

IV. Environment & Epidemics

Extra: Human, nature, and property regimes

EE406: Contemporary Economic Issues

Semester 1/2020

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Property regimes, human & nature

Justification of ownership

- There are differences in terms of historical foundation in the ‘Old World’ and the ‘New World’
 - Especially on the justification of ownership on legal or legitimate grounds
- Pronounced inequality in the distribution, therefore, come about in varieties of ways
- In this class, we will discuss the historical development of property regimes and, thus, our relationship with nature

Rules, rights, and property regimes

- As individuals conduct and organise day-to-day activities
 - Engage in both *operational* and *collective-choice* levels of actions (Kiser & Ostrom, 1982)
- Operational actions are ‘constrained’ and made predictable by the operational-level rules
 - Rule = agreed-upon or enforced prescriptions that require, forbid, or permit specific actions of more than one individual
 - Example?

Rules, rights, and property regimes

- Operational rules are changed by *collective-choice actions*
- Such actions are governed by *collective-choice rules*
 - Who may participate in changing the operational rules
 - And level of agreement necessary
 - Examples?

Rules, rights, and property regimes

- The terms ‘rights’ and ‘rules’ are often used interchangeably, but they are not the same
- ‘Rights’ are product of ‘rules’
 - And therefore are not equivalent to rules
- Rules are the prescriptions that create authorisations
 - What is rights then?

Rules, rights, and property regimes

- A property right is therefore an authority to undertake particular actions related to particular domains (Commons, 1968)
- For every property right one holds, rules exist that require or authorise particular actions in exercising that right
- All rights have complementary duties
 - To possess a right implies that someone else has a commensurate duty to observe that right (Ibid.)
 - Thus rules specify both rights and duties

Rules, rights, and property regimes

- In regard to common-pool resources (such as?), the most relevant operational-level property rights are
 - Access rights: the right to enter the defined physical property
 - Withdrawal rights: the right to obtain the ‘products’ of a resource
- Rules specify the requirements one must meet in order to exercise that right
 - Such as license for fisherman/hunter
- Collective-choice property rights
 - Management
 - Exclusion
 - Alienation

TABLE 1
BUNDLES OF RIGHTS ASSOCIATED WITH POSITIONS

	Owner	Proprietor	Claimant	Authorized User
Access and Withdrawal	X	X	X	X
Management	X	X	X	
Exclusion	X	X		
Alienation	X			

Reprinted from Schlager & Ostrom (1992)

De Facto & De Jure property rights

- De jure: “according to rightful (legal) entitlement or claims”
- De facto: “in fact, whether by right or not”
- Sources of the five level of rights are varied
 - If they are enforced by government whose officials explicitly grant such rights to user – de jure rights
 - However, users can often define and enforce rights amongst themselves
 - Act as if they have de jure rights in exercising de facto rights
 - Sometimes given recognition in court!

De Facto & De Jure property rights

- A government may grant fisherman de jure right to access and withdraw, retaining rights to management, exclusion, and alienation
- Fishers, in turn, may cooperate and exercise rights of management and exclusion
 - Defining how harvesting take place
 - Who may engage in harvest activities
 - In many situations, field researchers find de facto proprietor arrangements that are commonly understood, followed, and perceived as legitimate within the communities (Cordell & Mckean, 1987; Berkes, 1986, 1989)

Property rights, incentives, and outcomes

- Different bundles of property rights, whether they are de facto or de jure, affect the incentives individuals face, the types of actions they take, and the outcomes they achieve.
- An important difference often discussed in economics is that between owners, who hold a complete set of rights
 - and all other users who do not hold complete right
- Alienation rights, combined with rights of exclusion, produce incentives for owners to undertake long-term investments in a resource.
 - Also permits a resource to be shifted from a less productive to a more productive use.

Land grabbing and land reforms

“Buy land, they are not making it anymore”

Mark Twain

Property regimes & land grab

- “Soaring grain prices and fears about future food supplies are triggering a global land grab.” (Pearce, 2012)
- Global land grabbing has captured the attention of the media, governments, international development institutions, NGOs and scholars over the past few years.
- What is land grab?

What is land grab?

- General depiction
 - foreign companies or governments moving into land-abundant poor countries in the south, usually in Africa, and taking over lands to produce food and biofuels for export.
 - assumed that such land deals are shady in character, facilitated by corrupt government officials and result in the expulsion of local communities from their land.
- FAO: arguing that land deals are to be understood as land grabs when three conditions are present
 1. the scale of land deals should be large, using a commonly-accepted baseline of a minimum of a thousand hectares for a single deal;
 2. there should be the direct involvement of foreign governments;
 3. and the new land investments are seen to have a negative impact on the food security of the recipient country

What is land grab

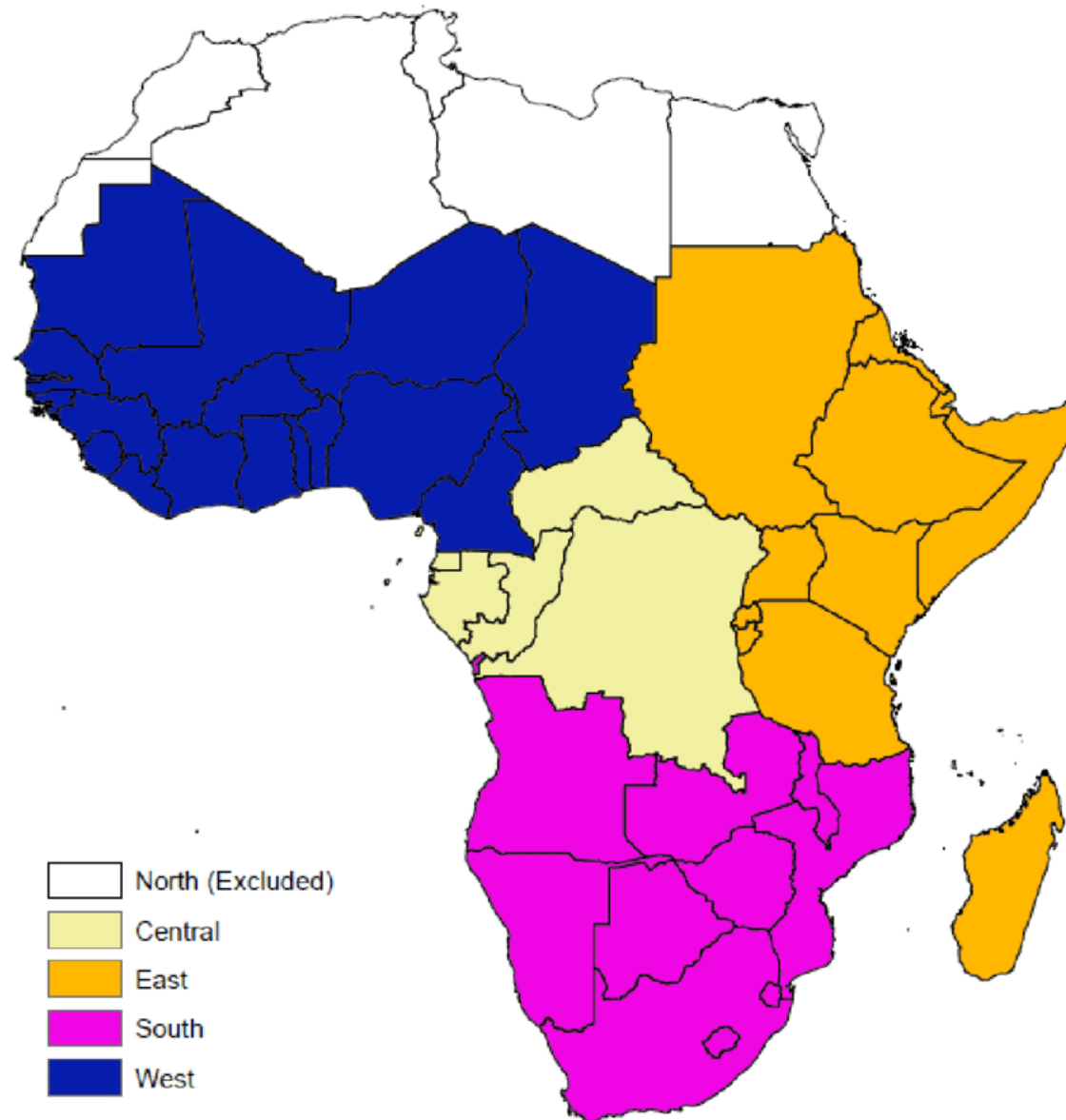
- Perhaps too narrow.
- “such a narrow definition is bound to miss significant aspects of the scope and extent of contemporary land grabbing and possible trajectories of agrarian change.” (S.M. Barras Jr et al, 2012)
- Land grabbing is essentially “control grabbing”, power to control land and other associated resources such as water in order to derive benefit from such control
- “Extraction” or “alienation” of resources for external purposes (national or international) is often the character taken by land grabs (Wolford 2010).

What is land grab?

- Should not be limited to the scale of land acquisitions?
- land grabbing entails large-scale transactions in two broadly distinct but interlinked dimensions
 1. scale of land acquisitions
 2. scale of capital involved.
- 300 ha of high-value vineyards, 5,000 ha of a rare metal mining concession, 100,000 ha of land for industrial tree plantation, and 500,000 ha of grazing land for livestock may in fact represent comparable scales in terms of capital

The significance of land grab

- Estimates by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) suggest that roughly 20 million hectares exchanged hands in the form of land grabs between 2005 and 2009 (von Braun and Meinzen-Dick 2009).
- World Bank said 45 million hectares (World Bank 2010).
- Sub-Saharan Africa is the site of the most speculative major land deals, including one thwarted deal in Madagascar that brought down the government (Cotula et al. 2009),



The significance of land grab

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- Sub-Saharan Africa is the site of the most speculative major land deals, including one thwarted deal in Madagascar that brought down the government (Cotula et al. 2009)
- while major areas are being targeted for commodity crops, fuel crops, investment, and ecosystem services in South America, Central America, Southeast Asia, and the former USSR (Zoomers 2010, Visser and Spoor 2011)

The significance of land grab

- Most ambitious studies: *“Rising global interest in farmland: can it yield sustainable and equitable benefits?”* by the World Bank
- The Bank clearly shows that land grabs have taken place largely in places where buyers could exploit corrupt or indebted governments
 - with little ability to regulate the transaction or prevent buyers from targeting the poorest rural communities, expelling people with non-traditional land title from their land.

The underlying questions...

- What changes in broad agrarian structures are emerging? Are these new forms of agrarian capitalism or repeats of the past?
- What is the nature and extent of rural social differentiation—in terms of class, gender, ethnicity—following changes in land use and land property relations as well as organizations of production and exchange?
- Have land deals undermined local level and national food security? How and to what extent? What have been the socially differentiated impacts on livelihoods by class, gender, and ethnicity?
- To what extent have agrarian political struggles been provoked by the new land investment dynamics? What are the issues that unite or divide the rural poor, organized movements, and rural communities around the issue of land deals?
- What are the emerging trends around dynamics of power, elites, and corruption; land as a source of patronage? How can we make sense of the politics of land deals in different contexts?
- Have development-induced displacement and dispossession occurred? How and to what extent and with what immediate and long-term outcomes and implications for rural livelihoods, including new rural refugees or internally displaced peoples
- How are these deals discursively justified and legitimized, and, in turn, challenged and opposed?
- If corporate land acquisition continues to expand on a large scale, what are the longer-term implications for the future of farming and the environment?

The significance of land grab

- The questions raised above all link to broader issues that have long been discussed in agrarian studies, such as the tendency of large-scale plantations and contract-farming to be situated in pockets of persistent poverty (Beckford 1972, Little and Watts 1994).

The foreignization of space and local development

- The Global land grab – taken in a broader sense – is causing radical changes in the use and ownership of land
- Strong growth worldwide of landownership by foreigners,
- and in many instances, lands fall into the hands of absentee owners, not people from the community
- On the positive side, land grab can make a contribution by lining the national treasury and provide extra financial resources
 - New employment, new markets
 - Improvement in amenities and infrastructure

The foreignization of space and local development

- In practice, generally comes with bad effects...
- The poorer groups tend to be the first to lose their land
 - Through distress sales
 - New means of livelihood are not always available
- Where land purchases are for tourist development, this could lead to increased criminality
 - Disruptions of social cohesion and cultural identity
- Large areas owned by foreigners is not new
 - The scale and intensity is.

The foreignization of space and local development

- Therefore, the context has changed dramatically
- Redistribution of land is no longer just a local question of social justice
 - Land for those who work it
- Nor is it simply a local question of efficiency
 - Land for the most efficient producer
- Land questions are increasing complex matter of competing claims between various groups of local and long-distance actors
 - Local government, individuals, NGOs, financial institutions, real estate sectors...
- Land markets have been globalized and actors are increasingly mobile

On land reforms

- Land reform is a unique process of shifting property rights from one group of people to another, either by force or legitimate legislations
- More specifically, it is defined as the reallocation of *property rights* to establish a more *equitable distribution of farmland*
- It can be a powerful strategy for promoting both economic development and environmental quality
 - Across the globes, small-scale farmers tend to produce more output per acre than large farms
 - They also tend to be better environmental stewards when they hold the rights
 - Protecting and enhancing soil fertility, water quality, and biodiversity
- “Democratising” access to land therefore can be a cornerstone for sustainable rural development, or development overall

On land reforms

- Land reforms come in many shapes and forms
- We are concerned with the redistribution of *rights* from relatively wealthy landowners, who cultivated primarily by means of hired labourers and tenant farmers
 - To relatively poor people who cultivate with their own family labour
- Even then, land reforms vary in various dimensions

Varieties of land reforms

- *Rights*: property rights are ‘bundle of sticks’. Land reform might redistribute certain sticks such as prohibiting arbitrary evictions
- *Security*: property rights are never perfectly secure.
 - *‘Some robs you with six guns, some rob you with a fountain pen’*
 - Distributing non-saleable use rights to farmers while the community or state retain the title to the lands (เช่น สปก)
- *Structure*: New agrarian structure established by land reforms can be based on family farms, small-scale cooperatives, large-scale collectives, or state farms.
 - Chinese revolutions: redistribute land to farmers then organize them into cooperatives and later to large communes

Varieties of land reforms

- *Egalitarianism*: degree to which land reforms yield a more egalitarian agrarian structure, well, is a matter of degree. Example: British rule in Bengal vs land reform in East Asia
- *Gender*: Land reforms can also affect disparities between man and woman. To which extent are land reforms impact women's tenancy?
- *Compensation*: treatment of those whose land rights are taken away from them. Chinese revolution vs. Guatemala 1954 land reform

Varieties of land reforms

- *Macro-economic environment*: land reform can make a large difference in the lives of the poor, but it may not be a panacea for rural poverty
 - Land reform alone cannot bring substantial income gains to the poor
 - For example, if exchange rate overvaluation happens, making agricultural imports so cheap, what happens?
- *Process*: a genuine land reform requires a profound social transformation.
 - ‘*top-down*’ vs. ‘*bottom-up*’
 - A feature that all successful land reform has:
 - “a transformation in the balance of power within the rural community and in society at large” (Sobhan, 1993; p. 7)

Land reform in Mexico

Land in Mexico

- It took much longer time for land in Mexico to lose significance
- The share of agricultural land in total wealth only started decreasing in the 1960s
- Today, most of Mexico's wealth is in terms of housing

Land in Mexico

- To understand land reform in Mexico, we must understand its link with population growth
- Between 1910 and 2016, the increase in population of Mexico was 700%
 - Compared to the US at 250%,
 - 60% in France
 - and 100% in Spain
- This sudden and dramatic change in terms of population had direct consequences on land reform in Mexico
 - Demographic pressure on land usage

Land in Mexico

- Of the land reform in recent history, the first agrarian reform in Mexico was arguably one of the most transcendental
- It involved in whole country,
 - and from 1917 to 1992, redistributed more than 50% of arable land (103 million hectares) from large farms to social sectors
 - Huge institutional change
- There are two peaks
 - One in late 1930s
 - And another in late 1970s
- But for very different reasons (Albertus et al., 2016)

Inequality in Mexico

- Using the Williamson (1997) index – looking at per worker GDP divided by unskilled wages (wages of construction workers in Mexico city), Bleynat, Challu, and Segal (2017) found that these are higher than the national median wages
 - 50% higher in 19th century
 - 40% higher in 21st century
- Thus changes in the median are probably close to changes in the unskilled urban wages

Inequality in Mexico

- There are three main turning points
 1. 1790s: rise in land rents/wages; increased land values but not wages increase
 2. 1900: GDP rises, wage rises very little. Export-led growth with large infrastructure investment.
 3. 1980: GDP falls, wages fall much more. Economic crisis and neoliberal turn : minimum wage cuts and the end of state-supported wage
- We say that inequality falls between 1920s-1930s – the Mexican miracle
 - Inequality remained low
 - Rapid industrialization
 - Strong unions
 - Rising wages
 - And Land reform

19th c: The birth of the Mexican republic

- Independence from Spain in 1821
 - Followed by turmoil: civil war and foreign interventions
- Experimented with constitutional monarchy
 - And many other forms of republic
 - At least half the time between 1821-1860, presence of foreign troops
- Decline in mining and foreign trade
- Bankrupt national government, lack of investment
 - But regional economies diversified
 - Agrarian decompression
 - Expansion of peasant and ranchero production for self-consumption and growth of local markets (Tutino, 1986)

The Second Empire (1862-1867)

- Napoleon III sent the French army to take Mexico city in 1862
- Establish an imperial regime under Maximilian of Habsburg in 1864
- To the delight of...
 - The Church
 - Conservative politicians
 - Elite landowners
- Maximilian was executed in 1867



Restored Republic (1867-1876)



- The republic was restored during this period
- But in tensions with the need for a strong national executives
- There was 24 uprisings during this, led by local *caudillos*

Porfiriato (1876-1910)

- Finally achieved stability and growth under Porfirio Diaz
- Recentralisation of political power
- “The 1st Mexican Miracle” (1880-1910) through agricultural and mining exports
 - Infrastructure investments
 - Foreign credits
- Mexican and American economies grew closer together



Porfiriato (1876-1910)

Many things to be mentioned during this period

- Economic consequences of railways
 - Huge social savings
 - Mexico city became again the economic centre
 - By linking remote mines to smelting centres and US markets, the republic ensured Mexico's position as world leader in mineral production
 - Not only in precious metals
 - Also allowed development of industrial poles beyond the City
 - Textile, beer, iron, and steel

Porfiriato (1876-1910)

- Property rights
 - Were strengthened by the implementation of 1856 Disentailment law and others
 - Mandated the privatization of corporate land (incl. ecclesiastical and municipal)
 - and indigenous village land to be managed at state and local levels
 - 1863 Law of Occupation and Transfer of Public Lands implied untitled land to be sold to private owners by the federal government
 - Between 1878-1890, 15 million hectares were sold to private owners
 - Mineral rights became commercially available (mining code 1887) leading to foreign investment booms

Privatisation was driven by growth, and indeed, drove growth

Porfiriato (1876-1910)

- Democratic regression
 - 1887 constitution allowed re-elections
 - By early 1890s, most states institute indirect elections of governors and deputies
 - Motto: *more administration, less politics*
 - Federal and state elections were met with abstention. Growing disconnection between government and rural population
 - Politics reverted to municipal sphere: the municipal autonomy will be a catalyst for popular participation in the revolution
 - From mid-1890s, gov sought balanced budget. Less spending, more taxes. Further discontent between the government and the citizenry.

Porfiriato (1876-1910)

- Elite politics
 - The political class was far from homogeneous or compact
 - Coalition of different interests in congress, the army, and the state of federal bureaucracies
 - Diaz's multiple re-elections were in part a way of preventing elite fragmentation
 - Two main factions
 1. The *Cientificos*, led by the treasury secretary Jose Yves Limantour
 2. The *Anti-cientificos* led by the ex-secretary of war
 - Conflicts about appointments and businesses

Porfiriato (1876-1910)

- Opposition forces
 - The liberal constitutionalist network has been organizing since 1900 to promote democratic reforms
 - 100 liberal clubs existed by 1901, repressed by government
 - Rise of conflict: anarcho-syndicalism's influence grew as worker militancy developed in key industries: mining, railroads, ports, and textile industry.
 - Asking for better working conditions, lower working hours, end of child labour pensions

The end of Porfiriato (1910)

- The US-European powers' imperialist rivalries (Katz, 1981) led to important conflicts between big companies and banks (foreign and Mexican) + SMEs for business opportunities
- In 1908, Diaz announced in an interview he won't run for re-election of 1910.
- Breakdown of Porfirian elite coalition → violent state governorship races of 1908 and 1909.
- As a result, anti-reelection movement led by Francisco Madero spread throughout the country

By then... 1% of the population owned 97% of land, and 92% of rural population was landless.

Landholding and agrarian social structure by 1910

- Legacies of the colonial era
 - When the Spanish arrived, there were many culturally-distinct groups
 - Often geographically isolated – mostly in central and southern Mexico
 - Including varieties of social and economic institutions as well as hundreds of languages
 - 300 years of Spanish rules eliminated much of the structure, but the tradition of communal land survived
 - The *Capulli* (community of people with the right to usufruct over a given area) for instance
 - The Spanish crown attempted to protect indigenous landowning structure
 - But the local Spaniards bought up or otherwise acquired much formally-communal land

Landholding and agrarian social structure by 1910

- Land use shifted away from food for domestic production to cash crops
- The share of total agricultural production rose from 4% in 1877 to 15% in 1907 and 19% in 2010
- This went with rising land-grabs by *hacendados* (large owners) to expand production and create dependent labourers
- In 1910, half of the population were *acasillados* or dept peons (unfree labour in which labourer has little control over employment conditions)

Landholding and agrarian social structure by 1910

- **Central Mexico** was the most populous region and was a society in transition. Migration developed due to push-and-pull factors
 - To city and mill towns, to coffee and sugar plantations, to the tropics (draconian vagabondage law), to the north (wages were higher), and to the USA after 1900
- Those remained in Central Mexico *haciendas* faced declining paternalism and tougher sharecropping/rental agreements.
- Mounting tensions between indigenous villages and haciendas turned into conflict
- *Market expansion and population growth led to competition over land, water, woodland – as well as conflict over privatisation of communal lands*
- This was the basis for agrarian movements and politics after 1910

Landholding and agrarian social structure by 1910

- **The North** was a frontier society which became a border society with close integration to the US economy.
 - Mobile labour force: wage relations were norm
 - Higher wages were imposed due to competition with the US and to attract labour force
 - Northern agriculture developed a village peasantry, based upon military colonies first developed during the 19th c.
 - These village communities valued political autonomy and land ownership.
 - After 1900 *hacendados* came into conflict with ex-military colonies regarding privatization of land – with responses like violence and banditry (Avengers like Francisco Pancho Villa emerged)
- Economic depression and terrible weather conditions of 1907-10 created tensions and discontent.

Landholding and agrarian social structure by 1910

- **The South** was extremely poor, with slave-like labourers
- Related to rubber, sugar, tobacco, coffee, sisal industry
- Very little revolutionary activities
- Labour scarcity was resolved by mobilization of convicts and oppressive contracts
- Growth in demand for tropical commodities encouraged slave-like conditions

The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920)

- The Mexican revolution as very complexed and was a massive upheaval that caused death up to 1 million people. As well as migration of 500k to the US (out of total population of 15 million)
- It was a source of legitimacy of governments between 1916-2000.
- Three main phases
 1. Madero's call for revolution and his execution (1910-1913)
 2. Huerta's coup to Aguascalientes Convention (1913-1914)
 3. Villistas and Zapatistas fights and the victory of the constitutionalists (1915-1920)

1. Madero's call for revolution and his execution (1910-1913)

- Madero set himself as the democratic alternative
- Real democracy, valid elections, free press, right of labour to organize and strike
 - Revolts were only successful in the north
- Another election as called, and he won
 - The country then democratized quickly, with peasants and workers mobilized
 - Peasants joined the revolution under Emiliano Zapata to fight for land and political autonomy
- Foreign power were upset: political instability and higher taxation
 - Captured and executed Madero in 1913

2. Huerta's coup to the Aguascalientes Convention (1913-1914)

- Huerta's coup in Feb 1913 led 3 main factions to mobilise against him
 - Pancho Villa's farmers (from western Chihuahua)
 - Militarily strongest → professional army
 - This army lost touch with its social intentions (acted the same way the old elites did)
 - Zapatista peasants (from Morelos, an area near Mexico city)
 - Never lost its social base and closer to the demand of redistribution
 - And some Northern constitutionalists (led by Carranza)
 - Support urban middle class and picked up elite supports when Huerta's weakness became obvious
- The three factions successfully defeat and banished Huerta
 - Met up together at Aguascalientes and out of the convention, emerged a government supported by Villa and Zapata, not supported by Carranza

3. Villistas and Zapatistas fight and defeated by the constitutionalists (1915-1920)

- Villatistas and Zapatistas fought with the constitutionalists
 - They lose because they did not want to run the country and the constitutionalists capitalized on elite fear of popular mobilization
- Carranza built popular supports by announcing a program of political reforms
 - Own land reform
 - Deal with labour organization, *La Casa del Obrero Mundial*
 - Allow union organisations in exchange for joining the constitutionalist army
- Villa and Zapata were assassinated
- The new government was not much less conservative than that of Porfiriato – but the revolution had led to significant social changes
 - Weakening old land-owning elites and mobilizing peasants and workers
 - Carranza ran away after another revolt and died on the way out of the gulf

Creation of the Ejido

- Unlike other modern revolutions in Russia, China, or Cuba, the Mexican revolution sought to recreate colonial agrarian institutions.
 - Thus land reform an *ejido*: collective allocations (not individuals), inalienable land, and government supervision
- 1915 agrarian law: the beginning of Carranza's provisional land distribution
- Intellectual influences:
 - Positivism (Comte, Spencer, Darwin)
 - Anarcho-communism: communal land holding as natural expression of social cooperation, and a pavement to full anarchism
 - Nationalism
 - Pragmatism (Morelos peasants, amongst others)

From the constitution to Cardenas (1917-1934)

- The constitution in 1917 → article 27: “the nation owns the country’s natural resources, incl. land, water, and soil”.
 - Justification for land reform and nationalization of oil
 - Maintain legality of private property, but removes illegality of communal village land holdings
- Ejidos could be created by outright grant (dotacion) or by restoration (restitucion). The latter was less practical.
 - Villages could petition based on need
 - But article 27 excluded 70% of communities in half the states

From the constitution to Cardenas (1917-1934)

- Limits: president Obregon (1920-1924) only carried out land reform in politically difficult areas.
 - By 1934, 9 million hectares had gone to 10% of the country's peasantry
 - Most from small districts in Central Mexico
 - Divisions amongst peasantry resulted

Cardenas years (1934-1940)

- Cardenas was the key figure that pushed land reform forward
- In 1934, workers on haciendas became eligible to apply for land grants
- Size limits for estates eligible for redistribution were cut to one third
- Cardenas redistributed 19 million hectares of land, more than his predecessors combined
- The government wanted the rural population to be productive, and pumped money into it.
 - Seeds, technical assistance, credit, training, roads, electricities...
 - Creation of CNC (National Peasant Confederation) in 1938
- This shift is partly due to political calculation



Land reform under PRI and Alliance for Progress

- Most historians agree that the revolution ended in 1940
- The Partido Revolucionario Institucional was created in 1946
 - With it, capitalist growth through rapid industrialization and capitalist agriculture
 - The Ejidos were left behind.
- Labour and agrarian movements were repressed
 - Yet, another land reform happened in late 1960s – early 1970s
 - As regime survival depended on rural votes!
 - Reform ended in 1992
- Role of the cold war: Kennedy's Alliance for Progress

The Specificities of Mexican land reform

- Albertus et al. (2015), “authoritarian survival and poverty traps: land reform in Mexico”.
 - Why was Mexican land reform less pro-growth than land reform in JP, SK, TW?
 - PRI used land reform to create dependency on the state, rather than to foster rural income or growth
 - But there was little scope for deliberate trade-off between growth and political expediency as government just tried to react to political pressures
- Land was granted to groups not individuals
- Long-run process, not a one-off distribution
- Communal land could not be sold, rented, or use as collateral
- Direct control by the president

The Specificities of Mexican land reform

- Bleynat, Challu, and Segal (2017) shows that gini coefficient for private and communal land holding declined
 - Yet there were still substantial migration after 1930, and continued after 1992
 - No evidence that migration would be more without land reform
 - Many of those who moved to Mexico City ended up as urban subsistence workers
 - Not dynamic capitalist-sector workers
 - Wages kept up with GDP growth in the mid-20th C. perhaps due to land reform and rising rural incomes restrained urban migration
 - Consistent with Lewis model: investment could not catch up with population growth
- Today most poor Mexicans live in urban areas

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