on Financing Agrarian Reform in Latin America, by Arthur Domike and Eric Shearer.

This study focuses on the policy options that require finance in agrarian reform, such as whether to extend the agricultural frontier or to develop within the frontier more intensively and whether to build infra-structure or concentrate on short-term production credits. The authors argue that central government has tended to manage agrarian reforms too much, and that decision-making should be more decentralized. Also, short-term production credits have a high pay-off. Data on different countries are presented, but they are not organized for international comparison. On balance, a very useful study.

52. June 1973. Elites and Voluntary Associations: A Study of Community Power in Manizales, Colombia, by George F. Drake.

This paper, which is very well written and informative, deals with the need for a pluralist vs. an elitist society. It is more thought-provoking than thought-settling, for it does not come to any definitive conclusion. Its relationship to land tenure is indirect, even distant, in that some of the participating groups

with which this author deals (like Cruzada Social) may favor agrarian reform.

51. June 1973. Dependency and Education in Colombian Underdevelopment, by Rodrigo Parra Sandoval.

The present reviewer is not a good judge of this paper, for he admits to a lack of appreciation for dependency theory in general. Any definition of dependency (including the "original" definition of dos Santos) is so imprecise as to defy objective specification of dependent areas. The same fault applies to the present paper. Because of its peripheral relationship to land tenure (if any at all), it is hard to understand why this paper is published by the Land Tenure Center.

50. January 1973. Agricultural Development and the Central American Common Market, by Rodolfo Quiros-Guardia.

This paper reviews the development of the Central American Common Market and offers some thoughts concerning the role of agriculture in it. Among other things, it raises the question of whether agriculture will suffer from import substitution as it is projected by the Common Market. The paper is theoretical, not very insightful or innovative, and offers no new data (only data already published by SIECA and other agencies).

49. January 1973. Agricultural Development in Central America: Its Origin and Nature.

The first chapter "blames" liberalism for the emergence of agricultural duality. The argument is simplistic, assigning cause to a single variable without taking account of the complex mosaic of change in the international economy during the nineteenth century. No new information is provided. The second chapter, on agricultural development in recent years, repeats data published elsewhere and adds nothing to world knowledge. The discussion of import substitution industrialization and agriculture is superficial.

Only in Chapter III does the author turn to land tenure. Here his information is again old material repeated. His policy recommendations are too general to be of much use.

40. December 1969. An Approach to the Study of the Industrial Surplus: The Case of the United Fruit Company in Central America, by Benjamin Villanueva T.

This paper is a rather verbose and rambling description of events in the United Fruit Company, suggesting a coordinated

regional policy for banana development, but only in very vague terms. The relationship to land tenure is not clear.

6. LTC Reprints

(When a reprint number is preceded by an asterisk, the author, or at least one of the co-authors, has been associated with the Land Tenure Center).

138. Joseph C. Grasmick, "Land and the Forest-Dwelling South American Indian: The Role of National Law," Buffalo Law Review, no. 4, 1979.

This article describes the problem of native Indian customary landholding systems as they confront the modern civil laws of South American nations. It shows how encroachers may deprive Indians of their heritage by manipulating modern laws with which the Indians are not familiar. It suggests a number of legal reforms that are crucial if Indian rights are to be protected.

\*135. John M. Cohen and Peter H. Koehn, "Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia," African Law Studies, no. 14, 1977.

Much of this paper covers specifics of land reform legislation, both rural and urban, following the coup of 1974 which overthrew Haile Selassie. It is a useful publication for this alone. For the most part, the authors are matter-of-fact, revealing little ideological preference. Occasionally, however, they lapse into statements of sympathy for the objectives of the regime (e.g., "Still, collectivized farming must be considered an alternative model, . . ." p. 24) while suggesting that the principal problems lie in the lack of administrative structure to implement the reforms. The main deficiency of this paper is that the authors fail to articulate the alternatives to government policy. They mention "traditional associations" in the city (p. 34) but do not say what they are; they do not mention them at all for rural life. They naively believe that "mass demonstrations of public support" reveal that "most urban dwellers welcomed" the nationalization of their properties (p. 34). While several statements are made to the effect that peasants are taking hold of their political structures (e.g. p. 23), nevertheless the over-all story is one of increasing government prescription of rigid structures which the peasants may not want. There is little discussion of this important point except for the brief statement (p. 23) that "peasants appear to desire to hold their own land." Finally, the authors place too much faith in the printed word's representation of fact. True, we have little access to actual reports of what is happening "on the ground,"

but surely paraphrasing the revolutionary law should not be confused with describing reality.

\*126. Ronald Herring and M. Ghaffar Chaudhey, "The 1972 Land Reforms in Pakistan and their Economic Implications: A Preliminary Analysis," The Pakistan Development Review, 13, no. 3, Autumn 1974.

This article describes the background of and the provisions of Martial Law Regulation 115 promulgating the land reform of 1972 in Pakistan. At the time it was written, little land had been distributed; hence the authors comment on the potential of the law. They conclude that credit facilities are the most important lack. The article itself, in hindsight, appears superficial, not taking into account the political, cultural, and legal obstacles to implementation. The recommendation on credit is made with no apparent analysis of current credit mechanisms, but only the presumption that these local credit sources will lead to loss of land.

\*123. Don Kanel, "Property and Economic Power as Issues in Institutional Economics," Journal of Economic Issues, vol. 8, no. 4, December 1974.

Basing his analysis on John R. Commons, Legal Foundations of Capitalism, the author argues that private property is a protection of the weak against the strong. Property issues from the king as concession to his subjects; it limits the power of the king. He treats institutions also as a kind of property (vested interests in grievance procedures, e.g.). Taking issue with Marx, who argued for the elimination of power in a "classless" society, the author depicts abuse of power as a principal problem of the times. This is a superior think-piece which constitutes a powerful argument for well-distributed property rights.

\*121. William C. Thiesenhusen, "Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform: Four Colonization Projects Revisited," American Journal of Agricultural Economics 56, May 1974.

By studying four asentamientos in Chile, and by using regression analysis, the author concludes that agrarian reform will not uniformly lead to more equal income distributions nor to increased incomes for the poorest. Whether or not it does depends on types of inputs and crops; in short, upon the variables associated with agricultural improvement regardless of reform or no reform. This is a helpful piece for those concerned with predicting success in any agricultural project.

10/1

120 (part 1). G.K. Nukunya, "Land Tenure and Agricultural Development in the Anloga Area of the Volta Region," November 1974. Originally issued as a Staff Paper, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra.

This paper shows how land tenure in shallot-farming regions in the Volta delta in Ghana derives from both the scarcity of land and the nature of the crop, which requires intensive cultivation. Various systems of alienation reflect both the hazards of cultivation and the short life span of the crop. This is a useful article in that it points out the ramifications of tempering with a land tenure system, or rather how that system, and all its complex interconnections, must be understood.

120 (part 2). G. Benneh, "Land Tenure and Sabala Farming System in the Anlo Area of Ghana," Institute of African Studies Research Review, 7, no. 2, Lent Term 1971. ✓

This well-argued paper, which follows the preceding one, constitutes new evidence of the shrewdness of illiterate peasants in developing complex agriculture.

111 (part 1), Henryk Podedworny, "The Customary Land Tenure," Africana Bulletin of the African Study of Warsaw University, 1971. ✓

This paper surveys tribal tenure systems in Africa in elementary fashion with sweeping generalizations, concluding that they are anachronistic and inconsistent with economic growth. But the author neglects the implications of this statement, which relate to whether new systems are best imposed by national authorities or negotiated with tribes, or allowed to develop naturally in response to incentives.

111 (part 2). Henryk Podedworny, "Selected Problems of Agrarian Reforms and Agricultural Development in Countries of Africa South of the Sahara," Africana Bulletin of the African Study of Warsaw University, 1971.

The author surveys alternative kinds of potential agrarian reforms in Africa, concluding that although some kinds of reform are essential to agricultural development, nevertheless because class struggle does not center on land in Africa, it would be harmful to copy foreign patterns of reform. The recommendations are inconclusive or even missing, and the reasoning is superficial and incomplete.

105. Paul Bohannan, "'Land', 'Tenure' and 'Land Tenure'", from Daniel Biebuyck, ed., African Agrarian Systems, Oxford, 1963.

The author distinguishes among four types of land concepts: the Western terrestrial map, the Tiv genealogical map, the Plateau-Tonga's rain-shrine map, and the Kikuyu concepts of terrestrial boundaries and individual estates. The article is intended to stretch the minds of readers (particularly Westerners) who have been constrained by ethnocentric concepts of land. The author succeeds very well indeed: a highly-recommended article.

\*43: Joseph R. Thome, "The Process of Land Reform in Latin America," Wisconsin Law Review, no. 1, 1968.

The author writes in general terms of the need for agrarian reform in Latin America and argues for its legitimacy. The article may provide useful insights for the uninitiated, but it adds little information that those concerned with land reform do not already have.

\*42: Ronald J. Clark, "Land Reform and Peasant Market Participation on the Northern Highlands of Bolivia," Land Economics, vol. 44, 1968.

The economic potential and capabilities of Bolivian peasants are compared before and after the Revolution of 1952 and its land reform. Contrary to the beliefs of many, the decline in agricultural output was probably very short-lived, and it occurred not because of land distribution per se, but because certain farms were idled as the reform was enforced only over time. Farmers not idled probably experienced no decrease in production. Deliveries to La Paz were decreased when the marketing system was interrupted, but they were restored, even increased, within 2-4 years, as peasants themselves developed new marketing outlets, principally fairs in intermediate places to which urban retailers would come. The Bolivian reform is an example (this reviewer comments) of benign neglect by the government which permitted peasants to exercise their capabilities (in contrast to the bureaucratically-heavy reforms of other countries, as reported in other LTC documents). This is a case study well worth heeding; but for an opposite viewpoint, see LTC paper no 103.

38: Charles Erasmus, "Upper Limits of Peasantry and Agrarian Reform: Bolivia, Venezuela and Mexico Compared," Ethnohistory, col. 6, no. 4, October 1967.

Possibly professional anthropologists (of which the author is one and this reviewer is not) will find this article to their liking. But to this reviewer it appears ponderous. The author disclaims an ambition to categorize peasants but he does so nonetheless. He writes of a "paleotechnic ecotype" which could have been translated into simpler terms. His field research does bring forth new facts, but none of a type not already known, and his comparisons of three countries turn out to be not clearly-specified contrasts but broad generalizations. The over-all conclusion, that removal of the "funds of rent" (which plainer people like this reviewer would call "obligations to the landlord") without radically changing the "ecotype" will not reduce "exploitation" does not, it would appear, add greatly to human knowledge.

\*14: Raymond J. Penn, "Public Interest in Private Property (Land)," Land Economics, vol. 37, no. 2, May 1961.

Drawing a sharp distinction between public interest and public authority or government, the author argues that the European/North American escape from feudalism may cause our peoples not readily to perceive the social interest in property which is felt in Latin America, where land concentration has marginalized large numbers of people who ought to engage more strongly in social intercourse. A useful think-piece for readers of Land Economics, who are presumably interested in land but may not be acquainted with the requisites of land reform.

#### 7. LTC Newsletter

No. 70: January-March 1981: The opening article (by Robert Cowell) reports on the Chaco Land Clearing project in Bolivia, in which AID and LTC have collaborated. The purpose of the project is to increase the productivity of an area within the Chaco, converting it from slash-and-burn to extensive livestock and intensive cultivation of industrial oil seeds. The second article (by Regina Cowell) is a summary report of the PhD thesis by Antonio Ledesma on landless labor and Philippine agrarian reform. The thesis appears to be very optimistic over Philippine agrarian reform, more so than would appear to this reviewer to be warranted on the basis of other, scattered information that is available.

No. 69: October-December 1980: The lead article (by Harbeson) surveys the development of land policy in Zimbabwe from the time of racial division to the attempts of the present government to redistribute land and to settle new lands intensively. It argues that security of tenure continues to be a critical issue. The

second article (by Castillo), which appears to have little to do with land tenure, discusses the New Economic Model (of Milton Friedman) which is widely controversial in the southern cone of South America. The author argues against this model, but this publication - with its necessarily limited space for any one article - does not appear to be the appropriate forum for such a critique. The author cannot, within the constraint of space, defend his argument well, so of course he does not.

No. 68: October-December 1980: The opening article (by Lawry) announces a new LTC contract in Botswana. It also provides background information on the land situation in that country, pointing out how independence has affected tribal structures. The important question to be resolved is how tribal authority will integrate (or whether it will conflict) with the Land Boards which the government has established on a decentralized basis. The author suggests that tribal structures still have an important role to play.

A second article (Knowles summary of De Franco PhD thesis) is on employment and the informal sector in Nicaragua. This article calls for "a positive view of the poor." It provides substance for the argument, sometimes made but little appreciated, that the informal sector is "not just a residual of the urban economy but a vital part of it." This reviewer concurs that the informal sector (small private enterprises) may well be where development is occurring, yet it is all too often ignored by centralized policy-makers. It is very useful to have this point substantiated by case studies, of which this is one.

A review of a book by Kusum Nair (associated with LTC) brings out the point that peasants are rational. Behavior sometimes associated with irrationality or laziness is really the response to adverse price and production policies of the central government.

No. 67: April-June 1980: The first article (by Herring) constitutes an excellent summary of a longer piece on the much-touted land reform in Kerala, India. This reform, undertaken by a party calling itself communist, nevertheless was carried out in a most capitalist manner, with properties of landlords being distributed in smaller, privately-owned farms. The beneficiaries were not the poorest of the poor, but the richer private farmers, most of whom already held land even before the reform. Hence land ceilings were somewhat of a failure. The article contains many insights, among which is the point that gains in agrarian reforms are felt by the class that has the greatest amount of

social and political power, which in this case was the upper-class, partially landowning peasants.

The second article is a summary (by Merck) of Fernando's PhD thesis on land reform in Sri Lankan tea plantations, which is also reported in LTC research paper no. 72 (May 1978), summarized elsewhere. This review brings out the salient features of that report, that this was "a top-down nationalization which simply transferred land ownership from the private to the public sector with no popular participation." The author sees no benefit to the poor, and especially not to the subordinate ethnic group (the Tamils). Tenure changes, he suspects, will come about slowly. This article constitutes a convenient executive summary of an insightful thesis.

No. 66: January-March 1980: This is the first newsletter of a new format, giving effect to a new contractual relationship between AID and LTC, with a new project, "Access to Land, Water, and Natural Resources," in which LTC will advise AID in its efforts to improve the access of rural poor to productive assets. The new project is described in the lead article (by Knowles).

The next article (by Kaimowitz) constitutes a useful, albeit brief, description of the agrarian reform of the government of National Reconstruction in Nicaragua. It expresses some sympathy for this reform but states that it is too early for an analysis, since data are not yet available.

The next article (by Stanfield) describes broadly the workings of a contract between the US. Department of Agriculture and the Syrian government, to assess the agricultural sector in Syria. After the general description, the author focuses on land tenure, citing the plan "to insure gradual and voluntary replacement of the individual formula by the cooperative formula. . . ." (This reviewer's question: contradiction between "insure" and "voluntary?") The author points out the serious problems in nationalizing land controlled by nomadic bedouins, and how this nationalization has "severely weakened the traditional means to control over land and resources, which led to a great acceleration of environmental decline." This useful writing reminds readers of perils encountered when agrarian reforms do not take account of the wishes of the farmers involved.

The final article (by Thiesenhusen and Stanfield) describes LTC's participation in a study of the Inter-American Foundation's rural credit programs, at the invitation of the Foundation.

114

### III-24

Nos. 59-65: These issues (combined into one), dated 1978-79, present an index to articles in the LTC Newsletter, nos. 1-58 (1962-77).

No. 58: October-December 1977: This issue opens with what in retrospect is an optimistic article (by Friedman) on the change of policy in China with the defeat of the ultra left in 1976. The author refers to the "commitment to truth and progress, equality and productivity," but it is clear that these are only hopes expressed at the time of writing.

The second article (by Lemel) is a poignant revelation of the author's experience in understanding the land reform in Ufra, a pilot province of Turkey. He outlines the political morass of difficult and slow implementation, the corruption, and the exasperation of the farmers with the extent to which the government has sucked their income and destroyed their initiative. The spirit is summed up in the comment of one Turkish farmer, who when asked what kind of land reform would be most successful, replied, "Just give us the land and leave us alone."

The next article (by Reed) is a factual report on farm household income trends in South Korea since 1964. It depicts the dramatic increase in the rate of agricultural growth since the government, in a change of policies in 1970, began to feed resources into agriculture instead of allowing them to be taken out. The author raises some interesting questions on why inequalities persist in small farms in Korea, and he makes some useful comparisons with Taiwan and Japan.

The final article (by Tiffany) reports on a case study of decentralization in customary courts in the Solomon Islands, and their effects on land tenure.

Nos. 56-57: April-June and July-September 1977: These two issues are entirely taken up with a summary of an international seminar on agrarian reform, institutional innovation, and rural development: major issues in perspective. Land tenure and agrarian situations over the entire third world (plus the United States, and certain European countries). Since the report was itself a summary, a further summary here would be impossible. The issues covered were the important ones, the discussion appeared as a fruitful interchange of ideas, and the summary was well done. On several occasions, the issue of government bureaucracy and its heavy hand on agricultural development was raised.

No. 55: January-March 1977: This issue starts with an article (by Bletzer) describing how a cooperative was formed in Las Ollas, a traditional rural community in Panama, with the assistance of the Peace Corps and government agents. The author describes how previous forms of cooperativism had failed, and what was needed was "someone to arouse the consciousness of community members as to organizational forms for equalizing control of the local socio-economic systems" (p. 5). He believes this was finally done, and "peasant consciousness had increased to a point at which the community perceived its problems" (p. 9). But no quantitative data are given, and the present reviewer is left with considerable skepticism about outsiders causing communities to perceive their problems, which is surely a heavy, paternalistic notion. The present surge of literature describing peasants as responsible individuals, not taken into account here, would surely belie the belief the outside government agencies and foreign participants are necessary (or even useful) for this purpose, valuable though they may be in other ways (such as technical assistance).

The second article (by Ashraf) is a brief, factual description of roles of men and women in Pakistani farming, which finds that a division of labor between them does exist.

The third article is an illuminating description of one rural family in the Philippines, with data on its income from rice production, its borrowing and costs, and how it has allowed its land to be employed in the sagod (tenant sharecropping) system, which spreads risks.

No. 54: October-December 1956: The first article (by Kleymeyer and Bertrand) is an intriguing anthropological study of how foreign researchers became entangled in an accusation that they were about to sterilize children of a village where they intended to vaccinate for measles, the key ingredient being a bottle labeled "Sterile." The manner in which the researchers extricated themselves constitutes a useful example which others in similar situations might follow'

The second article (by Taylor) studies financial policies in large-scale canal irrigation projects, pointing out ways in which financing and rate policy may be varied to promote efficiency in use. Sometimes the variety of policy goals are reinforcing and sometimes conflicting. A case study in East Java is reported. It is not clear to this reviewer that this article has added to general knowledge of the subject or why the LTC Newsletter is an appropriate vehicle for publishing it.

The final article (by Tiffany), on land tenure in Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, stresses the wide variety of cultural differences in Oceania and the difficulty of generalizing. He classified land rights into six categories and cites a tendency in land tenure research to gloss over complexities. However, the article is much too brief to be a useful vehicle either for understanding land tenure problems in Oceania or for elaborating on the questions that the author raises.

No. 53: July-September 1976: The opening article (by Haney and Haney) criticizes rural development in a small community in Colombia because the provision of services such as education, health care, transportation, and technology have benefited the upper class more than the lower. Their conclusion is that only consciousness-raising on the part of the peasantry, in favor of agrarian reform and further social change, will alleviate the situation. Unfortunately, the observations of the authors are nothing new, the article is lacking in data, and the conclusions are nothing more than the opinions with which the authors started.

The second article (by Khan) is a brief rumination on how a community development leader in East Pakistan in 1954 had his eyes opened by the Chinese experience, and how he copied it successfully. It is not clear whether or not the ingenuity of this author exceeds those of the preceding article.

The third article (by Oluwasanmi) also consists in observations from personal experience, this time in Nigeria. After a slow start, this author becomes more substantive than the previous two, offering some (albeit brief) ideas on the inadequacies of marketing boards, along with a naive belief that expected income from oil exports may help solve them, and some thoughts on small-scale family farms, which he sees as a persisting pattern. He dwells on the dilemma of how a dispersed system of rural services is needed, while one concentrated in specified rural centers is less costly. This conversational article, which offers useful random thoughts while not leading in any direction, ends with a philosophical observation on newly settled areas in Israel. The Israelis do well to preserve the social framework of different ethnic groups, the author insists, an observation which (if true) ought to apply also to Africa.

No. 54: April-June 1976: The first article (by Stanfield) is an excellent review of developments in the agrarian reform from the inception of the Pinochet government to the present date. It is both factual and interpretive. The author shows that the Pinochet government both returned some of the expropriated

properties in whole or in part, providing data on each, according to region (North, Central, and South). He examines potential explanations: that only illegal property was returned or that more productive property was returned. Quite possibly, most of the property returned had been illegally seized, but also, some returns probably have other explanations, of which the author was not privy.

The second article (by Ames) is a favorable report on group farming loans in the Dominican Republic, a system which has provided a means of lending to small-scale farmers, while both keeping administrative costs low and making them jointly responsible for repayment. Repayment averaged between 90 and 90 percent on all loans and 100 percent on rice projects. The farmers' associations were apparently successful in their projects, not only marketing their crops, but also saving some of their income.

The third article (by Harrison) explores the possibility of modeling without data. The author demonstrates how logical models may be constructed for forecasting situations that have not yet occurred. No new insights or technical contributions are offered on the process of model building. These are just models in which the model-maker is required to prepare the structure and to imagine the data and the parameters.

The final article (by Redclift, in Spanish), presents a case study (The Valley of Guayas, Ecuador) of class consciousness and the transformation of campesinos. The author examines the hypothesis of Fals Borda that cooperatives are marginal to structural change. He finds this is not so, but cooperatives tend to reinforce pre-existing capitalistic notions of their members. The tendency of cooperatives is to develop into capitalist agricultural enterprises; but this will not necessarily happen if the class consciousness of the members is truly proletarian. To this reviewer, the article appears vague, unburdened by data, and opinionated.

#### 8. Books.

Thiesenhusen, William C., Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

Before the agrarian reform of President Allende, or even that under President Frei, the Church in Chile undertook experimental reforms on four of its large farms. Predicting that agrarian reform would soon occur in Chile, the author undertook a benchmark study of the four farms, to determine what were the techni-

cal requisites and how they were met. This comparative study, one of the earliest in the many done on postwar agrarian reforms, provides insights useful to those who would monitor reforms. It concludes that "land for the campesinos is not a sufficient condition for reform. Physical inputs and education are also necessary if productivity is to be increased."

Dorner, Peter, ed., Cooperative and Commune: Group Farming in the Economic Development of Agriculture, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

This volume constitutes a thorough description and socio-political analysis of group and communal farming in many parts of the world. It contains sixteen essays by eighteen authors, from several countries. While it might be improved by greater attention to the economics of collective farming, it nevertheless provides an excellent portrayal of historical, cultural, and political problems. It starts with a useful typology of group farming, then proceeds with studies of the Israeli kibbutz, the Hutterian colony in the United States, the Soviet kolkhoz, two contrasting views of Chinese communes, group farming in Yugoslavia, Tanzania, Dahomey, Japan, and France, and agrarian reforms in Chile and Peru. Especially it emphasizes the force and political repression that often accompanies group farming, contrasting those experiments that are voluntary and based on idealism (as in the Israeli kibbutz) and those that are forced (as in the Soviet Union).

Frykenberg, Robert E., ed., Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

This volume traces the history of Indian land tenure systems from the time of the Mughal Empire to the mid-twentieth century, with emphasis on how land tenure evolved under the British. It contains ten essays by nine competent authors, including the editor, who also wrote the Introduction. Unlike many volumes assembled from different authors, this one reads as a consistent whole. The authors (whose names include three Indian and six Anglo-Saxon) are all sensitive to the difficulties of understanding land tenure cross-culturally, as the British tried to do. They describe in fascinating detail the ways in which the British misunderstood Indian land tenure, and how they tried failed to impose a system on the British model. The mistakes made by the British could well be re-made today, in a guise. The information in this volume is a "must" for any who would comprehend the problems of Indian agriculture today and

the reasons why present-day agrarian reform is so slow and so difficult.

Fryckenberg, Robert E., ed., Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1977.

This volume contains thirteen essays by twelve authors, apparently all British and American scholars of South Asia. The different essays go into considerable detail on the structure of Indian social classes, village systems, agricultural development, and landed rights. One of them, entitled "An Account of Failure of Agrarian Reforms and the Growth of Agrarian Tensions in Bihar: 1949-1970" is especially pertinent to any who would participate in agrarian reform in South Asia. This volume sustains the high quality of writing found in the preceding one.

APPENDIX IV

A Note on Recent LTC Papers  
Produced in Connection with the AID Cooperative Agreement

by Thomas F. Carroll

Adjunct Professor of Economics  
The George Washington University  
and Senior Advisor to the  
Inter-American Development Bank

A NOTE ON RECENT LTC PAPERS  
PRODUCED IN CONNECTION WITH THE AID COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT

This note is a response to a request by the LTC Evaluation Team to review a selected number of reports, papers and other written material produced by the LTC under its most recent cooperative agreement with AID, for the purpose of assessing the quality and policy relevance of a representative output of the Center. Because of the extreme time constraint for reading and reflection, this note is brief.

The current body of the Center's output consists of various types of material either written by LTC staff members as a result of their work with AID mission and governments or to which they have contributed, such as project papers, research proposals, methodological outlines, etc. All of these, in some measure, reflect LTC expertise, analytical skill and policy relevance. But because this material is so heterogeneous and because understanding the context under which they were produced is so important, I have chosen to concentrate on those few reports which are reasonably self-contained and represent a specific product of a given activity.

It should also be noted that this collection of writings reflects much more the early stages of work in various countries rather than the results of completed research. What the LTC seems to have done in most countries is to put together a complex mix of training, baseline studies, and short and long term consulting services for the purpose of strengthening the capacity of particular national research groups. In this sense, I do not think it is appropriate to evaluate the material as final output but rather treat it as representative of the Center's thrust, direction or approach.

While I read other material, the paragraphs which follow are based largely on the review of twelve documents: For Honduras, the study on land transfer by Brown, et. al.; Thiesenhusen's report on strengthening the reform process and Greenwood's paper on titling systems; for Zambia, Bruce and Dorner's monograph on land tenure; for Mauritania, Manzardo's paper on tenure and community development and the AID project paper; for Botswana, Rude et. al. on local institutions, Bruce on residential land tenure and Fortmann's memo with preliminary findings on local institutions research; on Sri Lanka, the research report for the Mahaweli Project; on Nicaragua, the February 1982 self-evaluation report with its Annexes; and the only available State of the Arts Study by Dorner and Saliba on land market interventions.

Overall, I feel that this group of LTC documents, while diverse with respect to length, depth, and purpose, on the whole

displays good technical quality, reflects objectivity and analytical skills in an exceptional difficult and controversial field, and are highly policy relevant compared to other AID-related academic writings. In spite of the heterogeneous nature of this material, their common thread is an effort not only to identify and understand tenure-related development problems, which have been the LTC's traditional interest, but also to analyze alternative local organization forms and institutional arrangements linked to resource ownership and management. The evident ability of LTC to provide this sort of assessment is not surprising, given the LTC's long history and accumulated expertise. What to me, at least, is somewhat unexpected, is the consistently operational or action-oriented quality of these papers.

Previous evaluations of AID-sponsored research have touched on the problem that the nature of academic institutions and their reward system make it often difficult for operating agencies such as AID to obtain an output which can be considered "useful" and directly usable for action. Although cooperative agreements specify "applied research", in practice, the output of such work, especially in the social sciences, tends to be either very general or much too specifically technical to serve as policy or program guidelines. The LTC was no exception. I myself have at times in the past chided the LTC for not moving far enough beyond problem identification and for not sufficiently stressing policy relevance. Indeed, this was one of the criticisms voiced by the previous evaluation mission of the LTC contract.

However, I now find as a pleasant surprise that this latest batch of documents scores exceptionally high on the index of utility and relevance to action. There is still a bit of tendency for stressing fact-finding research and the need to "understand" situations and processes. Where the data base is poor and knowledge is spotty, such efforts are clearly justified. But I am well impressed with the LTC's effort manifested in the last few years to produce a body of output which both AID and the participating government institutions can actually use in the short and medium run. This is the flavor of most of the relatively short mission reports such as Thiesenhusen's Honduras, but even the more substantive reports have a highly pragmatic and policy orientation, such as the research monographs on Zambia, Botswana or Mauritania.

One dimension of the above tendency has been to give the work more realism. Instead of implying or recommending sweeping changes, drastic reforms, and new tenure models, these reports by-and-large stress continuity, suggest step-by-step changes within existing socio-political systems, and seem to look for measures which are within the administrative and human resource capacity of the countries concerned. This realism characterizes

especially the African reports, but is also notable in some of the documents related to Latin America as in Honduras and Ecuador.

The reasons for this positive change may be found in the following set of circumstances: first, under the Cooperative Agreement, the work of the Wisconsin Center has been "demand driven" responding to AID's field requests; second, the context of LTC involvement in recent years, especially in Africa, has been in countries where there was a relatively stronger commitment or interest to make changes and structural adjustments than prevailed during earlier periods of AID/LTC collaboration; thirdly, I think that the LTC staff, having accumulated experience with the outcome of tenure policies and programs in a number of countries and having perceived new opportunities for tenure-related adjustments, has become more sensitized for and skilled in policy-relevant work. This healthy orientation should be encouraged and taken advantage of by AID.

As I mentioned earlier, the LTC approach to this ideologically highly charged subject appears to be objective and pragmatic. Although, since the early 60s, the concept of land reform and the role of asset and income distribution in development have become legitimized, the Land Tenure Center has been periodically subjected to unjustified attacks. These have ranged from bias in favor of land confiscation and state intervention to sympathy for or tolerance to collectivistic forms of agrarian organizations. The latter accusation is especially unfair, given the LTC staff's long standing work to demonstrate the economic and social viability of small independent, family type tenure models, in the best tradition of the U.S. land-grant colleges. At any rate, in the papers I have reviewed, beyond expressions of a strong concern with equity in the growth process and with the rural poor, which nowadays are mainstream issues in the developmental literature and in AID's own mandates, there is no discernable bias in favor of any agrarian system. Nor are there any tilts in favor of Latin American radicalism or African socialism. On the contrary, the Nicaraguan material, for example, seems to counsel restraint in extending the scope of expropriations, a greater use of market processes, individual incentives and private sector initiatives to complement new governmental programs. Dorner's State-of-the-Arts paper deals not with land redistribution but with market processes such as taxation to achieve a more equitable land tenure pattern and more optimal land use practices - issues in the best tradition of neo-classical economics. The African work, in particular, impressed me as pragmatic and candid - it accepts the political and social realities, looks for options which make sense, and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of key policy choices. As in the case of Rude's study on Botswana, LTC experts do not hesitate to address delicate issues of tribal leadership, nor to criticize cherished governmental rural development programs.

Another general observation which derives from AID's programmatic context and which affects these papers is that land tenure is an elusive issue. The lack of focus given to land tenure in the AID program imposes a constraint on the LTC. General background papers, such as the Zambia study by Bruce and Dorner or Manzardo's review on Mauritania can deal with land tenure, access and equity issues quite coherently. But as soon as these concerns become incorporated into AID projects, which are usually designed to support specific country programs, the tenure focus tends to become diluted. Unless there is a major land reform or a program specifically directed to improve property, national institutional or sectoral programs have a tendency to relegate tenure to just one aspect of other types of development projects and hence either circumscribe LTC's field, or extend it far beyond the LTC's central focus. Thus in Sri Lanka, tenure becomes a part of the Mahaweli settlement scheme, in Botswana a part of local institutional and community development and elsewhere a part of irrigation, forestry or integrated area development. ✓

This tendency has the following consequences for the LTC contributions: first, general tenure analyses, no matter how competently done, are hard to translate into longer-range assistance projects, except perhaps for training; second, when tenure becomes just one of the elements in a project, LTC either has to take on the whole job and complement its staff with other expertise, or integrate its work with that of other institutions; thirdly, when in a few cases AID wishes to assist the post-land redistribution phase of major reforms, as in Nicaragua, the job once again becomes a rural development task rather than a strictly tenure project; and fourth, where tenure analysis per se is called for in a situation of no serious interest in reform, as in most Latin American countries today, the work of the LTC in direct support of weak land tenure improvement agencies (INA in Honduras and IERAC in Ecuador) tends to become too narrowly technical, and directed to marginal or "second best" solutions. None of these circumstances can be controlled by the LTC.

The twelve documents reviewed can be roughly classified into one of the four situations described above, with the possible exception of the Mauritania project paper, which proposes to upgrade the capacity of the Ministry of Rural Development to deal with tenure issues in all major rural programs. In the following paragraphs I list a few specific comments on some of the papers.

#### General Studies

In this category are the substantial research reports by Bruce and Dorner, Manzardo and Rude et. al. The study on Zambian land tenure issues by Bruce and Dorner impressed me as of superior quality, one of the best pieces I have read on

African land problems. It is thoughtful, well informed, and an excellent example of nice balance between conceptual issues, policy and practical (administrative/legal) considerations. The study addresses crucial problems for Zambian development; there is an excellent analysis of the leasehold problems ("land without value") and of differential rents on State lands, but above all, it deals intelligently with the major question of how the customary tenure system can be adjusted to the needs of a developing and modernizing agriculture. There are good references to other African experiences and models, to permit a comparative perspective.

The Manzardo study on Mauritania also struck me as first rate. It is clearly based on the author's previous experience. Manzardo presents a cogent analysis of the importance of land tenure for the success of rural development programs and projects. He castigates the inertia which has prevented the formulation of a coherent land policy, in the light of constant conflicts over land rights to which solutions have been attempted on a piecemeal basis. I find his hypothesis interesting in which he predicts that a comprehensive land reform in the Mauritania context would not involve major trade-offs but would result simultaneously in greater productivity and equity. There are also well argued policy and program proposals. While I cannot properly evaluate these, they seem reasonable and realistic, such as Manzardo's suggestions on how to solve inter-ethnic disputes and to reduce forest over-exploitation.

The monograph by Rude et. al. is of a different sort. In the first place, it is mostly the result of field work by five students from the University College of Botswana, with Rude providing the methodology and coordination. Secondly, this piece is really not about land tenure at all but focuses on local organization problems such as Village Development Committees. The Overview and Recommendations, which appear to have been written by Rude, and include comments on extension and integrated rural development organization seem sensible. Fortmann's progress report of August of this year indicates that research on land security and landlessness is under way. The Botswana team effort is most promising.

#### Tenure Aspects of Major Development Projects

The Sri Lanka material is representative of this type of LTC involvement, in which the tenure and farm organization aspects of a major land settlement scheme are to be studied. The scale of the Mahaweli River Development scheme makes it the most important agricultural project in the country. The paper I read is not an analysis of tenure issues in the Mahaweli region, but a research and training proposal for selected Sri Lankan technical people under LTC supervision. While I would agree that the study of earlier settlements and the monitoring of the

evolving experience of the new settlers has considerable value, I have some questions about the adequacy of the methodology outlined in the paper. But I recognize that this proposal is based on institution-building, relying on local rather than expatriate researchers and that the LTC has chosen to adopt a low profile. Furthermore, the document is too sketchy to permit a proper evaluation of the approach.

#### Post-reform Problems

The Nicaragua involvement is unique. The LTC has been asked to assist in the resolution of a host of problems in the wake of a major and radical reform. While some of these problems are tenure related, others are not. The documents made available to me are diverse, some deal with credit, others with food programs, basic grains, cotton, the role of women, etc. I am not sure what the connecting threads are, but I assume that the framework is given in part by the urgent need to consolidate the "reformed" sector and make it produce and partly because CIERA, the Research Center on Agrarian Reform has been given a much broader scope of work than tenure or agrarian organization. The collection of papers available on the Nicaragua projects really do not yet permit an evaluation. Most are outlines or proposals, survey instruments, some are draft reports by CIERA staff members on miscellaneous topics. Unfortunately, there are no critical written papers on the Nicaragua reform and on the status or prospects of the recent structural transformation, I suppose, partly because the Nicaraguan project has been cut off. I therefore have no basis to appraise the soundness or the potential impact of the LTC's approach in the Nicaraguan case. However, my overall impression is that the LTC has pursued a pragmatic course and has had a salutary, moderating effect on CIERA in stressing sound field observations and looking for realistic working solutions.

#### Strengthening Weak Reform Agencies

The Honduras and Ecuador projects belong in this category. In both cases the LTC's initial analyses and proposals seem to me sound. Thiesenhusen's brief report on INA and the subsequent more detailed report by Brown et. al. are excellent, although I think that the scope of the research suggested by the latter is too ambitious. In both countries the idea is to speed up and improve the limited reform process (mostly land settlement, title security and campesino organization) within the existing legal and institutional framework, with a heavy dose of training for local personnel.

While I tend to go along with the approaches taken by the LTC, I have some reservations about the potential effectiveness of further research in these countries of little commitment and

127

exceedingly weak reform agencies. I see some payoff in training and perhaps in working on the tenure aspects of major rural development projects, rather than in remaining within the framework of the discredited reform agencies. There is, of course, always the hope that the overall atmosphere for structural change will improve, in which case it is useful to have built a knowledge-base for action. But there are strategy suggestions more relevant to how AID missions could best use LTC and in no way detract from the willingness and competence of Center staff to tackle complex and unpromising situations.

Finally, a few lines about the Dorner and Saliba State-of-the-Art paper (SOAP), the only one so far available.\* I would relate it to the above-discussed type of situations because I believe that policies to make land markets dynamic, as the authors state quite clearly, are not substitutes but complements for redistributive land reforms.

I think that this is a competent and well written paper. However, the subject is so extensive and the LTC resources available for SOAPs are so small to do it justice, the paper really should be considerably expanded. The section on taxation is by far the best part. The sections on land registration and titling are far too short and in my opinion do not adequately cover this highly technical field - perhaps this should be the subject of an independent paper. The section on financing of land transfers is adequate but it is based only on AID-sponsored experiments in Latin America. Asian and European experiences could have been included. The brief section on cooperatives and agricultural organizations seems not too well related to the rest - this too is a major topic deserving a separate and fuller treatment. Overall, I think that this paper is better written and more useful than most SOAPs produced by AID, but with more work its coverage and utility could be increased. For example, it would be very instructive to review why repeated attempts in Latin America and elsewhere to achieve land reform via taxation have failed, for example the well-documented story in Colombia, which started with an optimistic forecast by Albert Hirschman in the early 60s.

\* \* \* \* \*

I conclude that the Center has done a good job of responding to the requests of AID Missions and of governments. The thrust of LTC's work is sound in attempting to identify and address difficult tenure-related development programs. However, if one expects more from such an AID/University partnership, in

\* I understand that under the terms of the Cooperative Agreement, the LTC was to produce three additional SOAPs, one on pastoralism in Africa, one on group farming, and one on some lessons learned from land reform experiences.

terms of new knowledge generation and overall policy advice, the expectations of this reviewer are not yet fulfilled. It appears to me that this mostly "demand driven" work with its strong institution-building flavor, should be complemented by resources which would permit the generation of new cumulative knowledge in a cross-country perspective, and would discover lessons learned, explore innovative solutions and point to overall strategies. In recent years, AID seems to have operated on the assumption that the build-up capacity of academic groups such as the LTC was permanent and could be drawn down. Thus, recent cooperative agreements have been extremely lean and provided virtually no resources for staff renewal, maintenance of intellectual capacity and for keeping the small groups of scholars at the "cutting edge" of development theory and practice. I hope that in the future the LTC will be given more opportunities for expanding the knowledge frontier in their unique field of competence.

APPENDIX V

Contributions of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center  
To the Study of Rural Development and Land Reform

by Alain de Janvry

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE WISCONSIN LAND TENURE CENTER TO THE STUDY  
OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REFORM

The land tenure system of a particular country is a key determinant of both the growth performance of its agriculture and the distribution of welfare gains from the process of growth (e.g. Berry and Cline; Adelman). At the same time, the relation between tenure, growth, and distribution is a highly complex one because it is mediated by numerous intervening variables such as the ecological context, technological options, agricultural policies, intersectoral linkages, employment opportunities in the rest of the economy, and participation in the international division of labor. The result is that land tenure problems cannot be understood unless by reference to the broad ecological, social, economic, and political contexts where they are inserted. Land reform - the policy process through which land tenure is transformed - is correspondingly a key instrument of economic development and one of the most difficult policy measures to implement. If properly implemented, it has proved to be a source of both efficiency and equity gains - the two fundamental components of economic development. Yet, it is also one of the most deceptive instruments to handle since it has proved to be frequently economically disruptive, politically destabilizing, and often inapplicable except in the context of full-scale military control or revolutionary take-over. The recent world conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, organized by the FAO, is a testimony to this dilemma. Representatives of 145 nations agreed on the fundamental importance of land reform to promote economic development. At the same time, essentially no significant land reforms were in progress except under the most extreme conditions of social upheaval.

The contributions of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center (LTC) to the study of land tenure and land reform must be understood against this backdrop. The Center has successfully studied and informed policymakers on the role of one of the most important instruments of economic development; at the same time, it has challenged an area of difficult implementation, advancing key ideas for the management of rural development and land reform but also leaving unanswered many key questions that still have to be addressed. Having acquired undisputed expertise in this area of knowledge and given the continuing urgency of the food and poverty conditions in most less-developed countries, it is the important responsibility of the LTC to keep on probing this essential policy instrument in the rapidly changing context where it should be used.

I will attempt to answer two questions in this short note. One is: What has been learned through LTC studies regarding land tenure, land reform, and rural development issues, and how has this knowledge affected policy making? The other is: Given the rapidly changing domestic and international contexts where these issues arise, what are some important questions that need to be addressed and to which the LTC expertise is relevant? These two questions will be answered by looking at four areas on which LTC research has been significant, although to different degrees:

1. Understanding the historical mechanisms of development and underdevelopment and, in particular, the role of the land tenure system and of agrarian institutions in affecting productivity levels and equity conditions.
2. Developing a theory of how land tenure affects development patterns and of how different types of land reforms can be expected to produce productivity and equity gains.
3. Documenting and analyzing specific case studies of land reforms and rural development projects in terms of objectives, achievements, and limitations.
4. Establishing guidelines for the implementation of land reform and rural development programs, but in the narrow sense of project management and in the broader context of inserting these projects in effective development programs.

#### I. Understanding the Mechanisms of Underdevelopment

The starting point for any meaningful analysis of land reform and rural development is the study of the causes of underdevelopment in agriculture (the stagnation of productivity or its sharply uneven development across crops, regions, time periods, and types of farms; and the prevailing poverty levels and inequality in the distribution of income) and, in particular, the role of the land tenure system as a contributing factor to underdevelopment. By the early 1960s when the LTC was created, a fair amount of literature existed on land tenure and land reform experiences in Asia. Not only had Japanese social scientists produced excellent studies, but the redistributive land reforms in Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea had occurred with extensive U.S. involvement. Some of the classic works on the subject were the writings of Ladejinsky and Dore. By contrast, very little was known about land tenure in Latin America, with

studies of the Mexican revolution and land reform standing as a notable exception.

With the Cuban revolution in 1959 and the push for land reform programs given by the Punta del Este charter of the Organization of American States in 1961, every Latin American country except El Salvador passed land reform laws of one type or another. It thus became essential to provide guidelines for these efforts, and several important benchmark studies were conducted to understand the nature of the relation among land tenure systems, productivity, and welfare. The most comprehensive of these studies was conducted by the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development (CIDA) under the direction of Barraclough. But the LTC also made significant contributions to that area of knowledge.

While CIDA concentrated its attention on the latifundio, a remarkable study by the LTC in three areas of Colombia provided one of the most comprehensive studies of the minifundio and of the impact of technological change (new coffee varieties) on changing patterns of land concentration, employment, and income (Whittenbarger and Havens). In other studies of the relation among land tenure, productivity, and welfare, Dorner (1972) established the differential land productivity and employment creation capacities of alternative farm sizes and types of tenure. Thiesenhusen (1971) similarly established how different land tenure patterns fare in relation to the dual objectives of marketed surplus generation and employment creation. In a recent study, Havens and Baumeister studied the nature of the competition for labor between peasants and commercial agriculture in Nicaragua, an important question since commercial agriculture has been plagued with scarcity of harvest labor. They established the fact that most harvest labor is composed of full-time, town-based workers and that there is consequently minimal competition between peasant and commercial agriculture and, hence, between rural development programs oriented at the former and agricultural development programs directed at the latter.

Today, few land reforms of any significance are occurring in Latin America beyond El Salvador and Nicaragua. In these two countries, as in all the Central American and Caribbean countries, very little is known about land tenure patterns and alternative definitions of land reform projects, principally because land reform was not a political issue in these countries in the 1960s and early 1970s when major efforts were made by the LTC and international agencies to study land tenure. In the rest of Latin America, land tenure patterns have changed rapidly

during the last 10 years, in part as a consequence of land reforms in the 1960s and early 1970s but mainly due to the forces of technological change, new forms of labor management, contracts with agroindustry, etc. These changes are important in affecting agricultural production and rural welfare, and definite efforts should be made to initiate again a phase of intensive research on land tenure issues as the extensive studies of the 1960s and early 1970s have been made obsolete by these changes and largely irrelevant for policy making.

The most important geographical areas where the relation between tenure, productivity, and welfare needs to be analyzed are in Africa and the Middle East where traditional landholding patterns are being rapidly transformed. The key processes in Africa and the Middle East that are currently occurring include pastoral and agricultural uses in semiarid areas, and the penetration of foreign interests. Currently, these processes are occurring in a highly anarchistic fashion with much confusion and abuse and with a resulting decline in food security and the wholesale displacement of some populations. As in Latin America in the early 1960s, land tenure has become a key question in Africa and the Middle East today. The LTC has barely initiated research in these areas with studies in Syria, Botswana, and project critiques for five countries of Western Africa. It is consequently urgent that the expertise developed at the LTC be capitalized upon to address these issues which are currently occurring in a context of serious food crises and extensive rural poverty.

## II. Developing a Theory of Land Tenure and Land Reform

Unfortunately, relatively little work on the macro planning level and political aspects of land reform has been done at the theoretical level. It is fair to say that a political science approach to land reform has not been present in LTC research. Yet, it is clear that land reform is an eminently political issue and that much innovative thinking is left to be done as to how to trigger and manage land reforms in a nonrevolutionary context.

There are, however, two levels at which significant theoretical contributions were made by LTC research. One is on the type of farm organization to be established via land reform. The study by Dorner and Kanel (1971) on the "Economic Case for Land Reform" has become a classic on the productivity and employment creation advantages of small family farms. Also, their work on group farming and the work stimulated by the LTC on the subject

has provided essential guidelines for the potentially successful organization of production cooperatives - a type of land tenure that was central to the land reforms in Chile and Peru and currently in El Salvador and Nicaragua (Dorner and Kanel, 1975).

The other important theoretical research is the work by Thiesenhusen (1971) on how to reconcile marketed surplus generation and employment creation objectives of a land reform when economies of scale exist in production. The proposal advanced here, based on the Mexican experience, is the implementation of a "contrived dualism" where a subsector of large-scale farms emphasizes growth in marketed surplus, while another subsector of small farms aims at employment creation. As industry developments and employment opportunities are created outside agriculture, lands in the second sector increasingly merge into the first. This strategy of contrived dualism has been explicitly or implicitly part of all the Latin American land reforms.

### III. Documenting and Analyzing Case Studies of Land Reform and Rural Development

This is, of course, the area where the LTC work has by far been the most outstanding, and both LTC publications and extensive bibliographies have become a unique repository of information on land reform and rural development experiences [Dorner (1971) and Land Tenure Center (1974 and 1977)]. The most extensive studies of the LTC were conducted in Chile, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, and Nicaragua; and some of these were immediately influential in affecting the course of land reform. The early studies by Thiesenhusen (1964) of experiences with land reform in Chile, as the Catholic Church distributed its estates, had an impact on the forms of land tenure chosen by the Christian Democratic government for its own subsequent extensive reform. The LTC farm surveys conducted in Chile provided a living laboratory of the transformation of tenure relations from the old latifundia to collective farms and to family farms. This continuing monitoring of the land reform sector is still carried on by the former Chilean associates of the LTC team in Chile. In Nicaragua, also, the LTC research and training contributions have occurred in close interaction with the policy process.

What has been learned from this extensive set of case studies is that the land reforms implemented in Latin America during the 1960s and early 1970s were definitely effective in eliminating nonmarket forms of labor relations and in inducing more intensive patterns of land use. Their redistributive goals were, however, only marginally achieved and sometimes cancelled

by subsequent developments as in Chile and in the settlement schemes in Venezuela. The studies also show that redistributive land reform is an essential precondition for meaningful rural development efforts and that successful redistribution needs to be accompanied by other institutional reforms that allow the newly created farms access to credit, infrastructure, technology, information, and markets. They further evidenced that there cannot exist a solution to rural poverty through land reform and rural development alone and that efforts at creating off-farm income sources through the decentralization of industry are essential. Beyond these general conclusions, the studies provide a wealth of guidelines on the consequences of alternative experiences with land reform legislation, implementing procedures, land tenure options, grass-root organizations, water regulations, taxation and financing of the reform costs, programs of adult education and nutrition, the role of women, etc. Where so little was known in the early 1960s to provide a basis for the definition and implementation of land reform and rural development projects, this rich record of 20 years of experiences provides invaluable learning material for training and for the design of more effective future programs.

#### IV. Establishing Guidelines for Implementation

This is, of course, the "market test" for research: the establishment of guidelines for action derived from research and the actual implementation of these guidelines. There are several areas where the LTC was effective in this respect. One is the drafting of land tenure and land reform legislation. In terms of land tenure, a key issue in many areas where titles are uncertain or where new territories are being settled is security of tenure in either ownership, rental, or sharecropping arrangements. In terms of land reforms, beyond the definition of land titles, important legal problems include the compensation of expropriated owners, the debt obligations of beneficiaries, and the definitions of new water rights. The works of Thome in Chile, Bolivia, and Colombia and of Strasma in Peru were influential in these respects, and this legal expertise remains in much demand today.

Other important aspects of implementation are the organization of training programs for project leaders and of research programs to develop benchmark studies and monitor the evolution of projects. The experience gained by the LTC in Chile and its close association there with the Institute for Training and Research in Land Reform (ICIRA) allowed it to develop this unique expertise. It was effectively used to assist the land

reform agency in Nicaragua and the LTC has recently been called upon to assist in developing or reinforcing applied research capabilities in Ecuador, Botswana, and Mauritania. The vast international experience of the LTC staff and the collection of educational material it generated or stimulated are unique assets on the basis on which to organize such training and research programs.

Further issues of importance in implementation are the organization of credit and technical assistance services and of peasant associations. Studies of the first were conducted in Nicaragua, establishing recommendations both to remove credit constraints on small farmers and to assess credit risks to minimize the cost of defaulting (Stanfield). Brown studied the conditions for successful mobilization of peasant organizations and identified potential approaches to effective enforcement of their demands. He showed that there exists ample possibilities to organize peasants but that the triggering factor is less a change in attitude and outlook than a change in the opportunities for economic gains by peasants.

Shifting its emphasis from rural to urban land tenure issues, LTC research was also effective in influencing the definition of a national policy on housing in Botswana. Bruce's research thus showed that customary rights are not necessarily an impediment to mortgaging and that a rapid shift to a freehold system should be resisted to avoid creating massive social inequities.

## V. Conclusion

A large amount of information has been generated in the 1960s and early 1970s on large problems of land tenure and land reform through the research and consultancies of the LTC. During these years, programs of land settlement and land reform were actively pursued in Latin America; and LTC research was important in documenting these efforts and in illuminating decision making. Today, deficits in staple food production and extensive rural poverty remain a crucial issue in most less-developed countries, and land tenure patterns are at the heart of these problems. With a rapid process of change in Third World agriculture associated with the monetization of production, the integration of agriculture into the agribusiness chain, and the increasing insertion of agriculture in the international division of labor, land tenure patterns are changing rapidly and land reform issues remain an important political question. The expertise developed over the years at the LTC

v-9

should be capitalized upon to address these difficult and important issues.

References

- Adelman, I. "Growth, Income Distribution, and Equity-Oriented Development Strategies," World Development 3, Nos. 1 and 2 (February-March, 1975).
- Barraclough, S., ed. Agrarian Structure in Latin America. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973.
- Berry, A., and W. Cline. Agrarian Structure and Productivity in Developing Countries. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.
- Brown, M. "Peasant Organizations as Vehicles of Reform," in P. Dorner, ed., Land Reform in Latin America, Land Economics Monograph No. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1971.
- Bruce, J. "Observations on Land Tenure and Housing Development in the Major Villages of Botswana," Land Tenure Center Research Paper No. 75. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1981.
- Dore, R. P. Land Reform in Japan. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Dorner, P. Land Reform and Economic Development. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Dorner, P., ed. Land Reform in Latin America, Land Economics Monograph No. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1971.
- Dorner, P., and D. Kanel. "The Economic Case for Land Reform," in P. Dorner, ed., Land Reform in Latin America, Land Economics Monograph No. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Economic and Administrative Issues in Group Farming," in P. Dorner, ed., Cooperative and Commune. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.
- Havens, E., and E. Baumeister. "Recruitment and Retention of Occasional Workers in the Export Sector of Agriculture in Nicaragua, 1981-82." Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 1982.
- Ladejinski, W. Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Land Tenure Center. Agrarian Reform in Latin America: An Annotated Bibliography. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_. "International Seminar - Agrarian Reform, Institutional Innovation, and Rural Development: Major Issues in Perspective." Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1977.

Stanfield, D. "A Revolution at Work: The Distribution of Agricultural Credit in Nicaragua Since 1979." Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 1982.

Thiesenhusen, W. "An Experiment in Land Reform: Reform in Chilean Church Land Offers Study Laboratory," Land Tenure Center Research Paper No. 4. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1964.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Employment and Latin American Development," in P. Dorner, ed., Land Reform in Latin America, Land Economics Monograph No. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1971.

Thome, J. "Agrarian Reform Legislation: Chile," in P. Dorner, ed., Land Reform in Latin America, Land Economics Monograph No. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Bolivian Agrarian Reform: The Need for a Faster Title Distribution Process," Land Tenure Center Newsletter No. 24, 1966, pp. 23-33.

Whittenbarger, R., and E. Havens. "A Longitudinal Analysis of Three Small-Farm Communities in Colombia: A Compendium of Descriptive Statistics," Land Tenure Center Research Paper No. 87. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1973.

APPENDIX VI

Socio-Political Implications  
Of LTC Studies

by Grace E. Goodell

## SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF LTC STUDIES

This Appendix reviews a range of Land Tenure Center projects and research findings in the light of the Reagan Administration's emphasis on local initiative and responsibility in decision-making; political decentralization and citizens' ability to hold their government accountable; and the development potential of private enterprise in a free market economy. For the sake of brevity we consider land "reform" along with other tenurial issues studies by the Center, such as resettlement schemes and the devolution of tribal lands to individual holdings. The materials cited here by no means constitute a complete list of LTC references on these questions.

This review finds a consistently strong and articulate - though perhaps not dominant - preference among LTC's senior scholars for political and economic decentralization in land tenure programs assisted by the United States government. Indeed, the Center can be credited with some seminal work in calling attention to these considerations and initiating preliminary analyses. By now the Center has accumulated a critical mass of findings across many regions which confirm the importance of local level participation in land tenure programs, and which demonstrate the grave constraints imposed upon such programs by heavy-handed, paternalistic bureaucracies. With increasing doubts in the West and in many parts of the Third World over central command as the most efficacious mode of development, this accumulation of experience places the Center in a strong position for taking the lead in suggesting and even helping to test alternative models during the coming years, at least with regard to tenurial issues. Some of its studies have already identified promising new approaches that are consistent with a decentralization philosophy of development. Few other institutions are in as favorable position to meet this challenge.

Land Redistribution: The State's Trojan Horse in the Countryside

Despite the gains it offers small farmer beneficiaries, land redistribution places them in a precarious position. When they receive latifundic lands they may need time to locate or develop substitutes for certain vital middlemen services which the landlord had previously provided, as do those farmers coming from tribal pastoralism to individual leasehold. But beneficiaries' vulnerability is sharpened further by their finding themselves in moral as well as economic debt to an alternative,

but even far more paternalistic power - the state, which has greater strength than the landlord or tribal chief. Heightening their exposure at the time of land reform, beneficiaries usually lack their own vehicles of political action for self protection. Will the state, after displaying its command over the traditionally powerful, through sweeping measures that eliminate the major buffer between it and the small farmers, now be content to let beneficiaries pursue their own designs through their own social forms? Mounting evidence indicates that it will not, and that, on the contrary, in many cases land redistribution has become the state's Trojan horse for its own penetration and domination of the countryside.

LTC research has often touched upon this critical replacement of the old landlords by the state. For example, in examining land reform in Latin America, Domike and Shearer (1973) argue that governments should decentralize the decision-making required in land reform far more, and not allow central bureaucrats to dominate the countryside. Cox (1978) reiterates and amplifies this criticism in his excellent study of the Venezuelan land reform.

Again in quite a different part of the world from Latin America, Lemel (1977) found farmers bitter about the graft, inefficiency, red tape, political demands, and impoverishing financial demands which attended government intervention after land reform: one farmer expressed his prescription for optimal land reform as simply giving peasants the land and then making the government get out of their way, so that they could increase productivity on their own. In Syria, too, under the guise of "voluntary cooperatives" the state used land reform to destroy the nomads' traditional control over the land, putting itself in their place (Stanfield, 1980). Although this dynamic is apparently not at work in the Ethiopian land reform, an LTC report on the subject (Cohen and Koehn, 1978) leaves no room for doubt that the same process has obtained there.

Turning to Sri Lanka, another LTC scholar found the state's heavy-handed land reform bureaucracy a main impediment to agricultural development, especially because of its failure to allow more scope for peasants to make their own decisions (Fernando, 1978). Lawry (1980) worries that the same may be the case in Botswana, where the Land Boards may allow little free enterprise at the local level. Finally, on a world-wide basis, the serious problem of government domination of land reform beneficiaries, whose self-direction might prove sounder economically, ecologically and even politically, was an issue raised several times in the summary of the proceedings of the International Conference

on Agrarian Reform (1977). One can only conclude from the LTC's research that the problem is a frequent if not endemic one; it has often caught the attention of Center scholars.

### Jeopardy to Local Institutions

The central government's sudden high visibility in the countryside after land reform is manifest at various levels of village and provincial life. In the first place, the state almost always requires beneficiaries' acquiescence to its organizational structures. Yet it is precisely at the time of land reform that small farmers have greatest need for their own robust organizations, or should be creating them. Habituated to dependence and a sense that they are inferior, they need to strike out on their own rather than merely falling back on a new patron, perpetuating their subordination. The vacuum caused by land reform could enable farmers' organizations (where they exist at all) to strengthen themselves, and could provide ideal incentives for local initiative where appropriate organizations do not yet flourish. Farmers could more easily understand and hold accountable the resulting institutions than they can those put on them from the outside.

The state rarely allows its irrigators or extension groups, farm cooperative or agricultural credit programs (which characteristically follow land redistribution) to be subsumed under already existing local organizations. Rather, in "supporting" land reform, it preempts local initiatives and displaces indigenous institutions, often through artificial inducements such as the provision of farm machinery, cheap loans, or indeed the very title to the land, which is usually contingent upon farmers' collaboration with government mandates and agencies. Spurred by the occasion of land reform, it breaks up traditional groupings, joint farming enterprise among kinsmen, long-standing collaborative arrangements among field-neighbors, village institutions and self-help organizations, partnerships between peasants and the landless, or even collective village and tribal land-management units, in order to impose uniformity and bureaucratic command, through such measures as land levelling; redrawing boundaries; fostering associations based on field location at the cost of those based on residential neighborhoods; requiring peasants and nomads to resettle in "more promising" lands; pitting bureaucratic "cooperatives" against spontaneous, local structures; legislating unnatural inheritance rules; and imposing inflexible amortization or credit requirements, to mention only a few measures reported in the LTC literature.

How often, indeed, does the state or its elites use land redistribution to weaken and divide local leadership, both for "rational" and, more insidiously, for political purposes? These and the dynamics which underlie them are questions which the Land Tenure Center has begun to raise in its reports and should explore much further.

This notion which prevails in most development research, that the state - especially in the Third World - is but a pliant and benevolent agent administering to the commonwealth, ignores the growing corpus of research which examines politicians, bureaucrats and national elites as self-interested maximizers pursuing their own gains under the guise of empowering the poor (see, for example, Tullock, 1967). After all, what is achieved by improving equity or even agricultural productivity if in the process the central authorities erode the local foundations for responsibility, self-reliance, and participatory government?

The Center has frequently raised these questions in its research. Riddell, et. al. in reviewing livestock and range development projects in Africa (1978) devote considerable attention to the protection and strengthening of indigenous social forms which are, after all, recognized by the people themselves as the bases for land use decision-making and regulation. They, and Gallais and Boudet whom they quote at length, outline a sensible program for reinforcing rather than weakening the community units through land reforms, recognizing that these "multi-sectoral" groups have much more flexibility than the national bureaucracy. Njeru, another LTC scholar, emphasizes similar points in his appraisal of the Kenyan land adjudication program, which threatens customary tribal law (1978). The Center has done a great deal of work on this problem in Botswana, actually proposing positive measures for "local institutional development" through the process of land redistribution. (Brown, et. al. 1982; Manzardo, 1982; and Rude et. al. 1982).

#### Threat to Free Enterprise

Besides jeopardizing local institutions, the state may endanger local and provincial-level free enterprise through its claim to "support" land reform. It does this in two main ways: by forcing individual farmer beneficiaries to join state-run collective enterprises; and by launching a wide range of state agricultural services in direct competition with local middlemen. An explicit "war" against individual yeoman farmers and against middlemen often accompanies land redistribution, so that the government can manage the private holdings itself or

interject itself in the place of private entrepreneurs to whom the peasants would turn if left on their own. Heavily laden with paternalistic ideology, land reform programs offer and frequently require farmers to subscribe to government credit and agricultural extension packages, to purchase their farm supplies from parastatal chemical companies, to follow government-directed cropping patterns hardly distinguishable from those of the landlord estates, and to sell their harvest to a government grains authority. At the time of land reform (or, differentially, in areas targeted for it) the government has an added incentive to impose price controls on agricultural inputs and products; furthermore, beneficiaries of reform are far less likely to resist such controls than were the landlords.

While these severe restrictions on the farmers' choice as well as on local entrepreneurial vigor are said to "protect" the unsuspecting beneficiaries from exploitation, they in fact very often embody transfer payments from the beneficiaries to the urban working class, to elites managing the state's agencies, or to large-scale capitalists in the fertilizer, pesticide, seed, or grain businesses. Land reform amortization programs, agricultural credit schemes, and compulsory collective farming schemes with their required input packages and allied state grain procurement centers - all of which proliferate under land reform - are often rife with the corruption and inefficiency of interlocking board members and management-level profiteers. Nationwide prescriptions for credit and inputs, which are frequently tied to land reform, impose heavy technical, ecological and economic costs and inordinate wastes, by leaving no room for adjustment to regional and even village-level variation. But considerable political and economic profits are reaped by some, through such government-mandated "support" services.

LTC scholars have very explicitly recommended greater economic pluralism to solve the difficulties which arise after land distribution. For instance, Drake focuses on voluntary associations in Colombia, and the role they may play in land reform (1973). In studying the Honduran land reform, Parsons (1978) affirms the individual family farm as the basis for the country's agricultural development, warning that the state-sponsored cooperatives have probably gone too far. Knowles specifically pin-points the promising informal sector of small private enterprise in Nicaragua, urging that this sector be considered central and not just marginal to the country's economic development (1980). A detailed example of this problem is presented in Goodell, forthcoming, with regard to the Philippines land reform.

146

Although in some areas land reform beneficiaries do face extortionate middlemen with few alternative sources for credit, inputs, and harvest procurement, yet a substantial body of literature confirms the competitive vitality of rural markets in many areas of the Third World, even markets for small-farmer credit. In these cases it cannot be said that the state is "abandoning" the peasantry when it terminates its activities with the transfer of land deeds. The Land Tenure Center is well equipped to assess the free-market services available (or with the potential for development) in reformed areas, and to compare the social, political, economic and ecological advantages they offer with those the state claims to provide. (See the work of Barker on Asian Marketing, Long on private credit options, G.R. Spinks on middlemen in general, and Goodell, forthcoming (b), on the state's attempt to manage small farms in the Philippines after land reform.)

In pursuing this question none would consider the fact that through the years farmers have learned how to manipulate local middlemen for their own benefit, to a certain degree, at least; while it is far more difficult for them to gain any leverage over government bureaucrats. Furthermore, the private sector offers them a much greater range of services (such as the opportunity to buy but a cup of pesticide if one desires, or to borrow funds for but three week's time or to sell low grade grain) than are available through standardized government "packages". Finally, private middlemen perform many ancillary services for their clients which government bureaucrats never can.

Besides considering these alternatives to the state's domination of the countryside after land reform, future Land Tenure Center research and even pilot projects might explore the possibility that private firms could even provide some of the post-reform services currently assumed to be within the state's mandate, many of which simply have never been questioned. For example, Australian farmers have found private and competitive extension services to be more effective than those provided by the government, while private irrigation and land settlement schemes proved highly efficient in the nineteenth-century United States. Private credit for small farmers has consistently been found to be more efficient than government programs (see, for instance, Adams' work). These private-sector possibilities might be contrasted with those described in the Center's literature, as for instance in Thiesenhusen's study of Chile (1975) or Lebbe et al. for Sri Lanka (1982). Both of these studies examine centrally-imposed farmer's organizations

in quite contrasting circumstances, and compare them with the effectiveness of farmers' own associations.

Paternalism and its Ideology, as applied to Agricultural Development and Land Reform

Some scholars have begun to examine the ideology of government paternalism and its enervating effects on development, or even on survival. Ellen Langer's research on self-induced dependence and "learning helplessness" caused by institutional paternalism (eg. 1980) as well as Benn's work on paternalism in law (1981) pose many provocative questions relevant to the issue at hand. In different contexts but with findings consistent to these and theoretically quite germane, are the works of Bruno Bettelheim (1960) and RD Laing (1964). These works suggest that, rather than emphasizing and prolonging the paternalistic aspects of land reform, adding on many subsidiary programs, the governments of developing countries would do well to try to offset the ill effects necessarily caused by this paternalistic measure.

With its ability to draw on the broad resources of a major American university, the Land Tenure Center is in an optimal position to pursue these questions with respect to land reform, and to influence government's understanding of paternalism's long-term dangers. For example, what are the attitudinal and behavioral differences between beneficiaries who have achieved land reform at least partly out of their own efforts and bargaining (as the Central Luzon farmers of the Philippines) and those upon whom it was bestowed by gratuitous fiat (Iran)? What differences can we observe between those beneficiaries who are told that they must pay for the land but who after a few installments simply stop payment, knowing that it would be politically impossible for the state to repossess the land, and those who actually do purchase the land in full? After a ten- or twenty-year adjustment period let us compare the performance of local entrepreneurs and of farmers' own political and economic organizations in those areas where the states provided no supporting services after the reform, with those served by government middlemen agencies. Can we attribute the reputed vigor of Bolivian peasant organizations, self-help initiatives, and local institutions - including marketing and transportation cooperatives, including with political lobbies for farmers' interest in part at least to the fact that they were left largely on their own after land reform?

Developing local organizations and initiative when these are weak

Finally, some of the Land Tenure Center studies, insisting on the indispensability of strong local participation in agricultural development, find local organizations and organizational skills too weak to support such responsibility or representational participation. This weakness is to be expected in many areas that were recently under latifundios, in resettlement schemes, or in areas attempting to make the transition from tribal to freehold land management. Both economic and political participation - certainly in a decentralized system - required sturdy local institutions. The Center has begun to raise the critical question of how to encourage beneficiaries in these areas to develop such organizations.

Childers, Stanley, and Rick have given considerable thought to this difficult question, and report on actual attempts to strengthen the skills of local leaders through training (Childers et al, 1982). In a related work, Manzardo elaborates on the problem (1982). Riddell (1982) discusses proposals for involving pastoralists in every aspect of land management reform promulgated in their name. Less convincingly (perhaps because of their approach as lawyers and economists, and because of their necessarily limited access to behind-the-scenes dynamics at the local level), Kaimowitz and Thome on Nicaragua and Cohen and Koehn on Ethiopia claim to have found very successful programs in which outsiders have helped small farmers form their own representative organizations.

While considerable lip-service is paid to participation in development today, these research initiatives on the part of the Center deserve special commendation because they are being advanced in a field of exceptionally heavy bureaucratic presumption and because they venture to go beyond general recommendations to specific measures which can be implemented and then tested. This would warrant, it would seem, the Center's following up these (and perhaps other) studies more analytically, so that we could begin to systematize certain constants in the efforts of outsiders to help small farmers develop lasting local organizational strength. Even when the complementary agricultural inputs which concern so many developers are in fact available, ultimately land redistribution will not serve the purpose of higher production or of equity unless small-scale farmers develop effective political means to assure their participation in the wider society.

149

In his excellent review of the relationship between bureaucracies, local initiatives, and land reform programs in our century, Montgomery (1979) finds that those countries which "relied most heavily on non-bureaucratic institutions to implement...the land reform program" were more successful both in redistributing the land and in increasing security of farm tenure than those depending on centralized command. These former programs called upon local institutions and groupings to bear a large share of the responsibility for actually carrying out the reform. While the bureaucracy was of course important in supplying certain critical services, Montgomery found it most effective when it was responsive to local demands rather than trying to "control" farmers and their productivity decisions. His conclusions offer many provocative insights in addition to raising questions that might guide future research along these lines.

#### Future Research: The Larger, Comparative Questions

The Land Tenure Center and scholars in other institutions who rely on its studies for their own research have brought us a long way in understanding some of the crucial institutional and structural dynamics that underpin the process of land reform. The work of the Center raises common problems beneath many of the reforms studied, world-wide, even despite the extraordinary diversity of these endeavors and the cultures in which they take place. From this critical mass of information and of careful, detailed study we can derive important new directions for research in the coming years, research consistent with our general doubts about the efficacy of state-controlled rural development.

To begin with, although the Center has initiated interesting research into the issues raised in our review above, all of these questions now call for more systematic study which would draw on the broad span of literature Center scholars have through the years made available to us. Now, for instance, the time is ripe to pull together the disparate findings on central governments' attempts to use land reform for their own penetration of the countryside. We have ample material enabling us to generalize about the effects of state intervention, through land reform, on local institutions, customary law, local and traditional leadership, and the private sector. By comparing the more decentralized and "laissez faire" reforms with those of determined government follow-through, can we actually measure the public sector's initiative, vigor, and prosperity in the two contrasting models? Let us summarize the accumulated evidence on state cooperatives versus indigenous arrangements (economic

efficiency, responsiveness to farmers' needs, accountability, institutional considerations and participations, for example). Let us examine the nature and effects of paternalism, and what actually does happen when the peasantry is "abandoned" to their own plans and skills after land redistribution. These and many of the questions that arise out of the considerations reviewed here are now ready for synthesis based on systematic study of the LTC materials. From such a crop of comparative studies on selected processual questions new research directives will emerge, sending us once again back to particular studies.

In addition to these questions which emerge out of the LTC materials themselves, and which the Center has already begun to consider, other issues for possible exploration suggest themselves. For example, does the extremely centralizing philosophy which underlies some land reform programs (as Cohen and Koehn's review of Ethiopia, or the materials on Kaunda's claims to control all land, discussed in Bruce, et. al. 1982) bear any significant effect on the entrepreneurial atmosphere of risk, predictability, and the stability of property rights throughout the society, in its overall development effort? The question might be studied, at least qualitatively, by examining entrepreneurs' investment strategies before land reform and the same entrepreneurs' strategies afterwards. (Not landlords' strategies, but those of others in the economic environment).

In a related vein, it might be predicted that the very enactment of land reform, such an arbitrary measure effecting the very roots of society, might accustom the state to arbitrary command. Using approaches developed by political scientists one could examine objective evidence for the increase (or decrease, or no change) in authoritarian government after land reform, probably evident both in Iran and in the Philippines. One would then have to ask whether the reform was a participating cause or simply a symptom of such a development, if it were observed.

The Center has at times asked lawyers to conduct research for it. One would think that the relationship between land reform and society's overall sense of legality, of due process, on the one hand, and between law and economic development on the other hand, would be of vital concern to the Center and to the U.S. government.

(In Iran peasants once said to this reviewer, "if the Shah can take all this land away from the landlords to give to us, how much easier it will be for him to take it away from us someday!") If land reform does have such effects on society,

perhaps governments can be more aware of their liabilities or measures might be taken to counterbalance them.

Again, in a comparative context, what generalizations might be made about the effects of the speed of land reform (or its relative slowness) on farmer's ability to keep pace with it by forming their own indigenous institutions? Indeed, what observations can be made about the effects of the speed of such a drastic intervention, on the whole?

Further, what do we know by now about the performance of private voluntary organizations in assisting with land reform and resettlement, as their mode of operation and success are compared with those of state agencies? Is there perhaps a larger role for private, voluntary agencies in important aspects of land reform, than we have assumed up until now? (For instance, in bringing claims to the courts, one might consider such instruments as the Catholic Church's contributions in the Philippines, or voluntary agencies' work in India).

In short, although there is a general American consensus in favor of land reform, our political heritage would lead us to recognize certain dangers it presents to the fragile underpinning of a stable legal order, an order so necessary for sustained development. Rather than questioning land reform basically, let us begin to study whether our reservations are justified, in which special cases, they are especially significant, and what measures can accompany or follow land reform to prevent its arbitrariness and paternalism from gaining permanent hold in new nations that otherwise stand to benefit from it.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works indicated by an asterisk are Land Tenure Center Publications.

Adams, Dale, "A Critique of Traditional Agricultural Credit Projects and Policies," Journal of Development Economics, Vol 8, 1981.

Barker, Randolph, "Rich Marketing in Asia," Special International Symposium of Rice Research Strategies for the Future, Laguna Philippines, International Rice Research Institute, 1980.

Benn, SI, "Paternalism and Freedom," paper circulated at the Australian National University, School of Social Science Research, 1981.

Bettleheim, B., The Informed Heart, New York, Avon, 1960.

\*Brown, et al, "A Study of Local Institutions in Kgatlend District, Botswana," Land Tenure Center, 1982.

\*Bruce & Dorner, "Agricultural Land Tenure in Zambia: Perspectives, Problems, and Opportunities," Land Tenure Center Africa Paper, 1982.

\*Childers, et. al., "Government Settlement or People's Community? A Study of Local Institutions in Ghanzi District," Land Tenure Center and Applied Research Unit, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Botswana, 1982.

\*Cohen, J. and Koehn, Rural and Urban Land Reform in Ethiopia, Land Tenure Reprint #135, 1978.

\*Cox, Venezuelan Land Reform, Land Tenure Center Papers, 1978.

\*Domike and Shearer, "Studies on Financing Agrarian Reform in Latin America," Land Tenure Center Research Paper #56, 1973.

\*Drake, G., "Elites and Voluntary Associations: A Study of Community Power in Manizales, Columbia," Land Tenure Center Research Paper #52, 1973.

\*Fernando, N., "Land Reform in Plantation Agriculture," Land Tenure Center Research Paper #72, 1978.

Goodell, G.,

a) forthcoming, "Is There Life After Land Reform," Policy Review, Winter, 1982.

b) forthcoming, "Who Should Run Mang Lino's Farm - Mang Lino or the State?" in Herdt, ed., Recent Research on Rice Agriculture in Southeast Asia, Westview Press, Boulder.

\*International Conference on Agrarian Reform, Proceedings summary, Land Tenure Center Newsletter #56-57, 1977.

\*Knowles, "The Informal Sector in Nicaragua," Land Tenure Center Newsletter #68, 1980.

Laing, RD, Sanity, Madness and the Family, Penguin, London, 1964.

Langer, E., and Chanowitz, "Knowing More (or Less) Than You Can Show," in Garber and Selligman, eds., Human Helplessness, Academic Press, New York, 1980.

\*Lawry, "Land Tenure Reform in Botswana," Land Tenure Center Newsletter #68, 1980.

\*Lebbe, et. al., "Proposal to Study Selected Economic and Social Issues in Land Settlement with Special Reference to the Mahaweli Project in Sri Lanka," August 1982.

\*Lemel, "The Turkish Agrarian Reform," Land Tenure Center Newsletter #58, 1977.

Long, Millard, "Conditions for Success of Public Credit Programs for Small Farmers," in USAID, Spring Review of Small Farmer Credit, Vol. XIX, Num. SWR 119, 1973 Washington, GPO.

\*Manzardo, "Planning for Local Institutions Development," Land Tenure Center Discussion Paper and Report, 1982.

Montgomery, John D., "The Populist Front in Rural Development," Public Administration Review, Vol 39, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1979).

\*Njeru, "Land Adjudication and its Implications for the Social Organization of the Mbera," Land Tenure Center Research Paper #73, 1978.

\*Parsons, "Key Policy Issues for the Reconstruction and Development of Honduran Agriculture through Agrarian Reform," Land Tenure Center Research Paper #114, 1978.

\*Riddell, et. al., "Land Tenure Issues in African Development," Land Tenure position paper, 1978.

\*Rude, et. al., "Report on Local Institutions in Five Villages in the Southern District Communal First Development Area," Land Tenure Center, 1982.

Spinks, G., "Attitudes Towards Agricultural Marketing in Asia and the Far East," FAO Monthly Bulletin, January, 1970, Vol. 19 No. 1.

\*Stanfield, "Syrian Land Tenure", in Land Tenure Center Newsletter #66, 1980.

\*Thiesenhusen, "Chile's Experiments in Agrarian Reform: Four Colonization Projects Revisited," Land Tenure Center Reprint #121, 1975.

Tullock, The Politics of Bureaucracy, Boston, Little Brown, 1967

125

APPENDIX VII

LTC Studies on the Political Impact of Land Reform

by Hung-chao Tai

## THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF LAND REFORM

This report is based on two sources of information about the Land Tenure Center: extensive use of the Center's publications in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and a sample of forty-two materials from more recent LTC activities.

Recognition of political dimension of reform. Well before the creation of the Center, several of its intellectual founders already recognized the political nature of land reform. Land Tenure (1956), edited by Kenneth H. Parsons, Raymond J. Penn, and Philip M. Raup, pointed out that "in a very deep sense, land tenure problems are power problems, problems of disparity in economic, social, and political power." Hence, as Parsons wrote elsewhere, "Land reform programs are distinct 'public' programs . . . undertaken by public or governmental agencies." These programs "are attempts to modify the economic basis of politics" (see Modern Land Policy, 1960; and Agrarian Reform and Economic Growth, 1962). Subsequently, Parsons' colleagues echoed these observations in numerous writings. More recently, Peter Dorner reaffirmed:

"Agrarian reform remains essentially a political problem internal to each country" (Land Reform in Latin America, 1971).

The common emphasis on the ideological justification for land reform received a renewed expression when the Kennedy Administration recruited several university faculty members to help formulate the Alliance for Progress. Through intellectual articulation, and with AID's program support, the United States was now committed to helping Latin American countries implement land reform (see Ernest Feder, "Land Reform under the Alliance for Progress," 1965).

In subsequent years, land reform studies sponsored by the Center as well as by others became less influenced by ideological considerations and international inspiration than by a concern with the factual conditions of the political dynamics internal to each country. Several of the Center's studies emphasized such political topics as the interactions of political parties, landlords, peasants, and rural organizations in the process of land reform of Latin American and Asian countries (see, for example, John D. Powell, "The Role of the Federated Campesina in the Venezuela Agrarian Reform Process," 1967; Dwight B. Heath, et. al., Land Reform and Social Revolution, 1965; Don Kanel, "Land Tenure Reform as a Policy Issue in the

Modernization of Traditional Societies," 1971; Peter Dorner, "Selected Land Reform Experience: Problems of Implementation," 1976; and Antonio J. Ledesma, "Land Reform Programs in East and Southeast Asia, A Comparative Approach," 1976).

Perception of political realignment in consequence of reform. In all countries where land reform has been a major political issue, the Center's studies have found a decline of the landlord class (large non-cultivating landowners). In countries where reform has been incremental or has been channeled through a long parliamentary and legal process, the erosion of the landlord's political power is gradual but continuous. Since the 1950s, Venezuela, Chile, and the Philippines have seen the landlord class slowly losing its political influence with the passage of each new reform law (see Powell, op. cit.; Paul Cox, "Venezuela's Agrarian Reform at Mid-1977," 1978; William C. Thiesenhusen, Chile's Experiments in Land Reform, 1966; Joseph R. Thome, "Agrarian Reform Legislation: Chile," 1971; and Ledesma, op. cit.).

In other countries, where land reform came by a revolutionary upheaval, the political weakening of the landlord class is precipitous but incomplete. This is evident in Bolivia, Peru, and Nicaragua (see, for instance, Ronald J. Clark, "Agrarian Reform: Bolivia," 1971; Joseph F. Dorsey, "A Case Study of the Lower Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia," 1975; Douglas E. Horton, "Hacienda and Cooperatives: A Preliminary Study of Latifundist Agriculture and Agrarian Reform in Northern Peru," 1973; and David Kaimowitz and Joseph R. Thome, "Nicaragua's Agrarian Reform: The First Year (1979-80)", 1980). (Experience in Mexico and Cuba, while lying outside the Center's investigative effort, was similar.)

The weakening of the landlord class is always accompanied by national elite-peasant alliance. Most notably, in Bolivia the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) sought the reform beneficiaries as its followers. Similarly, the Democratic Action (AD) Party of Venezuela in the past and the Sandinistas of Nicaragua at the present all actively attempt to integrate the peasant beneficiaries of reform into the political process. The alliance is always formed for mutual benefit: for the elite, the rural masses safeguard the existing political order; for the peasants, the elite help defend the newly acquired land rights (see Marion Brown, "Peasant Organizations as Vehicles of Reform," 1971; Ronald J. Clark, "Agrarian Reform: Bolivia," 1971; Powell, op. cit.; and Kaimowitz and Thome, op. cit.).

Rural organizations and the devolution theory. To cement the elite-peasant alliance, rural organizations have emerged, for example in Venezuela, Peru, and Nicaragua. While the national elite initiate land reform programs, the responsibility for their implementation devolves upon the grass root organizations. These organizations help enforce land reform laws. They channel the peasants' demand for public goods and services to the governments and distribute such goods and services among their members. And they act as political brokers between their membership and the national elite, delivering rural votes and other forms of peasant support to the elite while obtaining for their peasant constituents representation in the government. Such is the case of the peasant unions (sindicatos) of Bolivia, the Peasant Federation of Venezuela, the Sandinista Agricultural communes (CAS) and, to a lesser extent, the Barrio Associations (Samahang Nasyon) of the Philippines (same reference as that of the section above, and Ledesma, op. cit.).

Where the momentum of land reform and the growth of rural organizations were once strong, these organizations have become increasingly conservative and have declined in political effectiveness. They have been slow to demand additional land redistribution, oblivious to the fate of landless laborers. They have been ineffective in obtaining public goods and services in competition with medium and large farm interests not intended to be reform beneficiaries. And their representation in the government has become symbolic.

The political decline of peasant organizations in the post-reform period can be explained by the changing needs of the elite and the peasant leadership. Land reform often created a class of small peasants with a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo. With the pressure for rural change thus relieved, the elite turns attention to the rising influence of the urban middle class and to the residential large agricultural interests in the countryside. Moreover, with superior organizational skill, the elite can, in most cases, penetrate the peasant organizations, manipulating their leadership to serve its own interests. With a politically dependent status, and considering their offices as a source of wealth and influence, the leaders of peasant organizations are not inclined to rock the boat to call to the attention of the less fortunate peasants. In Mexico, for example, ejidos have become politically and economically stagnant.

Social Impact of Land Reform

Family farm and land reform. American standards of land reform, including those from LTC, have long regarded the family-owner farm system as the ideal tenure group. If broadly established, the family farm system is believed to contain strong incentives for increasing production, to enable the cultivators to develop a sense of independence, and to assure rural stability as the cultivators' time and energy are productively absorbed by the farming process. This advocacy is evidently based on an ideological predisposition that the system is consistent with democratic values and American experience (see Department of State, "Two Patterns of Land Reform: The Free World vs. The Soviet," 1952; and Kenneth H. Parsons, The Owner-Cultivator in a Progressive Agriculture, 1958).

The Center's research effort in this direction is to amass evidence to support the notion that in many pre-reform developing countries the size of farm is inversely related to farm productivity. That is, large estates, which are frequently not cultivated by their owners, produce less output per unit of land than small farms, particularly family owner and family operated ones (see Don Kanel, "Size of Farm and Economic Case for Land Reform," 1971). Relevant data collected by others show the same tendency (see Hung-chao Tai, Land Reform and Politics, 1974, pp. 110-11). The explanation for this phenomenon is found in the fact that in many pre-reform countries small family farms are often more labor-intensive and sometimes even more capital-intensive in farm operations than the larger estates.

These findings provide a rationale for supporting a program to divide the land of under-utilized large estates owned by absentees and to provide it to the tillers. Such a program is considered as an essential first step to create a socially independent and economically motivated peasantry. Thus, the Center's research effort results in a substitution for ideological preferences by empirical economic analysis as the justification for land reform and the family farm system.

Restratification of tenure groups in a post-reform era. To what extent is this justification really substantiated by the actual experiences of land reform countries? The answer does not appear to be clear-cut. In fact, the experience indicates a restratification of tenure groups not entirely consistent with the expectation of land redistribution advocates.

In Bolivia, Venezuela, and Peru (perhaps even more so in Mexico), the beneficiaries of land redistribution are small cultivators who did acquire landownerships as well as improved income as compared to the pre-reform era. But medium-sized and

some large owner-cultivating farms (which are not the intended beneficiaries of reform) tend to be more productive and to become socially more influential than the small cultivator-beneficiaries. The reason, as many of the Center's studies have pointed out, is that the medium and large farms frequently receive proportionately more of the increased farm inputs and services supplied by the government than the peasant beneficiaries of reform. With a relatively large farm size, operators can take advantage of the newer and modern inputs that come with the Green Revolution, which small farmers, because of limited scale and restricted financial capacity, cannot utilize. With their rapidly rising production and income and their close contact with the government, the larger farmers become the most influential group in the countryside.

In the meantime, because of the growing rural population and the dwindling land available for redistribution, the ranks of the landless laborers are rapidly expanded. They were excluded from benefits from reform in the past and must now find work from other tenure groups. They constitute the lowest stratum in a reformed society, becoming what Antonio Ledesma calls the marginal group - the marginal group with a swelling rank! (see Dorsey, op. cit.; Cox, op. cit.; Horton, op. cit.; Ledesma op. cit.; William C. Thiesenhusen, "Reaching the Rural Poor and the Poorest: A Goal Unmet," 1976; and Germelino Bautista, William C. Thiesenhusen, David J. King, "The Economy of Margen: A Southern Philippine Village in Transition," 1981.).

Rural-Urban migration - In the LDC's the growth of urban population has proceeded at a pace faster than the development of employment opportunities. Thus the migration from countryside to the city overburdens the government's capacity to serve the needs of the urban residents and creates conditions of instability. A number of the Center's studies have theorized that an effective land reform, coupled with a community development program, may absorb surplus labor in the countryside, thus beneficially containing the flood of rural migration to the city, (see William L. Finn, "The Process of Migration to a Shantytown in Bogota, Colombia," 1968; and "Rural and Inter-Urban Migration in Colombia: Two Case Studies in Bogota," 1971; and William C. Thiesenhusen, "Employment and Latin American Development," 1971; Ronald J. Clark, "Agrarian Reform: Bolivia," 1971; and Herman Felstenhausen, "Agrarian Reform: Colombia," 1971; cf. Tai, op. cit., pp. 437-40). Much of this theorizing remains to be substantiated with field work, and a method for data collection and analysis on this subject requires refinement. The Center's research in this direction opens a new area for scholarly investigation whose results would be of great interest not only

to land reform advocates but also to people more generally concerned with social development in the development countries.

#### Suggested Future Research Agenda

In its more than twenty-year history, the Land Tenure Center has gained rich intellectual experiences with tenurial changes and agricultural development in the developing countries and has shared generously its experiences with the academic community and governmental agencies both here and abroad. Perhaps in its future undertakings, certain changes may be considered.

The geographical coverage by the Center deserves broadening. Within Latin America, countries with extensive land reform experience such as Mexico and Cuba can be given more attention. In other regions, particularly Asia, the reform programs of Japan, the Koreas, China, and Taiwan constitute a vast and varied vista for scholarly exploration and comparison. Moreover, insofar as land reform is a multi-dimensional process involving economic, social and political changes in the tenure system, the need for a truly multidisciplinary approach to the study of reform is evident. Perhaps disciplines such as sociology and political science can be represented in the Center's staff to a greater extent than they have been.

These suggestions do not imply a vast expansion of the Center's manpower or an extensive effort at empirical research in the Third World. Syntheses and comparisons of already existing knowledge are needed.

A few research subjects on political and other effects of land reform, which really suggest themselves as one reviews the Center's literature, may be identified below:

1. The impact of land reform on rural stability and political participation;
2. The role and effectiveness of rural organizations;
3. The changing status, income, and power of small, medium, and large farmers and the landless in consequence of reform;
4. The evolving rural markets and government extension services as means of integrating villages into the national community;

5. The changing role and income of the farming community in the national economy in such newly industrialized countries as South Korea, Taiwan, and Venezuela.

APPENDIX VIII

Productivity Effects of Land Reform:  
The Contribution of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center  
To Our Understanding

by Albert Berry

PRODUCTIVITY EFFECTS OF LAND REFORM:  
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WISCONSIN LAND TENURE CENTER  
TO OUR UNDERSTANDING

Not surprisingly, analyses designed to advance understanding of the relationship between land reform and agricultural productivity usually deal with only selected aspects of that relationship. A convenient classification of the relevant literature distinguishes:

- 1) Analyses of the "static" impact of reform as a result of the redistribution of land from larger producing units to smaller ones or from large owners who rent the land to their former tenants, based on evidence on how land and labor productivity vary by size of farm and by form of tenure in the pre-reform setting. Such analyses abstract from the "dynamics" of the reform process, and in their predictions of the output effects of land reform they necessarily hold many things constant which are in fact unlikely to remain constant.
- 2) Analyses of the process of land reform in actual cases, with emphasis on costs associated with the surrounding conflict, on the administrative problems and efficiency of the process, on associated changes in government policy towards agriculture and provision of services to it, and so on.

The first of these types of research is the simpler.

Static Aspects of the Productivity Impact of Land Reform

As on most issues, the recent history of thought on the relative productivity of farms by size includes considerable diversity of views at any point in time, and a discrepancy or lag between the views of persons engaged in or up to date on current research and those farther removed from it. I focus mainly on the views of "informed" persons, i.e. those familiar with the relevant literature.

The early 1960s mark a sort of watershed in the discussion of the relationship between farm size and land productivity. (It is on the land productivity-farm size relationship that most research and discussion has focused, since most people accept that land is the main scarce factor in the majority of less developed countries). Farm surveys taken from the 1950s on in India, and providing detailed information on inputs and outputs

165

at the farm level, had by the early 1960s generated the proposition that land productivity was greater on small farms\*, and this became one of the arguments in favor of land reform. Various hypotheses were put forward to explain the phenomenon, including the greater labor intensity of small farms (fairly obvious), greater efficiency due to greater incentive, etc. The idea that small farms might have productivity advantages over large ones came rather later into the discussions of agriculture and tenure systems in Latin America and Africa. The empirical literature on Latin America produced results similar to those from India and in some ways more striking. For sub-Saharan Africa much less research has been directed to these issues, and much less is known.

Although the proposition that land productivity is on average higher on smaller than on larger farms has become widely held among specialists, there remain questions as to how important the result is. Some have felt that the differential shows up because small farms use on average higher quality land than large ones or are more concentrated near cities, a fact which raises their economic potential. Others have noted that the productivity advantage of small farms appears to have been diminishing over time in many countries, as large farms turn to newer varieties, better technology, etc. On the first point an ongoing study for India suggests that when land quality is held constant there may be no difference in land productivity by farm size. To many participants in this discussion, however, the dominant issue is whether factor productivity is or is not significantly lower on small farms, since as long as it is approximately equal the strong income distribution grounds for a

\* e.g. A. K. Sen, "An Aspect of Indian Agriculture," The Economic Weekly, Annual Number, 1962. In a very important article, Ervin Long noted the need for social scientists to provide meaningful evidence on the effects of various types of land reform on agricultural productivity. "The core relationship in this entire problem is that between size of operating unit and productivity. Much of the local argument in favor of cooperative or other forms of group farming, for example, is premised upon the assumption that there is a tremendous efficiency advantage in large-scale operations. Opponents of land reform base their arguments against the establishment of acreage ceilings upon the same premise - that agricultural productivity will be reduced by the reduction in farm size. Persons who might be more favorably disposed toward a more equitable distribution of landholdings, and who would oppose cooperative farming, feel obliged to take the opposite stand in the interest of economic development because they assume that there is tremendous positive returns to size-of-operations in agriculture." (Ervin J. Long, "The Economic Basis of Land Reform in Underdeveloped Countries," Land Economics, August, 1961, p. 115.

more equal distribution of land and of access to capital and marketing services would in many countries argue for reform. There appear to be no grounds at present for doubting that small scale farmer can be quite productive.

Land Tenure Center researchers have contributed a number of studies to this literature,\* and to the acceptance of the higher land productivity of small farms as one of the "stylized facts" tending to support land reform or, more generally, public policies in support of small farms. While the LTC's contribution has been substantial it has not been definitive in this area. A number of groups and individual researchers were reaching similar conclusions during the 1960s and 1970s, and all evidence pointed so strongly and systematically in the same direction that it was only a matter of time until the size-productivity came to be viewed as a "stylized fact". The LTC had participated also in what might be called the second phase of analysis around this question - probing whether the observed differential in land productivity really implies that small farms tend to be of equal or greater overall efficiency than large ones. But such analyses are few and no generalizations have yet been possible, though the evidence points fairly strongly in that direction for certain countries.

On the matter of how tenancy (ownership, share-cropping, rental, etc.) affects land or factor productivity, no very solid conclusions have evolved. It was conventionally accepted that share-cropping was an inefficient system since it was expected to reduce the incentive for tenants to use variable inputs (labor, fertilizer, etc.). It was also presumed that the incentive to undertake long term improvements on a farm would be significantly reduced when the tiller was not the owner. Subsequent theoretical developments have made it clear that the former view was not all obvious. More important, empirical work has not been very successful in moving our understanding along on this matter.

## 2. Dynamic Aspects of the Impact of land Reform on Agricultural Productivity

The dynamic issues include such questions as: What dislocations and costs characterize the process of land reform? What is the extent to which various types of governments are likely to work with and support a reform agricultural sector and how are the processes of accumulation and technological change likely to proceed in the reform sector relative to an unreformed one? are all complex and in some respects country-specific and/or situation-specific.

\* One of the first was Don Kanel "Size of Farm and Economic Development" Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 22, No. 2, April-June, 1967.

They involve various dynamic effects, and careful empirical work is necessary to sort out the impact of the reform from the impacts of contemporaneous phenomena which may be at work. As of 1960 or so, very little solid evidence was available for specific cases of reform. It was widely accepted that the uncertainty associated with coming redistribution of land would slow investment on farms which might be subject of expropriation. Many writers argued that ownership was a superior form of tenancy in that it was likely to encourage investment more than the alternative forms.

Major land reforms in "Third World" countries include those of Mexico, Bolivia, Taiwan, Korea, Egypt, and a few others. Japan is an interesting case since its income level was low only a few decades back. As of 1960 some of the above reforms had not yet occurred, and the rest were recent except that of Mexico, so it is not surprising that little organized after-the-fact evidence was available on which to form judgments. On the other hand, many judgments were floating around, based on rumors, incomplete information, and the like. It was widely accepted that agricultural output fell during the course of the Mexican and Bolivian revolutions, and it was often argued that the associated land transfers had diminished the productive potential of the sector by putting land in the hands of persons not able to farm it effectively. It was generally accepted that in Japan agricultural output rose quite successfully after the post World War II reform, but many felt the Japanese case to be of limited relevance for much poorer, less developed countries.

The last couple of decades have witnessed a considerable body of research on the impact of land reforms of one sort or another. Such pessimism as had earlier existed because of the belief that small farms could not be efficient or because of alleged observation of declining output after reform tended to dissipate. There was no serious evidence of any medium or long run output declines in cases like Mexico or Bolivia; in some cases decreases in marketed surplus seemed earlier to have been confused with decreases in output.

What has become equally clear over this period, though, is that after a major land reform of the type which transpired in Mexico or Bolivia, if the government is not particularly dedicated to the small-scale reform sector, incomes may not grow as fast as might be hoped, as the government concentrates its infrastructure, research, and agricultural service efforts on a remaining or newly developing large scale sector. The real issues in this area are the details of how a particular type of reform in a particular type of agricultural sector and a particular political setting will affect agricultural production and income distribution.

The Land Tenure Center researchers have been in the forefront on the work on these cases (e.g. Dovring, Eckstein, Barchfield, Dorsey, Clark). More generally the LTC has made an outstanding contribution to the build-up of information on the process of agrarian reform; for Latin America, its researchers have perhaps contributed as much or more than everyone else put together, when one takes account of both quantity and quality of work. This effort has not led to a set of such straightforward stylized facts as those which exists on the static relationship between size and factor productivity, since the range of situations varies greatly and the issues are a good deal more complex. But the effort has provided a wealth of information relevant to the assessment of the short and longer run productivity effects of land reform, and the political and economic determinants of those effects. In most Latin countries and some of the Asian ones which have had some land reform experience, anyone who wants to understand its effects is likely to find himself/herself relying mainly or substantially on the evidence and insights provided by LTC researchers.

### 3. Summing Up

LTC researchers have obviously been important in the development of ideas on the productivity effects of land reform. They have concentrated their work in Latin America, especially during the 1960s, and less so during the 1970s. This regional concentration has not been unwise, since land reform questions have been less urgent in most African countries and since other researchers, including a number of nationals, have done serious work on such Asian cases as India and Japan. Inequality of access to land has certainly been severe in most Latin countries.

The major contribution of the LTC has been in the analysis of the dynamics of land reform, although it has contributed several interesting studies of the static farm size-factor productivity relationship. These efforts have obviously placed Center researchers among the authorities on agrarian reform; this is evidenced in their extensive participation in policy related discussions, e.g. AID 's 1970 Spring Review of Land Reform.

One of the contributions which LTC personnel should be as well or better placed to undertake than anyone else, but which has not been very well achieved to date, is a good current policy-relevant synthesis of the recent (say, post World War II) experience of land reform. At present it seems to me that the interested student of this issue can resort to books like those of Warriner and King, very helpful but in a number of respects outdated, and to short statements, a number of them by LTC people (e.g. Dorner and Kanel "The Economic Case for Land Reform" in AID's 1970 Spring Review of Land Reform) which do not provide detailed support for the propositions advanced. The

VIII-7

research of the 1970s, including important pieces by LTC, and the changing context resulting from the Green Revolution, the increasing productivity of large farms and the relatively successful overall growth in many less developed countries, all need to be drawn on in a new overview of the prospective role of land reform and its productivity impact as of this time. While it is not necessarily a criticism of LTCs past efforts, it is true, I believe, that those efforts have had less impact than they might have due to their being dispersed across many countries and themes and not yet being drawn together in a "What it all adds up to" synthesis. Such a synthesis, whether performed by LTC or someone else, would have increased the total value of LTCs work in this changing world of the Green Revolution, rising energy prices, and so on.

It is natural to wonder how LTC's impact has been affected by its advocacy position in relation to the reform of agrarian structures. There are serious analysts who are cool towards or outright opposed to land reform (at least to land redistribution) for technical as opposed to political reasons. They are not represented at the LTC. Does this fact, and its tendency to advocate, detract from the credibility of LTC research among serious students of tenure issues? While it may do so to a limited extent, the quality of professionalism of most LTC research is such that this appears not to be much of a problem. Anyone reasonably familiar with research techniques in this area can assess the quality of most of this work for himself.