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Globalization, Crop Choice and Property Rights in Rural Peru, 1994-2004

Alfred J. Field¹ and Erica Field²

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Abstract

This paper describes the results of initial work analysing a panel of rural households in Peru between 1994 and 2004 to determine household responses to changes in relative prices of traditional versus export-oriented products. Our principal interest was to better understand how household responses to external economic shocks influenced rural welfare, income distribution and poverty. Since a large percentage of Peruvians living in poverty are located in rural areas, learning more about how these households respond to a changing external environment provides insights into the factors that influence their ability to improve their absolute and relative economic position.

The results of our analysis indicate that changes in relative prices had a significant impact on the adoption of new agricultural products, and the magnitude of response was mitigated by households' degree of tenure security and access to regional and local markets. Analyses of household expenditures over the period indicate that those who

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Keywords: agricultural households, microeconomic, international trade, structural adjustment, technology adoption, poverty, household decisionmaking, property rights, income distribution

JEL classification: I3, F1, O1, Q1

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¹ University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, email: afield@email.unc.edu; ² Harvard University, Cambridge, email: efield@latte.harvard.edu

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adopted export crops experienced a significant growth in consumption proportional to the change in acreage devoted to exportable products, and were less likely to be classified as impoverished at the end of the period. Instrumental variables estimates suggest that this association is causal.

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Acronyms

ATPDEA	Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act
IDB	InterAmerican Development Bank
LSMS	Peruvian living standard measurement survey
PETT	Special Rural Cadastre and Land Titling Project
SUNARP	National Superintendency of Registry Offices
SUNAT	National Superintendence of Tax Administration

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UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER)
Katajanokanlaituri 6 B, 00160 Helsinki, Finland

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1 Introduction

Global integration of the world economy in many dimensions has been taking place at a noteworthy pace for the past two decades. The policy changes that have accompanied and facilitated the increased flows of goods, services and resources have impacted economies at both the micro and macro levels. Investment and technology flows along with changes in relative prices both within and between sectors have resulted in changes in production structures and changes in the relative demand for factor inputs and accompanying factor payments. Any time that changes such as these take place at such rapid rates in a relatively short period of time, there are winners and losers. In terms of the international trade aspect, changes in prices of import goods resulting from a decrease in protection directly benefit the consumers of those goods and indirectly those who consume goods that use imported inputs in their production. At the same time, factors used relatively intensively in import competitive industries tend to suffer with the fall in domestic prices as the trade policy price distortions are removed. On the positive side, trade liberalization which leads to an expansion of exports clearly has a positive effect on the owners of the factors of production used relatively intensively in its production. To the extent that factors lack internal mobility, these effects are clearly enhanced. Thus, while it is often suggested that less restricted world trade should lead to an increase in demand for unskilled labour and hence income and perhaps wages in the developing world, there is legitimate concern that poor and unskilled labour is, in fact, being made worse off, both relatively and absolutely.

A significant body of literature already exists on the many links between globalization and poverty. It has been effectively summarized in the recent surveys by Harrison (2005) and Winter, McCulloch and McKay (2004). In addition, the recent work by Bardhan (2005, 2006) which provides an overview on the links between globalization and rural poverty lays out the many direct and indirect ways that reducing barriers to international transactions and domestic market imperfections can influence rural output, productivity and poverty through various consumption and production effects. It is obvious from these surveys that considerable work has been carried out at the aggregate level both across and within countries. However, to better gauge the effects of key factors such as changes in relative prices, changes in technology, and increased international mobility of capital, it is imperative that more empirical research be carried out at the household level in a variety of settings.

This paper describes the results of initial work analysing a sample of rural households in Peru over the period from 1994 to 2004 to determine how these households responded to and were affected by globalization and the corresponding change in relative prices of traditional versus export-oriented products. Our principal interest was to identify the impact of opening the economy to international trade on rural household decisionmaking and to better understand how household responses to globalization influence rural welfare and poverty dynamics. Since a large percentage of Peruvians living in poverty are located in rural areas, learning more about how these households responded to the changing external economic environment should provide insights into factors that affected their ability to improve their economic position, both absolutely and relatively.

In brief, the results of our analysis indicate that changes in relative prices between traditional and export-oriented crops had a significant impact on the adoption of these new products, as did property ownership and access to regional and local markets. It also reaffirms the fact that geographical characteristics such as altitude, rainfall, and

growing climate preclude the possibility of many households changing cropping patterns. Finally, by examining changes in household expenditures from the beginning to the end of the period, our analysis suggests that those households who did adopt the new export-oriented crops experienced growth in consumption in proportion to the change in the fraction or amount of land devoted to exportable products, and were much less likely to be classified as impoverished at the end of the period.

2 Background: the Peruvian economy, 1994-2004

Peru is the fourth largest country in Latin America with a current population of 27.2 million and a rural population of approximately 7.3 million. IFAD has classified Peru as a severely indebted, middle-income country, with a per capita GDP of US\$2,806 in 2005. The rural areas are found in each of the three major zones of the country: the Pacific coastal area (coast), the Andean highlands (highlands) and the Amazon basin (jungle). The largest segment of the rural poor are found in the highlands, consisting of approximately 5,500 peasant communities and accounting for approximately 4.9 million people. It has been estimated that in 2001, some 73 per cent of the rural highland population were living below the poverty line and 27 per cent were living in extreme poverty (Massler 2004). The 2006 *World Development Report* (World Bank 2006) indicates that in 1997, 49.0 per cent of the total Peruvian population lived below the poverty line, including 64.7 per cent of the rural population and some 40.4 per cent of the urban population. In 2000, it was estimated that 18.1 per cent of the total population received below \$1/day (poverty gap: 9.1 per cent) and 37.7 per cent received less than \$2/day (poverty gap: 18.5 per cent). Given our focus on the rural areas, it is useful to note that the importance of agriculture has increased over the recent decade, accounting for approximately 9.0 per cent of GDP in 2000 as opposed to 7.0 per cent in 1990, a trend which is presumably related in part to structural adjustment measures over the period that included significant reductions in state-owned enterprises.

The 1990-2004 period is a particularly interesting and tumultuous period inasmuch as Peru undertook a number of policy reforms and also experienced several outside shocks that impacted on the entire economy. A list of the most important events is provided in Table 1. One of the most significant changes was the freeing-up of capital markets and the enactment of a rather extensive trade reform in 1994, which remained essentially in place over the following ten-year period, through which the Peruvian economy became much more open and subject to changes in the global economy. Prior to the trade liberalization reform in August 1990, Peruvian foreign trade policy was characterized by a system of high tariffs with considerable dispersion (56 different levels from 10 to 84 per cent) between commodities and many quotas. The simple average tariff was 66 per cent and the weighted average 44 per cent, which jointly resulted in both negative and extremely high positive rates of effective protection. For example, the effective rates of protection were 261 per cent for clothing and 189 per cent for daily products (Webb, Camminati and Thorne 2005). Although significant changes occurred in 1990, reductions in trade barriers continued throughout the 1990s, with important reductions happening in 1997 and 2001. Reflecting Peru's increasingly broad-based open trade regime, total merchandise trade grew at an average annual rate of 7.2 per cent from 1990 to 2004, and total merchandise exports grew at an annual rate of 7.9 per cent over the same period (World Bank 1996, 2000, 2006).

Table 1
Factors impacting on the Peruvian economy, 1990-2002

Economic reforms

- Price subsidies eliminated;
- Farmgate pricing abolished;
- New central bank law;
- Agrarian Bank abolished, replaced by commercial lenders and NGOs;
- Adoption of a unified floating exchange rate;
- Major reductions in tariff levels and tariff dispersion;
- Import prohibitions, para-tariff measures and state import monopolies eliminated
- Capital flows and foreign currencies freed;
- Major banking reforms undertaken;
- Creation of private pension system;
- Privatization promoted with establishment of several commissions and autonomous regulating entities;
- National Institute for Competition and Intellectual Property Defence created;
- State deregulation involving reduction in number of state workers;
- Labour markets deregulated and constitution altered to partially eliminate labour stability;
- Payroll taxes eliminated;
- Social programmes created and focused on poverty initiated;
- Highlands rural poverty reduction strategy initiated in 2002.

External factors

- El Niño climate shocks to production, 1997-98;
- Asian-led international financial crises, 1997-98;
- Growth in world demand and resulting increase in prices of mineral/metal products in late 1990s, which has continued up to present;
- US Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA) which reduced or eliminated tariffs on more than 6,000 agricultural products from Peru, Bolivia, Columbia and Ecuador.

Source: This table relies heavily on Webb, Camminati and Thorne (2005); Zorilla (2001); and USAID (2001).

Even in the presence of fairly major events such as El Niño and tumultuous political events, the data show a continuing growth in exports and a declining trade deficit in recent years. With respect to agriculture, exports grew more rapidly than total imports from 1991 to 1998, but less rapidly in the years following, in part due to the effects of El Niño. The volume response was somewhat different than the value response due to decreases in world prices of some grains, milk and meat products, which continued to be the major import groups. Regarding exports, the more traditional export products like coffee, sugar and cotton were accompanied by a rapid growth in non-traditional exports such as tomatoes and asparagus. Not surprisingly given the differences in the geographical characteristics, the nature of the rural production response differed between the coastal, highlands and jungle areas.

Recent IDB country indicators for Peru by InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB) (Appendix I) provide a useful overview of the performance of the economy from 1995 to 2005. Key measures of Peru's economic and social development during this period show that while growth was erratic due in part to the effects of El Niño, the economy grew considerably. The inflation rate fell substantially over the period from well over 20 per cent in the early 1990s to 2 per cent in 2003. The sizeable trade deficit of the early 1990s first increased (especially during the El Niño period) and then decreased. By

2004, the trade balance had become positive. Much of this turnaround can be traced to the increase in mineral and metals prices. Using the traditional measure of openness, the economy became more open over the ten-year period from 1994 to 2004 as exports plus imports as a share of GDP rose from 23 per cent to nearly 39 per cent. As a result of the improving trade balance, the external debt fell from 1996 to 2002. However, net foreign investment proved somewhat erratic, falling through the late 1990s and then recovering slightly between 2000 and 2004.

Because of the influence of many different domestic and external factors during this period, it is virtually impossible to isolate the unique effect of globalization on overall poverty in the rural sectors of Peru during the past decade. Thus, this research focuses on the nature of the rural household production response to the change in relative prices between exportable and traditional crops in the presence of other direct and indirect effects of globalization. We look specifically at the roles of property rights and market access in influencing household crop choice, and examine these and other barriers to production responses to price incentives. Furthermore, to the extent possible, we test the assumption that those who take advantage of the relative price regime shifts are more likely to increase their income by estimating the returns of switching to export-oriented production among households that were more able to do so as a result of quasi-exogenous factors. This allows us to draw some inferences about the influence of globalization on poverty among our household sample over the period.

The ability to take advantage of changes in relative prices depends on the degree to which factors are appropriately mobile and/or production structures are flexible. This is indicated to some degree by observing which producers did in fact alter their production in response to the increased openness of the Peruvian economy over this period. More specifically, we focus on the household response to these relative price effects by examining the degree to which household production shifted towards greater relative production of export versus domestic crops driven by both the 1997 and 2001 reductions in tariff rates that reduced the relative price of commodities such as grains, and the preferential tax treatment for nearly all agricultural exports to the US granted under the Andean Trade Preference and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA). The former led to an increase in grain imports and the latter led to increases in US demand for Peruvian exports of fruit and vegetables.

Table 2
Tariff rates on Peruvian imports

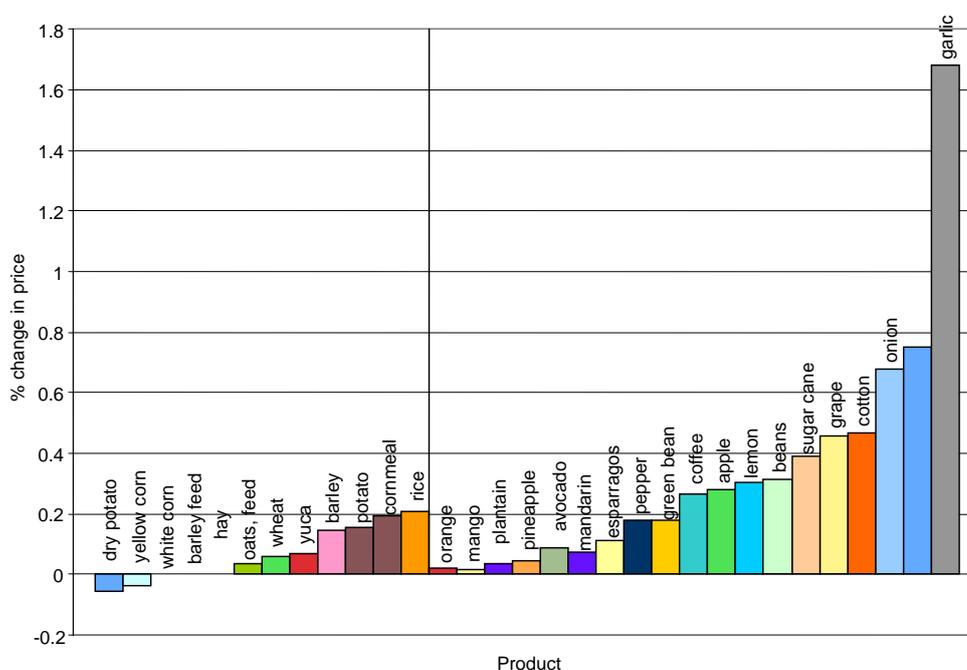
	1994	1997-2001	2001-04	Change, 1994-2004
Wheat	25	20	17	-8
Potato	25	20	20	-5
Barley	18	12	12	-6
Rice	25	20	20	-5
Yuca	18	12	12	-6
Corn	18	12	12	-6
Maize	18	12	12	-6
Beans	25	20	20	-5
Fruit/vegetables	25	20	20	-5

Source: Tariffs in the first three columns provided by SUNAT and the ministry of agriculture (General Direction of Agrarian Information).

Table 2 gives the average changes in tariffs over the period of study for the primary crop categories in our sample. Although tariff reductions were nearly universal, differences in the elasticity of export demand to reductions in trade barriers generate important variation in the post-reform increases in returns to the cultivation of specific crops. Specifically, even though tariffs on nearly all fruit and (non-grain) vegetables fell from 25 per cent to 20 per cent between 1994 and 2004, increased export demand for specific fruit and vegetable products such as citrus rose (in great part due to the increase in US imports) and more than offset the price effects of reduced protection. Meanwhile, grain products, which were highly protected prior to the reforms, experienced a fall in domestic price and consequently there was a dramatic rise in wheat imports. On account of these changes, by 2003 Peru was a net grain importer, and grains (specifically wheat, corn, dry peas, lentils, and rice) composed nearly half of US agricultural exports to Peru. US exports of grain accounted for US\$114 million in 2003, up 24 per cent from the previous year; wheat accounted for 88 per cent of the total.

At the same time, the price of export-oriented produce was rising over this period in response to increasing demand from abroad. Import penetration in the US fruit and vegetable market—Peru’s most important export destination—has increased significantly in recent years, most of which is sourced from western hemisphere suppliers. Indeed, tropical fruit consumption rose significantly at the same time as domestic production was falling, such that Mexico and Peru now supply almost all of the mangos, papayas, and limes consumed in the US. Over the period 1994-2003, US imports of horticultural products increased 121 per cent (from US\$9.9 billion to US\$21.9 billion). Excluding bananas and melons, imports of fresh fruit rose from 11.6 to 19 per cent of fresh domestic consumption during the same period, while imports of fresh vegetables rose from 7.5 to 13.5 per cent between 1990 and 2002.

Figure 1
Price changes, grains versus fruit/vegetables/industrial crops



Source: Crop prices from the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture monthly crop-specific price series from January 1996 to December 2004 (based on data from Regional Agricultural Directions).

As seen in Figure 1, these market changes are reflected in the changing price of export-oriented agricultural products relative to import-competitive products in Peru during the period. This figure shows the difference in the average domestic price of the most common agricultural products, collected by the ministry of agriculture on a monthly basis beginning in 1996. The data show the difference in average annual prices before and after the first wave of tariff reductions in 1997. As can be seen by observing price changes to the right and left of the vertical line separating grains and traditional crops from fruit, vegetables and industrial crops, the former experienced very little price change over this period relative to the latter.

3 Determinants of crop adoption

Our empirical study tests specific hypotheses regarding factors influencing the adoption of export-oriented crops in place of grains. Household decisions to adopt new export products are dependent on household information regarding the product and its relative price, feasibility of growing the export crop in the household's geographical environment, adoption costs such as the availability and cost of inputs, and accessibility to product markets. All of these are functions of various characteristics of the household and its local environment.

With respect to price incentives, while little work has been done on rural household decisions to adopt export crops in the presence of trade opening, there has been considerable work examining the decision of rural households to switch from household or locally consumed traditional crops to commercial crops. Of notable interest is a study by Cadot, Dutoit and Olarreaga (2006) focusing on the cost of moving out of subsistence crops and that of Vakis, Sadoulet and de Janvry (2003) focusing on transactions costs of shifting from traditional to commercial crops in Peru. While the adoption of export crops in response to globalization effects may involve a movement away from subsistence crops, it also is likely to involve the shifting from production of domestic commercial crops to export crops. Thus, household decisionmaking regarding the adoption of export crops is assumed to involve the same critical elements as decisions regarding switching from traditional to commercial crops. For instance, household production is influenced by land size and the percentage of land cropped. In addition, geographical factors such as climate, altitude and length of growing season determine the production possibilities in the area. Furthermore, willingness to adopt a new export product is more likely if the household has previous experience producing commercial crops in addition to the traditional crops of the region. Hence, the likelihood of adoption will be increasing in the fraction of initial total output that is commercial production.

Traditional household characteristics such as size of household, age and gender of the household head, education of the household head and farm experience are also assumed to play a role in household decisions to alter the mix of products. In addition, other institutional variables such as local producer organizations, labour opportunities for household members outside the household, and the availability and cost of hired labour can enter into the final decision. Consideration of risk also suggests that the closer the household is to the poverty level, the less willing they will be to risk undertaking a new production endeavour. Finally, the ability to carry out this change may also depend on access to credit needed to acquire inputs.

Lastly, production of exportable crops is influenced by market access, a function of household characteristics such as distance or time to hard surface roads and walking distance to local commercial markets and major centres of agricultural trade. Since products can be either marketed locally, at the farmgate to buyers who travel from farm to farm, or sold in distant, more major markets, the decision to produce new crops depends on the availability and prices of these marketing choices. Since, by definition, export crops are destined for shipments abroad, the accessibility to export marketing centres is more likely to be critical in the adoption decision. Thus, quality of road and distance to the markets should play a significant role in the decision process. Vakis, Sadoulet and de Janvry (2003) provide a comprehensive analysis of the role of information, search costs and bargaining in the selection of markets and quantities in Peru with regard to the commercial sales of potatoes by rural households. Switching products also depends on the household knowledge of product alternatives, and expected prices and costs of necessary inputs, which are likely to increase with proximity to centres of trade. This information may also depend upon the technical assistance available or the past experience of other members of the community in adopting commercial crops.

Finally, land rights may be an important predictor of household price responses for a number of reasons. First, switching costs may require sufficient credit from institutions such as agricultural banks. Without property titles, households may lack the resources needed to pay for the fixed costs of adoption or to take on the risk involved in doing so. Second, household tenure insecurity may reduce the incentive to invest in agricultural products with longer investment time horizons, such as fruit trees which have a three to five year gestation period. Third, because property rights increase gains from trade in land, titled households may have greater opportunity to respond to relative prices of agricultural products by buying or selling land.

4 Changes in rural ownership rights, 1994-2004¹

Interestingly, the period of 1994 to 2004 was one in which rural households in Peru experienced dramatic changes in ownership rights through a large nation-wide land titling programme. The map in Appendix II shows the distribution of households participating in the Special Rural Cadastre and Land Titling Project (PETT). Each point on the map corresponds to a rural community, and the black dots indicate whether the titling programme operated in the community, while the blue dots show the rate of export crop adoption at the community level aggregated from the household survey data.

Prior to the reforms, possession of formal property titles in rural areas was limited, largely on account of lengthy and expensive registration procedures. In response to this concern, in 1991 the government implemented PETT through Legislative Decree 25902. PETT's field operations started in 1993 in the coastal region of the country. The programme was initially aimed at issuing property titles and developing a cadastre for beneficiaries of the agrarian reform, owners of uncultivated land, and native communities. In 1996, the government of Peru signed an agreement with the IDB to speed the titling process and increase its coverage to all rural estates. The agreement

¹ This section borrows heavily from Field and Torero (2005).

included financing a 4-year project aimed at surveying 1.1 million parcels for rural cadastre and registering 1.1 million property titles in the coast and highlands. By 2000, the project had surveyed 1.9 million parcels for rural cadastre, registered 900 thousand new property titles, and moved into the jungle region.

Based on 1996-98 information from a sample of farms in the northern coastal provinces of Piura and Ica, the 1994 Agricultural Census, and the *National Superintendency of Registry Offices* (SUNARP), an IDB evaluation of PETT's performance found effects of the titling programme on agricultural practices and credit markets. Production on titled and registered parcels in Ica was 67 per cent higher than those that were titled but unregistered and 179 per cent higher than those with no title at all. This fact may be related to farmers switching production from potatoes, beans, and corn to grapevines and asparagus. In the case of credit markets, the study found that rural areas that were titled through PETT experienced increases in the number of mortgages and sales of land. A decline in livestock herds—substituted with other means of saving and borrowing—was also documented in Ica. Antle et al. (2003) analyse the impact of titling on investment in terraces in the province of Cajamarca (northern Peru). They find that the probability of investments in terraces increased by 6.6 per cent with registration. Likewise, Aldana and Fort (2001) document that registry and titling have a significant impact on access to formal credit and a positive, albeit smaller, effect on informal credit. Nevertheless, they find that these effects tend to fall rapidly with land size, so that no significant effect is predicted for producers with less than one hectare. In this sense, titling does not necessarily imply a substantial increase in access to credit among farmers in our sample, 25 per cent of whom have less than 1 hectare of land in 1994. Furthermore, results from the last two studies should be interpreted with caution since in both cases possession of a title is not limited to cases reached by the government programme, so endogeneity concerns are likely to be significant.

Because the sudden shift in ownership status brought about through PETT coincided with the opening of the economy to international trade, it is a prime opportunity to examine whether lack of ownership rights presents a significant barrier to the adoption of commercial crops or modern farming practices. To the extent that participation was quasi-exogenous to other household features influencing production choices, the titling programme serves as a natural experiment in tenure status that enables us to compare the influence of price incentives across untitled and newly titled households.

Table 3
Panel decomposition (number of households)

Initial panel		682
Non-agricultural households	31	
Only in agricultural activities in 1994 wave	55	
Only in agricultural activities in 2004 wave	23	
Households involved in agricultural activities		573
No information on crops in both waves	13	
Did not harvest crops in 1994 wave	6	
Did not harvest crops in 2004 wave	36	
Final panel		581

Source: Calculated by authors from bridge file linking the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

5 Data

To examine household responses to changes in relative agricultural prices, we use data from a nationwide panel of rural households linked across two large surveys: the 1994 Peruvian living standard measurement survey (LSMS) and the 2004 Land Titling Special Project Survey (PETT). PETT was a nationally representative rural household survey conducted between April and July 2004, which drew its sample from the collection of rural households that participated in the 1994, 1997 and 2000 LSMS surveys. The sample was stratified by three regions in the country in order to maintain representative samples from each region. The survey collected detailed individual and household information including members' characteristics (age, sex, education, health, labour, etc.); assets, income and expenses; ownership rights, including title status of the dwelling and participation in PETT; access to credit; and agricultural production, where survey questions were designed to match the LSMS survey instrument for comparison across years.² Additional geographic information was gathered through land coordinates identifying the exact location of each household, from which we constructed a village-level measure of altitude, average rainfall, and walking distance to the district capital.

The spatial distribution of households in our sample is shown on the map in Appendix II. As detailed in Table 3, the initial panel consisted of 682 households—51 per cent of the 1994 rural LSMS sample—of which 651 which were at one or both periods involved in agriculture. Among these, 10 per cent either entered or abandoned farming over the ten-year period. An additional 55 households did not harvest any crops in one or both waves during the preceding 12 months, which reduced the panel to 518. Six others had missing crop data. An important limitation of the data is the fact that the subsample of households in the 1994-2004 panel is subject to selection driven by all forms of sample attrition over the period. While this is potentially relevant to the interpretation of results, it implies no obvious selection bias. Furthermore, expanding the analysis to include the 81 households that stopped producing during the ten-year period has little effect on the results.

6 Patterns of agricultural production, 1994-2004

Table 4 provides basic summary statistics on crop choice and demographic characteristics of households in our sample. As discussed previously, trade opening influenced the price of export-oriented crops (fruit, coffee and cacao) relative to import crops (grains) and therefore presumably altered household incentives to produce fruit and vegetables versus grains. Indeed, a cursory look at the data in Table 4 indicates that agricultural households have switched away from wheat and other grains towards export-oriented fruit, industrial crops and legumes. According to the summary statistics, the most significant changes in agriculture over this panel appear to happen in jungle and highlands regions. In highland villages, the total decrease in agricultural production outweighs substitution across categories of products. In the jungle, we observe a significant reduction in the fraction of households cultivating cereals and a significant increase in the fraction cultivating fruit and legumes. In fact, over the period of study, fruit and industrial crops (bananas, coffee, mango, avocado, orange, cocoa) have become

² Details on the construction of the total expenditure variable are provided in Appendix I.

Table 4
Summary statistics from the LSMS/PETT Panel

	1994			2004		
	Coast	Highlands	Jungle	Coast	Highlands	Jungle
Land						
Median size (m ²)	30,000	12,500	50,000	25,000	7,568	60,000
Median size with crops (m ²)	25,000	10,000	27,500	20,000	6,666	50,000
Mean size (m ²)	39,386	19,914	95,204	42,065	16,690	93,925
Mean size with crops (m ²)	33,269	14,739	30,271	39,599	13,971	87,847
Proportion of land with crops	0.89	0.85	0.63	0.95	0.90	0.94
Crops						
Number of crops	2.53	4.04	3.77	1.59	2.75	3.14
Fruit	0.15	0.01	0.36	0.14	0.06	0.66
Industrials	0.10	0.01	0.26	0.05	0.02	0.41
Cereals	0.75	0.89	0.72	0.78	0.85	0.67
Vegetables	0.22	0.05	0.06	0.11	0.04	0.03
Legumes	0.25	0.25	0.06	0.18	0.31	0.09
Tubers	0.08	0.61	0.43	0.07	0.60	0.46
Forages	0.04	0.11	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.02
Pastures	0.08	0.06	0.00	0.04	0.03	0.01
Adopted any crop				0.44	0.54	0.67
Adopted any export crop				0.21	0.12	0.50
Adopted any long-term crop				0.14	0.07	0.48
Land title & infrastructure						
PETT	0.45	0.33	0.37	0.12	0.22	0.19
Other title				0.41	0.33	0.36
No property title	0.55	0.67	0.63	0.47	0.44	0.45
Time to: - nearest paved highway (min.)				28.00	79.00	87.00
- nearest market (min.)				30.00	50.00	48.00
Access to: - formal loans	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.27	0.05	0.06
- informal loans	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.16	0.07	0.08
Demographics						
Household size	5.60	5.60	6.00	4.30	4.60	4.80
Same HH head in 2004	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.95	0.91	0.82
Age of HH head	50.10	46.40	45.20	59.30	56.00	54.00
Sex of HH head	0.92	0.91	0.92	0.93	0.90	0.84
Schooling years of HH head	4.50	4.70	4.60	4.50	5.10	4.50
Employment outside of HH						
Total weekly hours per: - all members	44.7	33.2	33.8	27.0	36.1	37.6
- males	30.8	22.4	21.3	16.2	25.4	27.2
- females	13.9	10.8	12.5	10.8	10.7	10.5
Weekly hours per: - worker	37.1	30.9	34.4	38.2	38.3	37.4
- male worker	42.2	33.1	32.7	37.0	39.7	38.2
- female worker	30.2	27.7	37.5	42.9	37.0	38.9
Production						
Agricultural production: - quantity	19,366	4,266	9,565	21,479	3,328	12,421
- value	12,451	2,748	5,050	14,397	1,791	14,863
- % sold	0.85	0.37	0.59	0.87	0.36	0.77
- % consumed	0.05	0.42	0.26	0.09	0.44	0.17

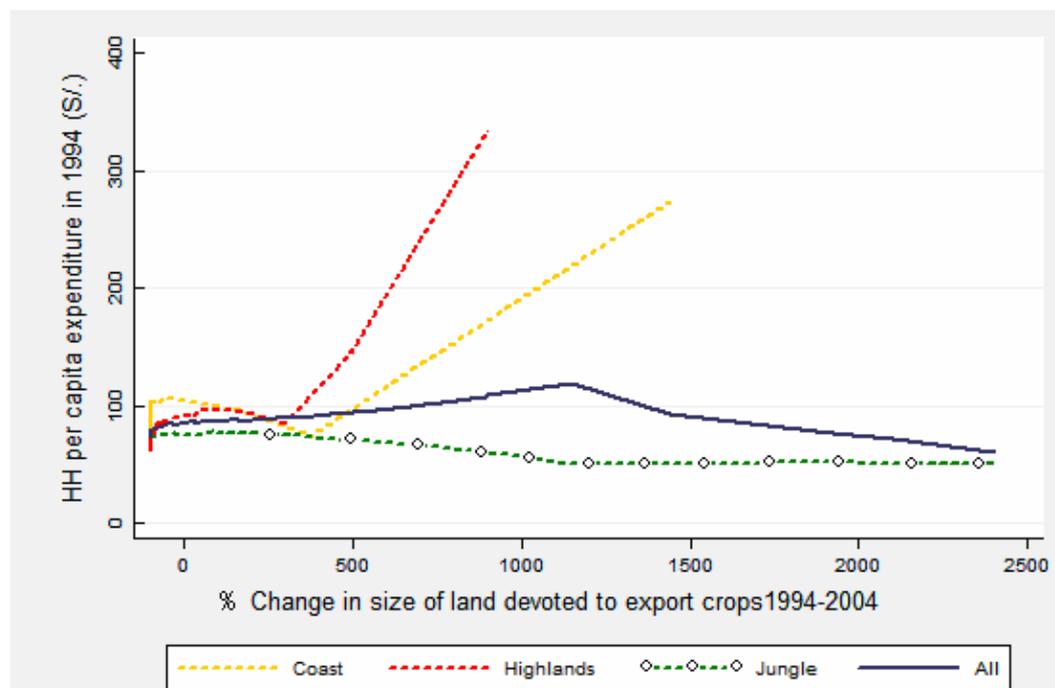
Table 4 continues

Table 4 (con't)
Summary statistics from the LSMS/PETT Panel

	1994			2004		
	Coast	Highlands	Jungle	Coast	Highlands	Jungle
Production (con't)						
Agricultural subproducts: - quantity		387	2,604	275	556	2,013
- value		166	2,586	170	348	1,047
- % sold		0.44	0.84	0.40	0.08	0.51
- % consumed		0.55	0.12	0.60	0.82	0.49
Pecuarian production: - quantity	-11.7	-7.5	-20.8	-9.0	-10.5	-55.4
- value	958	651	574	929	1,099	1,017
- % sold	0.41	0.47	0.38	0.61	0.66	0.41
- % consumed	0.57	0.47	0.57	0.39	0.33	0.57
Expenditure and poverty						
Monthly p.c. expenditure (S/.)	125	74	77	174	79	97
Real p.c. expenditure (S/.)				104	47	58
Negative shock in last 2 yrs				0.10	0.24	0.19
Change in expenditures (%)				64.9	40.9	68.8
Change in expenditures (% -medians)				23.2	9.9	24.6
N	73	315	124	73	315	124

Note: Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT. Mean values reported in cells.

Figure 2
Change in size of land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004



Notes: Lowess regressions with bandwidth of 0.8. Analysis considered, as a maximum, a 2500 per cent change in land devoted to exports, eliminating 9 observations with extreme right values. In addition, 12 households that produce export crops in 2004 but not 1994 are excluded since we cannot estimate a percentage change.

Source: Authors' calculations. Data from subsample of all households that can be linked across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

the main type of crops in the jungle, and legumes (kidney beans and peas) have significantly increased their incidence in the highlands and jungle. Figure 2 reveals that this change in farm activity is occurring primarily among wealthier households in the coast and highlands, while change in land devoted to export crops is independent of 1994 income in the jungle. This likely reflects higher fixed costs of switching to irrigated crops as well as the stronger relationship between climate and income in dry regions.

Table 5 provides additional information regarding the specific nature of crop adoption over the period. Unfortunately, the structure of the questionnaire in 1994 allows the respondent to specify a maximum of eleven crops while the 2004 survey only allows a maximum of six crops, which precludes us from recognizing as adopters those that produce only a minimal amount of the new export crop. As a result, we considered two possible definitions for an ‘adopter’. The first scenario involves ranking all harvested crops according to the fraction of land size devoted to each one and then considering only changes in the top six crops.³ The result was 347 adopter households (68 per cent of the sample), 134 of which are adopters of export-oriented crops. The second scenario considers all crops harvested in both years, such that any new crop introduced in the 2004 survey turns a household into an adopter, which yields 306 households (60 per cent).

Table 5
Crop choice, 1994 and 2004

LSMS 1994				PETT 2004			
Rank	Crop	No. of HH	%	Rank	Crop	No. of HH	%
1	Wheat	81	23.3	1	Yellow corn	105	30.3
2	Yellow corn	67	19.3	2	Potato	50	14.4
3	Potato	59	17.0	3	Lima beans	36	10.4
4	Barley	52	14.9	3	Wheat	36	10.4
5	Corn (chala)	33	9.5	5	Plantains	35	10.1
6	Green beans	28	8.0	6	Yuca	30	8.6
7	Rice	25	7.2	7	Beans	28	8.1
8	Yuca	24	6.9	8	Peas	22	6.3
9	Lima beans	20	5.7	9	Barley	20	5.8
10	Peas	18	5.2	10	Avocado	16	4.6
11	Alfalfa	15	4.3	11	Rice	13	3.7
11	Quinoa	15	4.3	12	Cocoa	10	2.9
13	Oca	13	3.7	12	Coffee	10	2.9
14	Dry potato	10	2.9	12	Coca	10	2.9
15	Onion	7	2.0	12	Mango	10	2.9
15	Coca	7	2.0	12	Orange	10	2.9
18	Corn (choclo)	7	2.0	17	Corn (chala)	8	2.3
19	Cotton	6	1.7	17	Quinoa	8	2.3
19	Peanut	5	1.4	19	Corn (choclo)	6	1.7
19	Tomato	5	1.4	19	Squash	6	1.7
19	Carrot	5	1.4				
N	348 observations			N	347 observations		

Note: There are slight differences in categories across years since different crop classifications used in the two surveys. PETT uses ENAHO classification and LSMS a broader set of categories.

Source: Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

³ Maize has been simplified as a uniform crop category when possible to avoid greater variation in results.

Table 6
Summary statistics in 1994 and 2004, adopters versus non-adopters

	1994				2004			
	All adopters	Others	New exporters	Others	All adopters	Others	New exporters	Others
Land size								
Median size (m ²)	20,000	19,000	30,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	30,000	10,000
Median size with crops (m ²)	15,000	15,000	21,000	12,500	12,450	10,000	25,000	10,000
Mean size (m ²)	45,590	31,901	64,516	33,389	46,063	24,348	66,609	30,166
Mean size with crops (m ²)	21,305	20,745	28,766	18,624	41,529	23,162	60,840	27,375
Proportion of land with crops	0.78	0.85	0.74	0.82	0.91	0.92	0.91	0.92
Crops								
Number of crops	3.86	3.54	3.99	3.68	3.02	1.95	3.33	2.46
Fruit	0.12	0.10	0.17	0.09	0.29	0.06	0.68	0.06
Industrials	0.12	0.01	0.22	0.04	0.17	0.01	0.46	0.01
Cereals	0.76	0.96	0.68	0.88	0.76	0.87	0.54	0.88
Vegetables	0.09	0.04	0.16	0.05	0.07	0.01	0.18	0.01
Legumes	0.16	0.30	0.10	0.24	0.29	0.14	0.11	0.28
Tubers	0.47	0.53	0.44	0.51	0.52	0.42	0.40	0.52
Forages	0.10	0.03	0.02	0.10	0.04	0.00	0.02	0.03
Pastures	0.06	0.02	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.02
Land title								
PETT	0.38	0.31	0.46	0.33	0.21	0.18	0.20	0.20
Other title					0.36	0.33	0.44	0.32
No property title	0.62	0.69	0.54	0.67	0.43	0.48	0.36	0.48
Time to nearest paved road					77	67	69	75
Time to nearest market (min.)					47	46	36	50
Demographics								
Household size	5.75	5.63	5.80	5.68	4.60	4.63	4.43	4.67
Different HH head in 2004					0.13	0.06	0.18	0.08
Age of HH head	47.20	45.40	47.80	46.20	56.30	55.30	57.30	55.5
Sex of HH head	0.91	0.92	0.90	0.91	0.88	0.93	0.83	0.91
Schooling years of HH head	4.60	4.70	4.70	4.60	5.00	4.70	4.80	4.90
Monthly p.c. expenditure (S/.)	79	88	100	76	87	86	107	80
Real p.c. expenditure (S/.)					52	51	64	48
Negative shock in last 2 yrs					0.23	0.16	0.25	0.19
N	347	165	126	386	347	165	126	386

Source: Authors' calculations. Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

Among these, 65 per cent (115 households) are adopters of export-oriented crops. The remainder of the analysis focuses on the second definition of adopter since it makes use of all possible information and is therefore more likely to pick up genuine crop adoption.

Based on this definition, there is a clear movement from traditional crops to both long-term and short-term export crops such as fruit and vegetables. For instance, the fraction of households producing wheat fell from 23 per cent to 10 per cent, and the fraction

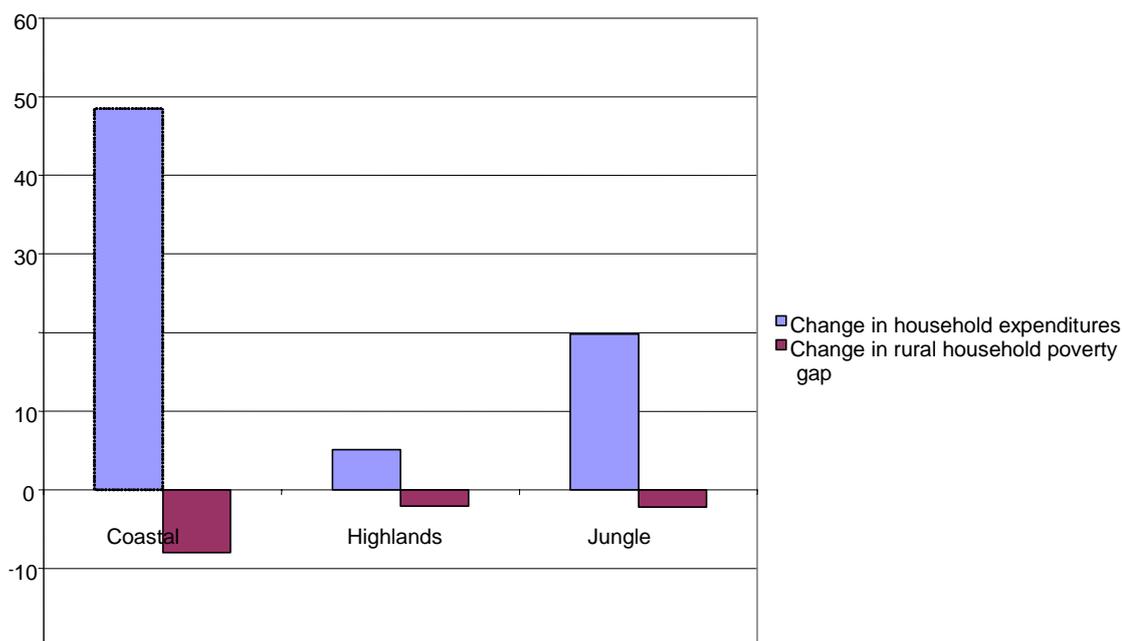
producing barley fell from 16 per cent to 6 per cent. Among traditional crops, only yellow corn increased significantly in production, moving from 19 per cent to 30 per cent of households.

Table 6 provides a glimpse of the differences between household characteristics and crop choices of those who adopted new crops or export crops in 1994 and 2004. Both the mean and median land sizes of export adopters were larger than those of all adopters, and all adopters were larger than non-adopters. The proportion of land cropped increased for all categories over the period. In addition, the average number of crops produced fell for all categories, indicating a move towards greater specialization. A higher percentage of new exporters had title to property (64 per cent) in 2004, compared to 52 per cent for those not classified as new exporters. On the positive side, monthly per capita expenditures were substantially higher for new exporters in both 1994 and 2004 than 'others', while all adopters expenditures increased at the same time that expenditures of 'others' declined slightly such that there was little difference between expenditures for 'all adopters' and 'others' in 2004 (87-86). Finally, adopters of new crops experienced more negative shocks in 2003-04 than did non-adopters, suggesting that there is a higher risk associated with undertaking a change in crop production structure.

The second element of interest relates more directly to changes in poverty that took place during this period. We are interested in whether those households that experienced changes in product prices and were both able to—and chose to—respond experienced an increase in real income. For some this could mean a movement out of absolute poverty, while for others it implies moving further above the poverty line. Using monthly per capita expenditures as an indicator of household income, the summary statistics in Table 4 and Appendix III suggest that conditions improved for coastal households, and changed little for households the highlands, the most impoverished region. The relationships are also illustrated in Figure 3. The situation in the jungle is less clear. While the variance as well as the mean of household income increased in both the coast and the jungle, in the poorer of the two regions—the jungle—this rise in inequality resulted in a significant increase in the fraction of households below the poverty line, reflecting the general vulnerability of households in this part of the country. In the highlands, there is almost no noticeable change in poverty, either in terms of the poverty gap or fraction of households below the poverty line. The highlands result is not surprising inasmuch as this region is substantially more insulated from national markets, its altitude and climate preclude the adoption of the new export type crops, and the low level of income and assets prevent residents from being able to change.

The fact that in the jungle region where export crop adoption was highest, average expenditures increased at the same time as the fraction of households below the poverty line suggests one of two possibilities: Either high variance in the returns to crop adoption, or high returns to crop adoption along with a decline in the returns to traditional crops. The latter story implies that the degree of traditional crop subsidization was particularly high in the jungle region, which could arise from higher average marketing costs given the remoteness of households in this region. In particular, price distortions were likely to be higher in the jungle relative to the highlands and the coast on account of the government's traditional policy of farmgate pricing, or guaranteeing a price per unit independent of location, which was abolished in the 1990s (Table 1). Our empirical analysis of the returns to crop adoption will help distinguish between these two scenarios.

Figure 3
Changes in household expenditure and poverty gap by region, 1994-2004



Source: Authors' calculations. Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

7 Empirical analysis of crop adoption

To test hypotheses regarding determinants of crop adoption, we examine the interaction between specific household characteristics and price incentives to re-orient production to export industries. The first specific hypothesis we explored is whether changes in household crop cultivation were influenced by the presence of legal ownership rights of the household. To do so, we used variation in household ownership rights stemming from regional variation in programme activity of the Peruvian rural land titling programme, PETT. Between 1994 and 1998, PETT distributed property titles to over 1.1 million rural households, one of the largest formalization programme targeted to rural areas in the developing world. As shown in Table 4 and Appendix IV, approximately 20 per cent of households in our sample received a land title through the PETT programme in the late 1990s, the majority of which resided in the highlands where the bulk of programme activity took place. By 2004, 35 per cent had acquired a title independently of the programme and approximately 45 per cent of households in our sample still had no legal ownership rights to their land. As indicated by the rate of non-PETT titles in 1994, virtually all new titles obtained between 1994 and 2004 resulted from the PETT programme.

We examine more formally determinants of changes in the amount of land devoted to crops destined for export markets by running the following fixed effects regression that controls for differences in production choices within each of eight climate zones (c) based on temperature and altitude:

$$crop_adoption_{ic} = \alpha + \beta_0 (Pr_{pc}) + \beta_1 (T_{ic}) + \beta_2 (C_{ic}) + \beta_3 (M_{ic}) + \beta_4 (P_{ic}) + \beta_5 (X_{ic}) + \mu_c + \varepsilon_{ic}$$

The regression analysis considers four measures of change in crop choices for household i in climate zone c between 1994 and 2004 as outcome variables in the above equation: change in hectares of land devoted to export-oriented crops; change in fraction of land devoted to export crops; change in fraction of cultivated land devoted to export crops and whether the household introduced any export-oriented crop by the 2004 survey.⁴ The right-hand side variables of interest are agricultural product prices, property rights, access to product markets, climate, and household demographic characteristics. Hence, Pr is a vector of agricultural product prices in 1996 and 2004. We consider the role of changes in prices that occurred during the period as a result of general increased openness and tariff reductions using the 1996 and 2004 prices of the most widely grown traditional crop (destined primarily for domestic markets) in the province in 1994, which encompasses nine separate products. Crop status as import-competing or export-oriented was determined following criteria of volume and FOB amounts according to data provided by the National Superintendence of Tax Administration (SUNAT) and the ministry of agriculture (General Direction of Agrarian Information) for the period December 2004-05. Import-competing (import) crops were defined as all crops that were not exported abroad at all or represented an insignificant amount of exports. The most common crop by province was determined by aggregating frequencies for each household crop at the province level from the 1994 LSMS. In case of a tie, the crop to which more land was devoted in the province was selected. Monthly crop prices were obtained from the ministry of agriculture based on price series between January 1996 and December 2004 constructed from data from regional agricultural directions.⁵ In total, real prices of the most common products fell over the period for about half of the sample and rose for the other half. Pr also contains the interaction of 2004 prices with acquisition of a PETT property title and distance to nearest paved road.

In addition, T is a vector of binary indicators of whether the household possessed formal title to its land in 1994 and whether it received a title through the government titling programme between 1994 and 2004; C includes altitude and mean rain fall (mapped to climate data from GPS data collected by survey-takers); M includes distance to nearest paved road, distance to province capital, and urbanicity; and X includes number of household members in 1994 and 2004, age and education level of household head in 1994, and household expenditures per person in 1994. Finally, we control for the following characteristics of household production (P): land holdings in 1994 and 2004, fraction of farm produce sold in 1994, land devoted to export crop production in 1994, financial losses due to drought or weather conditions during the past year; whether household belonged to a local producers' association; and binary indicators of the top two crops categories produced.⁶ Although land and household size are both potentially endogenous, we include them to increase the precision of the estimates and run robustness checks excluding these variables.

⁴ Considering only the fraction of cultivated land yields virtually identical results.

⁵ For a few crops prices are only available since 1997. Hence, the earliest price available (in most cases January 1996) was used as a proxy for the 1996 price. Prices in 2004 are taken from May since this was the month of the PETT survey. All estimates are robust to using annual averages in place of monthly data.

⁶ Categories are: vegetables, legumes, fruit, cereals, grasses, tubers, and industrial crops.

Table 7
Determinants of export crop adoption, 1994-2004

	Adopter of any export crop, 2004	Change in fraction of land to export crops, 1994-2004	Change in fraction of cultivated land to export crops 1994-2004	Change in ha. of land to export crops 1994-2004
PETT title, 2004	0.676 [0.172]***	0.117 [0.094]	0.122 [0.084]	2.402 [1.189]**
Price of most common import crop by province (1994)	0.212 [0.139]	-0.015 [0.095]	-0.176 [0.086]**	-2.788 [1.214]**
Price of most common import crop by province (2004)	-0.197 [0.099]**	-0.148 [0.066]**	-0.099 [0.059]*	1.208 [0.840]
(Price of most common import crop by province (2004))*(PETT title in 2004)	-0.675 [0.188]***	-0.080 [0.117]	-0.078 [0.105]	-2.139 [1.483]
(Price of most common import crop by province (2004))*(Distance to capital)	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	-0.007 [0.006]
Mean altitude of CCPP	0.000 [0.000]***	0.000 [0.000]***	0.000 [0.000]***	0.000 [0.000]
Mean precipitation level of CCPP	0.060 [0.014]***	0.022 [0.008]***	0.027 [0.007]***	0.293 [0.103]***
Belongs to a producers' group	-0.017 [0.063]	0.091 [0.047]*	0.065 [0.043]	1.249 [0.604]**
Time (min.) to nearest paved highway	-0.001 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.007 [0.004]*
Time to capital of CCPP (hrs)	0.016 [0.006]**	0.003 [0.005]	0.003 [0.004]	0.022 [0.061]
HH head age, 1994	-0.002 [0.002]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.009 [0.013]
Household size, 1994	-0.001 [0.009]	0.007 [0.006]	-0.005 [0.005]	-0.038 [0.074]
Household size, 2004	0.000 [0.010]	-0.001 [0.006]	-0.006 [0.006]	-0.105 [0.083]
Level of education attained by HH head, 1994	0.012 [0.021]	0.006 [0.015]	0.017 [0.013]	-0.110 [0.188]
Log of per capita expenditure, 1994	0.023 [0.037]	0.060 [0.024]**	0.005 [0.021]	-0.016 [0.300]
HH head is another person, 2004	0.029 [0.053]	0.042 [0.036]	0.071 [0.032]**	1.134 [0.452]**
Size of land in 1994 (m ²)	0.000 [0.000]*	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]*	0.000 [0.000]*
Size of land devoted to export crops, 1994	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]***	0.000 [0.000]***	0.000 [0.000]
Per cent of agricultural value sold, 1994	-0.119 [0.074]	-0.088 [0.048]*	-0.128 [0.043]***	-1.046 [0.606]*
Property title in 1994	0.066 [0.046]	0.001 [0.028]	0.011 [0.025]	0.447 [0.360]

Table 7 continues

Table 7 (con't)
Determinants of export crop adoption, 1994-2004

	Adopter of any export crop, 2004	Change in fraction of land to export crops, 1994-2004	Change in fraction of cultivated land to export crops 1994-2004	Change in ha. of land to export crops 1994-2004
One of top 2 crops in 1994 is: - industrial	0.038 [0.101]	-0.269 [0.066]***	-0.324 [0.059]***	-2.991 [0.837]***
- cereal	-0.080 [0.061]	0.134 [0.037]***	0.066 [0.033]**	0.497 [0.467]
- vegetables	0.236 [0.108]**	-0.081 [0.052]	-0.053 [0.046]	-0.268 [0.657]
- legume	-0.016 [0.054]	0.023 [0.034]	0.018 [0.030]	-0.225 [0.429]
- tuber	0.039 [0.043]	0.032 [0.028]	0.003 [0.026]	0.404 [0.362]
- grass	0.111 [0.120]	0.058 [0.062]	-0.006 [0.055]	-0.560 [0.786]
Drought losses in HH in last 2 yrs	0.208 [0.113]	0.076 [0.047]	0.071 [0.042]*	-0.418 [0.596]
Constant		-0.317 [0.178]*	0.173 [0.160]	1.093 [2.266]
Observations	502	512	512	512
R-squared		0.29	0.34	0.23

Notes: Robust standard errors in brackets: * significant at 10 per cent; ** significant at 5 per cent; *** significant at 1 per cent. Coefficient estimates from ordinary least squares regressions.

CCPP = geographic centre of village (GPS measurements taken at time of PETT survey).

Source: Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

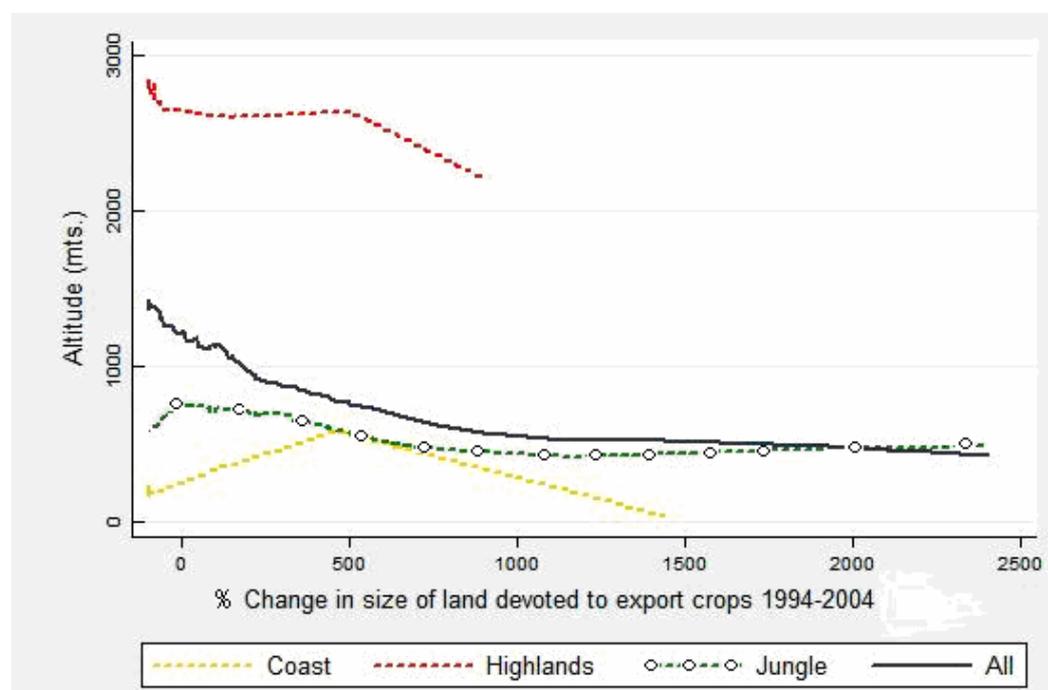
The regressions include fixed effects for each of eight climatic zones. The results are presented in Table 7. In the first column, for the binary outcome of whether any export-oriented crop was adopted, a probit model was run with the same set of controls. The estimates in column 1 suggest that household production of export crops increased in response to falling prices of grains in the domestic market. A 10 per cent reduction in the price of a province-level traditional crop is associated with a 12 per cent increase in the likelihood that a producer begins growing fruit or vegetables. With respect to ownership status, we observe that possession of a property title is also a strong predictor of changes in production. Households that acquired a property title between 1994 and 2004 are an estimated 68 per cent more likely to begin producing an export-oriented crop. Furthermore, households that received property titles through the government titling programme appear to be more responsive to changes in price incentives. In particular, the coefficient on the interaction term between province-level import prices and participation in the titling programme is positive and statistically significant. Finally, market access in terms of hours of travelling time to the district capital is a strong predictor of crop adoption: with each additional 10 hours of travel time, households are 16 per cent less likely to switch from a traditional to an export-oriented crop.

With the continuous measure of intensity of adoption, the relationships are not as strong. For all four outcome measures, crop adoption falls with the price of the most common traditional crop produced in the province, as measured in either 2004 or 1996. However, the effect of a property title on the amount of land devoted to export crops only shows up as significant when the outcome is measured in absolute terms rather than percentage terms. Not surprisingly, climate characteristics including average rainfall and altitude are strong predictors of changes in production. Households that live in high altitudes and those with little rainfall are significantly less likely to begin producing fruit or vegetables or expand production of these crops. This relationship is clearly shown in Figure 4. Similarly, production choices in 1994 are strong predictors of production choices in 2004, reflecting both switching costs as well as unobservable determinants of relative returns to specific products.

More surprisingly, agricultural losses due to drought significantly *increase* the likelihood that a household adopts a new crop. Although the loss in income from a shock to production presumably works against the household's ability to alter or expand production, response to risk and loss of long-term investments appear to encourage new crop choices so that the net effect is positive.

While likely to matter, the influence of demographic characteristics such as education are swamped by the more fundamental influences of climate and prices such that their effect on crop adoption cannot be detected in the regression estimates. Meanwhile,

Figure 4
Per cent change in size of land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004



Notes: Lowess regressions with bandwidth of 0.8. Analysis considered, as a maximum, a 2500 per cent change in land devoted to exports, eliminating nine observations with extreme right values. In addition, 12 households that produce export crops in 2004 but not 1994 are excluded since we cannot estimate a percentage change.

Source: Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

membership in a local producers' association is also a significant determinant of increased in export-oriented production, which could reflect an important role of spillovers in technology adoption.

Because production choices are endogenous to many household characteristics, we instrumented for changes in the amount of land devoted to export crop production by making use of household participation in the PETT titling programme and province-specific changes in the price of imported agricultural products. We estimated the following instrumental variables (IV) model, where \hat{A}_{ic} is predicted crop adoption of household i based on the first-stage regression estimate detailed in the first equation:

$$\begin{aligned} crop_adoption_{ic} &= \alpha + \beta_0 (Z_{ic}) + \beta_1 (T_{ic}) + \beta_2 (C_{ic}) + \beta_3 (M_{ic}) + \beta_4 (P_{ic}) + \beta_5 (X_{ic}) + \mu_c + \varepsilon_{ic} \\ \ln(pc_consumption)_{ic} &= \gamma + \lambda_1 (\hat{A}_{ic}) + \lambda_2 (T_{ic}) + \lambda_3 (C_{ic}) + \lambda_4 (M_{ic}) + \lambda_5 (P_{ic}) + \lambda_6 (X_{ic}) + \mu_c + \varepsilon_{ic} \end{aligned}$$

The following instruments are contained in Z : province-level agricultural product prices in 1996 and 2004, whether the household received a property title through the government titling programme between 1994 and 2004, and 2004 prices interacted with receipt of a property title and distance to nearest paved road. The level effect of distance to nearest paved road and other indicators of market access, along with ownership rights prior to the government programme, are included in both regressions in the set of control variables. Hence, our identification strategy makes use of participation in the titling programme and variation in product prices, which we argue are exogenous to other determinants of crop choice conditional on baseline property rights in 1994, and the differential impact of this variation on households based on distance to market and ownership of land.

The regression results in Table 7 reveal that the instruments have statistical power in predicting variation in crop adoption, the first requirement for instruments to be valid. However, since the first-stage F-statistic falls between 5.79 and 7.12, there is potential concern over 'weak instruments' bias. In addition, identification of the causal effect of changes in agricultural production in the above set of regressions requires that the instruments (Z_{ic}) be uncorrelated with the household expenditures conditional on the observables contained in T , C , M , P and X . If differences in the likelihood of receiving a property title are positively related to other factors that encourage changes in production conditional on T , C , M , P and X , then the estimates will overstate the true effect of crop adoption on income and poverty. With respect to prices, this is unlikely to present a problem since product prices are measured at the national level and reflect changes in prices driven by global markets which are unaffected by local supply decisions. Variation across provinces in the modal crop is therefore likely to reflect region-specific comparative advantage in the production of certain plant types and possibly institutional infrastructure that favours specific products.

8 Effect of crop adoption on income and poverty

In the second stage of the analysis, we study the returns to crop adoption by estimating the effect of changes in production on household income and poverty status. Our first outcome of interest is the natural log of per capita household expenditure in 2004

conditional on log expenditures in 1994.⁷ Expenditure data collected in the 1994 and 2004 surveys were designed to include consumption from own production and income in kind. We also consider the effect of crop adoption on poverty status by classifying households as impoverished if per capita income falls below 100 soles per month, which corresponds to the international standard for ‘absolute poverty line’ of US\$1/day.

Table 8
Crop adoption and changes in household consumption, 1994-2004

	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004	Whether extremely poor, 2004	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004
Change in fraction of all land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004	1.441 [0.752]*	-1.652 [0.819]**		
Change in fraction of cultivated land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004			1.694 [0.778]**	
Change in ha. of land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004				0.106 [0.059]*
Mean altitude of CCPP	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]**	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]
Mean precipitation level of CCPP	-0.016 [0.023]	0.046 [0.025]*	0.028 [0.026]	-0.018 [0.024]
Belongs to a producers' group	-0.001 [0.140]	0.013 [0.151]	0.026 [0.134]	0.018 [0.139]
Time to capital of CCPP (hrs)	0.021 [0.012]*	0.039 [0.019]**	-0.019 [0.012]	-0.013 [0.012]
Time (min.) to nearest paved highway	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]
HH head age, 1994	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.003]	0.002 [0.003]	0.001 [0.003]
Household size, 1994	-0.017 [0.015]	-0.008 [0.016]	0.035 [0.016]**	0.027 [0.014]*
Household size, 2004	-0.154 [0.016]***	0.111 [0.019]***	-0.144 [0.018]***	-0.142 [0.018]***
Level of education attained by HH head, 1994	0.088 [0.036]**	-0.052 [0.039]	0.063 [0.041]	0.102 [0.037]***
Log of per capita expenditure, 1994	0.188 [0.072]***	-0.050 [0.081]	0.264 [0.061]***	0.268 [0.059]***
HH head is another person, 2004	-0.139 [0.097]	0.081 [0.093]	-0.209 [0.115]*	-0.192 [0.116]*
Size of land in 1994 (m ²)	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]
Size of land devoted to export crops, 1994	0.000 [0.000]**	0.000 [0.000]*	0.000 [0.000]**	0.000 [0.000]
Per cent of agricultural value sold, 1994	-0.236 [0.128]*	-0.171 [0.138]	-0.312 [0.148]**	0.213 [0.126]*
Property title in 1994	0.076 [0.070]	0.025 [0.076]	0.057 [0.074]	0.036 [0.076]

Table 8 continues

⁷ Data were converted to 2004 prices using the consumer price index estimated by the Peruvian National Statistical Institute on a monthly basis.

Table 8 (con't)
Crop adoption and changes in household consumption, 1994-2004

	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004	Whether extremely poor, 2004	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004	Log p.c. expenditure, 2004
One of top 2 crops in 1994 is: - industrial	-0.148 [0.252]	-0.220 [0.303]	-0.012 [0.288]	-0.222 [0.233]
- cereal	-0.369 [0.122]***	0.442 [0.131]***	-0.268 [0.096]***	-0.232 [0.090]**
- vegetables	-0.003 [0.139]	-0.046 [0.142]	-0.019 [0.140]	-0.080 [0.130]
- legume	-0.221 [0.084]***	0.195 [0.071]***	-0.223 [0.088]**	-0.174 [0.085]**
- tuber	-0.053 [0.076]	0.075 [0.084]	-0.020 [0.073]	0.049 [0.077]
- grass	0.273 [0.170]	-0.230 [0.206]	-0.326 [0.155]**	-0.456 [0.135]***
Drought losses in HH in last 2 yrs	0.289 [0.127]**	0.291 [0.055]***	-0.301 [0.132]**	-0.142 [0.120]
Constant	4.558 [0.497]***		4.019 [0.388]***	3.956 [0.375]***
Observations	511	508	511	511
R-squared	0.35		0.28	0.32

Notes: Robust standard errors in brackets: * significant at 10 per cent; ** significant at 5 per cent; *** significant at 1 per cent.

Source: Coefficient estimates from ordinary least squares regressions. Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT.

As far as the titling programme is concerned, we treat receipt of a property title between 1994 and 2004 as exogenous to household production choices conditional on 1994 household income, tenure status in 1994 and geographic and production characteristics of the household. This assumption is supported by previous analyses of programme expansion and participation criteria, detailed in Field and Torero (2005). Although possession of a land title in 1994 is likely to be correlated with household wealth, assets and use of technology, conditional on climate zone and 1994 expenditures, participation in the PETT programme appears to be independent of household production or other observables.

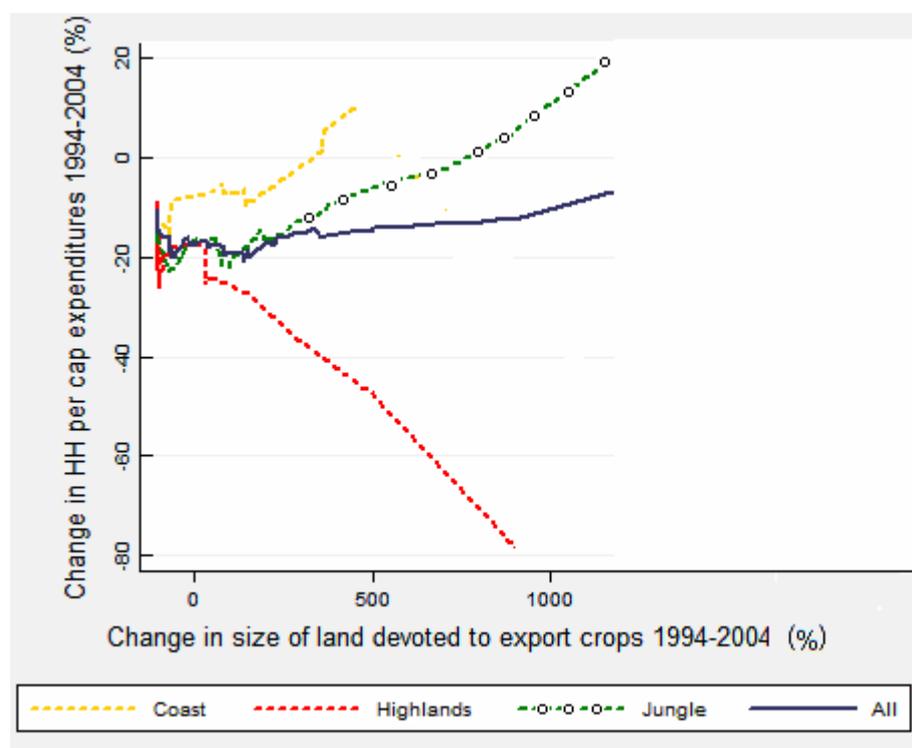
The instrumental variable (IV) regression results are presented in Table 8. Not surprisingly, household size, head's education level, and household expenditures in 1994 are the strongest predictors of expenditures and poverty status in 2004. Furthermore, households whose principal product in 1994 is a grain do significantly worse in terms of expenditures and poverty status, even conditional on climate zone and changes in production over the period. Negative shocks over the past ten years, particularly agricultural losses from weather shocks, are also likely to drive a household into poverty. These characteristics, along with climate zone fixed effects, soak up most of the variation in per capita expenditures and poverty classification in 2004.

However, results from the IV regressions also indicate high returns to expansion of production and adoption of new export-oriented crops. Based on all three continuous measures of expansion in production, our estimates indicate that switching towards

export-oriented crops is a significant determinant of growth in expenditures over the period. According to the estimate in Column 1, a 10 per cent expansion in the fraction of land devoted to export crops corresponds to a 14 percentage point increase in expenditures per capita. The same change is associated with an estimated 16 per cent reduction in the likelihood of being classified as extremely poor in 2004 (Column 2). These estimates are independent of whether changes in production are measured in terms of cultivated or total land holdings (Column 3). Similarly, Column 4 suggests that each additional hectare of land devoted to export-oriented production is associated with an 11 percentage point increase in household consumption. These changes are illustrated graphically in Figure 5, which shows a steady improvement in estimated income with the amount of land dedicated to export-oriented production marked by the blue line. The plotted lines also indicate a higher rate of return in coast and jungle areas, although the confidence bands are too large for interpretation in the regional graphs, particularly for changes in production greater than 500 m², of which there are very few.

Based on all three continuous It is important to note in all of these IV regression results, the possible role of bias due to weak instruments in light of the fact that the first-stage F-statistic does not surpass the critical value believed to indicate sufficiently strong instruments (Staiger and Stock 1994). Hence, the results on poverty and household expenditures should be taken as suggestive rather than solid evidence of the high returns to crop adoption in rural Peru over this period.

Figure 5
Change in size of land devoted to export crops, 1994-2004, %



Notes: Lowess regressions with bandwidth of 0.8. Analysis considered as a maximum a 2500 per cent change in land devoted to exports and a 300 per cent change of expenditures, eliminating 18 observations with extreme right values. In addition, 12 households that produce export crops in 2004 but not 1994 are excluded since we cannot estimate a percentage change.

Source: Data from subsample of all households that can be linked to across the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT. Mean values reported in cells.

9 Conclusions

This paper examined rural household decisionmaking in Peru over the period of 1994-2004. It focused on how these households responded to the changes in economic environment accompanying economic reforms of the period which reduced domestic market distortions, opened up the economy and changed relative prices between traditional agricultural crops and those produced primarily for export. The econometric results confirmed that changes in these relative prices increased the likelihood that households would shift production towards these new export products. These tendencies appear to be strengthened if the household obtained title to their property over the period, which indicates that weak property institutions may inhibit the degree to which households can reap the benefits of a globalized market place. Additional work is needed to disentangle the possible channels through which ownership security could matter for crop adoption, which has relevance for the steps necessary to counter the negative influence of weak institutions on growth. Adoption of these crops was also found to be dependent upon geographical characteristics such as altitude and rainfall, initial cropping pattern and membership in a technical assistance group. Interestingly, these factors appeared to dominate the effects of head of household characteristics.

We then examined how changes in cropping pattern related to the changes in household expenditures and poverty. Our results indicated high returns to adoption of export products and that households which began producing an export-oriented crop over the period under review were much less likely to be classified as impoverished in 2004. The obvious implication is that those who were unable to alter production due to reasons such as geographical location, access to credit, or lacking title to their property continued to produce traditional crops and were not able to escape poverty. This finding reaffirms the idea that liberalizing markets must be accompanied by appropriate social programmes or institutional reforms directed to the unique situational problems of different subgroups in poverty if the broader poverty issue is to be improved.

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Appendix I: Construction of total household expenditures

The 1994 annual expenditure measure was built by 'Instituto CUANTO', the institution in charge of developing the Peruvian LSMS. The final expenditure variable assesses the total annual expenditures of all members in the household. It is divided among nine categories according to recurrence or periodicity of expenditures and their incidence in the basket of goods. Monthly per capita expenditure is calculated by the simple division of annual household expenditure by 12 divided by household size. The nine categories considered are the following:

- *Food, beverages and tobacco*: Includes all expenditures made in these categories during the last 15 days. Any self-produced or self-supplied item, and any payment in kind is included in the estimation. Results are multiplied by 26 to obtain annual figures.
- *Clothing and footwear*: Includes all clothing and footwear bought, self-produced or self-supplied during the last 3 months. Payments in kind are also considered. Results are multiplied by 4 to obtain annual figures.
- *Rents, fuel and electricity*: Includes nominal monthly payments for rent in case the dwelling is rented. For other property options (owned, by invasion, etc.) a hypothetical monthly rent is provided. Monthly payments for home taxes and utilities such as fuel, electricity or water are considered. Payments in kind are also included. Results are multiplied by 12 to obtain annual figures.
- *Pieces of furniture, belongings and maintenance of dwelling*: Includes all personal care and cleaning products bought during the last 15 days. Also, accounts for home furniture and kitchen products and appliances bought in the last 3 months. Payments in kind and self-supplied items are also considered. Finally, this category includes payments for housecleaning services. Results are multiplied by 26 and 3 accordingly, in order to obtain annual figures.
- *Health and medicines*: Includes all expenditures related to health services and medicines during the last 3 months. Results are multiplied by 4 to obtain annual figures.
- *Transport and communication*: Includes all expenditures made in public transport, communication and gas during the last 15 days. Expenditures incurred during the last 3 months in car maintenance or repair, national or international trips, and purchase of motorized vehicles are also considered. Finally, monthly telephone bills (landlines or cellular phones) are also included. Results are multiplied by 26, 3 and 12 accordingly, in order to obtain annual figures.
- *Leisure, cultural and educational services*: Includes all expenditures incurred in recreational activities during the last 3 months. Also, expenditures in books, newspapers, magazines, subscriptions to journals, or purchases of electronic items (camera, radio, TV, etc.) are considered. 'Educational services' comprise tuition payments made to universities, schools or kindergartens, and any additional expenditure incurred in those institutions (transport, snacks, school supplies, etc.). Results are multiplied by 4 and 9 (length of academic year) in order to obtain annual figures.
- *Other goods and services*: Includes all additional purchases or consumptions incurred in the last 15 days, quarter or year. Some examples are food eaten in

restaurants, purchase of a particular electronic item, insurance premiums, etc. Results are multiplied accordingly to obtain annual figures.

- *Transfers*: Includes any monetary transfer incurred in the last year such as alimony, contributions to social security, donations, consignments, etc. Figures are already expressed in annual terms.

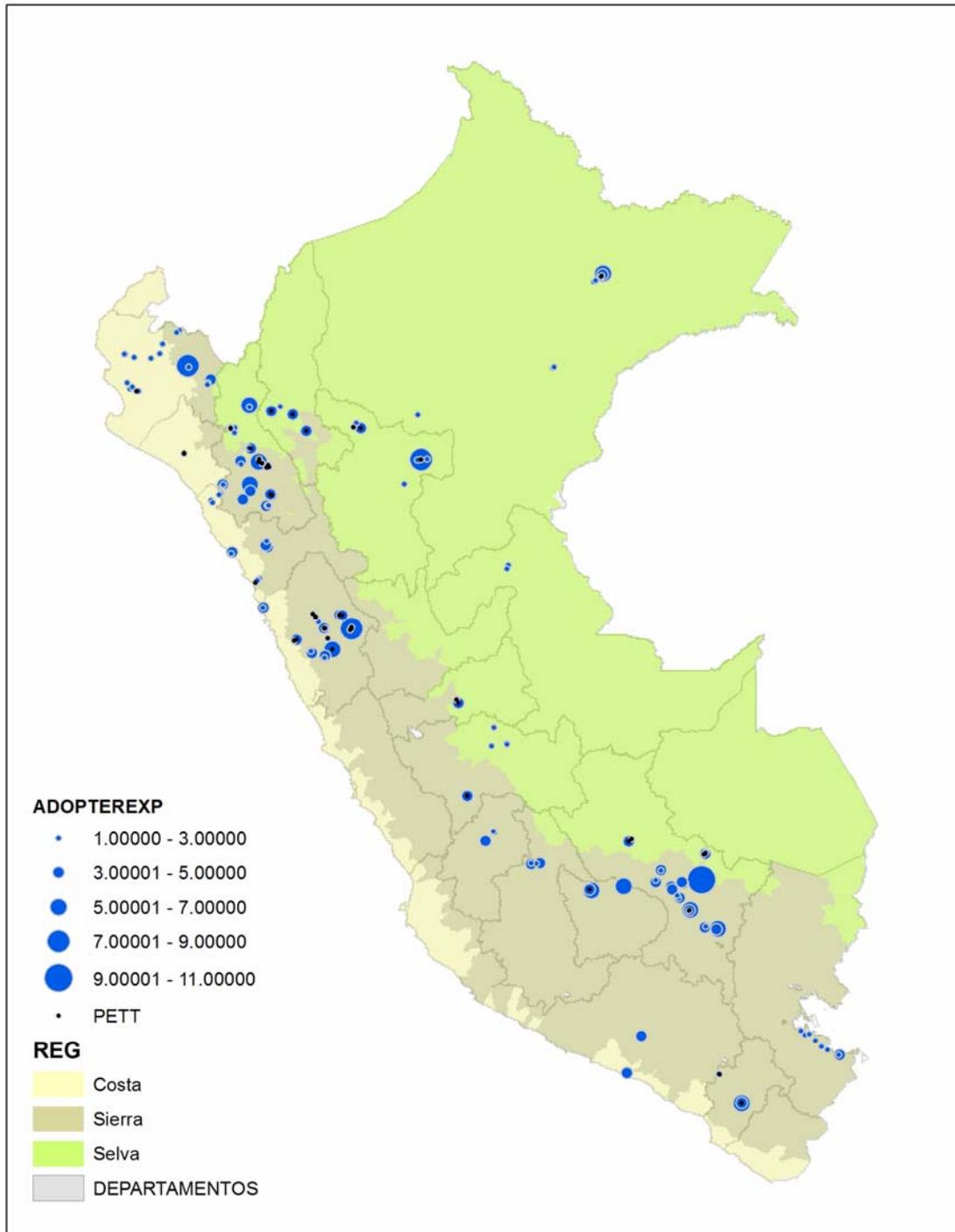
The 2004 expenditure measure was built following the same criteria used to construct the 1994 expenditure variable. However, the ‘expenditure module’ in the 2004 survey was shorter than the one in 1994. For this reason, a typical expenditure category in 1994 includes a greater set of items compared to a category in 2004. Although there is no change in the wording between the two surveys, the data in 1994 presents more detailed information.

The expenditure module in 2004 is divided according to periodicity or recurrence of expenditures:

- Last 15 days: Includes aggregates for ‘food and non-alcoholic beverages consumed in the household’, ‘cigarettes and alcoholic beverages’, ‘personal care and cleaning products’, and ‘transport’. Results are multiplied by 2 to obtain monthly figures.
- Last month: Includes monthly bills or expenditures paid for telephone (landline), public telephone, cellular phone, electricity, water and internet. Information is already provided in monthly terms.
- Last 3 months: Includes aggregates for ‘clothing and footwear’ and ‘other goods and services’ (such as newspapers, magazines, car repair, recreation, etc.). Result is divided by 3 to obtain monthly figures.
- Last 12 months: Includes aggregates for ‘educational services’ (tuitions, school supplies, registration fees, etc.) and ‘transfers’ (alimony, child support, donations, any big electronic or furniture purchase, etc.). Result is divided by 12 in order to obtain monthly figures.
- Health expenditures during last 12 months: Includes aggregates for ‘adults’ health expenditures’ (medicines, consultations, medical equipment, etc.), and ‘kids’ health expenditures’ (medicines, vaccines, consultations, etc.). Result is divided by 12 to obtain monthly figures.

Finally, a monthly hypothetical rent is included in the final estimation. Respondents are asked for a market rent value of their homes in case the dwelling is owned, partially owned, owned by invasion, etc. This value is upper-bounded in case the amount provided exceeds 30 per cent of total expenditure.

Appendix II: Distribution of sample, property titles and change in crop adoption



Source: GIS coordinates and crop adoption data from the 1994 Peruvian LSMS and the 2004 PETT. Authors' calculations.

Appendix III: Regional household monthly p.c. expenditures and poverty⁽¹⁾

Region	1994		2004	
	Sol	%	Sol	%
Coast (n = 73)				
Per capita mean HH expenditures	125.20		173.70	
Expenditure range	21.70 to 1,000.60		30.70 to 1,170.00	
Standard deviation	134.20		195.10	
HH below poverty line ⁽²⁾		56.2		45.2
Mean poverty gap ⁽³⁾	40.10		32.10	
Highlands (n = 314)				
Per capita mean HH expenditures	73.80		78.90	
Expenditure range	102.00 to 850.30		8.70 to 476.70	
Standard deviation	79.30		67.30	
HH below poverty line		80.3		83.4
Mean poverty gap	49.50		47.60	
Jungle (n = 1124)				
Per capita mean HH expenditures	76.80		96.70	
Expenditure range	9.90 to 448.80		12.10 to 343.50	
Standard deviation	55.10		67.80	
HH below poverty line		65.3		80.6
Mean poverty gap	43.30		41.10	

Notes: (1) Poverty line is estimated to be 100 sol. per capita per month, based on the UN poverty line of one dollar a day;

(2) Households in poverty/regional sample size, n;

(3) S/100 minus mean per capita HH expenditures among households with income below S/100.

Appendix IV: Land ownership, 1994 and 2004



Source: Land ownership data from the 2005 PETT. Authors' calculations.