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LAND USE AND SPATIAL JUSTICE IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES: LESSONS FOR UKRAINE

The article summarizes the experience of Latin American countries in the field of transforming land relations from the point of view of social justice, forming the necessary space for the livelihood of peasants, ensuring their economic sovereignty and so on. It has been proved that free access to the land resources and control over them largely determine the overall potential of the development of rural areas and the social development of the country as a whole.

Studies have revealed persistent trends towards biased land distribution in the Global South and over-concentration in the hands of dominant groups and large agricultural enterprises. It has a strong destructive effect on the overall development of the countries in the region and is reflected in unequal spatial development, systematic infringement of the rights of peasants, limiting employment growth, spreading poverty, destruction of social cohesion, destabilization of food systems at the local, national and global levels, emergence of armed conflicts, etc.

The general threats of changes in land tenure and use in Ukraine related to the tendency to redistribute land resources in favor of the corporate sector, land over-concentration and landlessness of peasants are outlined; a number of factors contributing to the unbalanced distribution of land were identified, and the necessity of including the lessons of Latin

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American countries in the future social development of Ukraine, in the long term is substantiated⁴.

Keywords: *transformation of land relations, spatial justice, concentration of land resources, small farms, corporate sector of agrarian production, personal peasant farms, land use*

Introduction. Under the new UN Sustainable Development Agenda, equal access to land is considered a key precondition for achieving strategic goals such as poverty alleviation (Objective 1), eradication of hunger (Objective 2), and gender equality (Objective 5). This approach is based on the realization of the thesis that land provides a kind of financial security, as it is an asset, whose value has a steady tendency to gradually increase, and its effective use allows generating a steady income.

For indigenous peoples, land is not only a tangible asset, but also a kind of indicator of their cultural and spiritual identity. At the same time, today the opportunities for spatial development of this social group are the most vulnerable, since the indigenous peoples of the world and their local communities only have the opportunity to exercise ownership of 20% of land resources that rightfully belong to them [1].

From the point of view of the gender approach, ensuring women's access to land resources and control over their use contributes to the realization of numerous rights, considerably changing the nature of relations in personal, social and political life. Land owned by women guarantees her a certain economic sovereignty by expanding access to such financial resources as loans, obtaining the status of agricultural producers, encouraging her active participation in the functioning of political organizations, in making fateful decisions etc.

Local communities' land provides them with free access to water, which is extremely important in the context of climate change, and is a source of various resources needed to improve the well-being of community members (households). Apart from food and agricultural raw materials, they are used to collect firewood, roofing and fencing materials, medicinal plants and fodder, as well as to increase collective benefits from effective forest management and more. A significant number of peasant households in the world are deprived of land and any other assets, so they almost completely depend on communal land to meet basic necessities of life.

Thus, safe access to land resources and control over their use determine the overall potential of fair spatial development of rural areas and the pattern of a country's long-term social development as a whole. In our study, we **aimed** to summarize the trends of land transformation in Latin America in terms of social justice, shaping of the space for life and work, and guarantee of right on the means of living in rural areas in the context of recent changes in Ukraine's land legislation. These changes are associated with the threat of the peasants' landlessness, the narrowing of the farming sector in our country and redistribution of land resources in favor of certain dominant groups. Consideration

⁴ The publication was prepared as part of the research project on "Spatial justice in land use for sustainable rural development" (state registration No 0120U100816).



of spatial justice in the improvement of land relations testifies to real reforms in land tenure and land use in the public interest, creating fair access to land resources and public control over their use, which prevents excessive polarization of society and promotes its sustainable development.

Conceptual framework. Spatial inequality in land relations has many dimensions, and they are all related to the concentration of power. This is manifested in many forms: lack of protection of collective lands, lands of indigenous peoples, and all rural communities; fiscal policy, which determines the extractive use of natural resources; unequal distribution of benefits from land use and natural resources; repression of individuals [2–4] who organize to protect their rights and oppose activities that destroy their livelihood, soils and the environment, etc.

The main obstacle to real reforms in land tenure and use in public interest is the power of dominant groups, often supported by foreign resources (through channels such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, FAO, multinational corporations, regional development banks and bilateral programs) [5]. These groups commonly use the above mechanisms to establish control over land resources, monopolize power for further delay with the fair redistribution of land, and form powerful lobbying forces to promote legislation that institutionalizes their interests in land grabbing.

Many so-called land reforms in various countries were initiated and carried out by such dominant groups to satisfy their own interests, and not the interests of society, peasants and the poor of the rural population. Such reforms ignored the needs of the latter, leaving many social problems unresolved and a significant proportion of poor rural workers actually deprived of land. Often, in order to prevent or delay the fair redistribution of land resources, the dominant groups refer to the insufficient amount of land to transfer it to all willing rural dwellers and the economic infeasibility of land parceling into small plots. Although globally there are successful examples of land reforms that completely disprove this thesis.

In some countries, where dominant groups "let" the land into the production of export-oriented commercial crops, a small number of tenants were allowed to buy land from landlords on very unfavorable conditions. The result was the strengthening of the existing structure of rural power, which was presented to society as market oriented land transformations [5]. Such pseudo-reforms should not be equated with the redistribution of economic and political power carried out with the participation of peasants and in the interests of society. "A real agrarian reform involves deep changes in social and production structures and relations, and reformulation of anti-peasant legislation towards guaranteeing social ownership and direct land management" [6].

The inequality in access to land resources and control over their use in the countries of the Global South seems to be very revealing in this context. It is both a cause and a consequence of the over-polarized social structure in Latin America, and the extremely high poverty level and rural discrimination in the region.

Presenting main material. Most Latin American governments, regardless of their political beliefs, remain committed to the extractive production model of spatial

development [7], which is based on the use of natural resources and extraction of minerals in order to obtain significant amounts of raw materials as a key driver of economic development, mainly through intensification export. Rising commodity prices in the last century allowed many countries to attain unprecedented growth rates. At the same time, the recent decline in prices for hydrocarbon resources has demonstrated the reverse side of extractivism: increased vulnerability of the economy to global market fluctuations, aggravated land distribution conflicts, and deepened inequality.

In Latin America, land is usually considered a key - and in some places - the only asset of numerous rural households, which greatly determines their material well-being. Loss of land is a sufficient reason for renting a new plot of land and / or finding other places to work (mostly a temporary and unstable employment) to provide family members with basic food and other necessities. In this context, of special concern is the problem of excessive concentration of land resources, which is in most cases ignored in public policy, despite its destructive impact on economic and social development of the country in general and rural areas in particular.

Results of the analysis of national agrarian censuses of 15 Latin American countries show that 1% of the largest agricultural enterprises in the region accumulate more than half of the area of agricultural land in use (Fig. 1). Average size of such farms exceeds 2,000 hectares, while in the countries of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) they are much larger: for example, in Argentina, average size of an agricultural enterprise from the group of the largest area reaches 22,000 hectares. The share of small farms is about 80%, average farm size varies from 9.0 hectares in South America to 1.3 hectares in Central America, and a small cultivated area greatly increases the vulnerability of such producers [8].

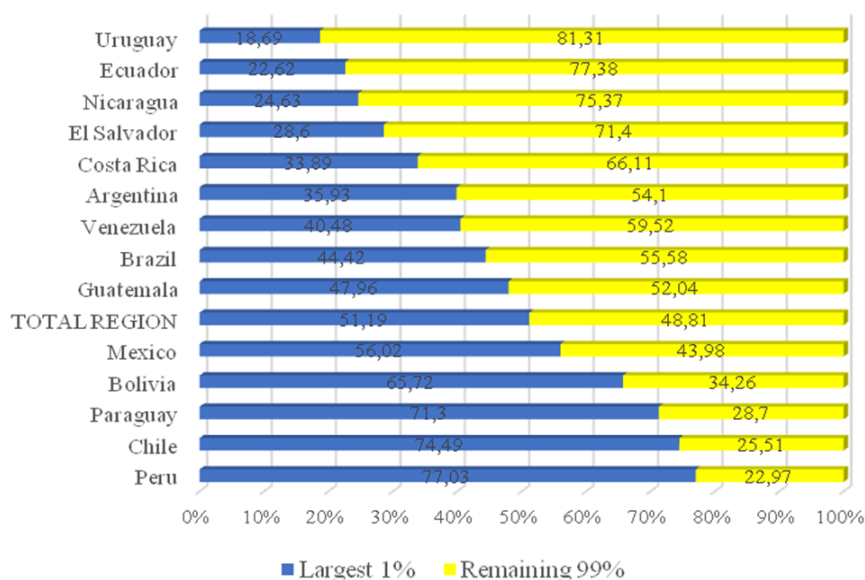


Fig. 1. Share of land in use by different farm size groups, %

Source: WTO Secretariat.

Apparently, most land is concentrated in the ownership of magnates, while small farms are being crowded out to marginal plots. From the point of view of spatial



justice, a due consideration of such criteria as soil quality, proximity to markets, access to water resources and transport routes, etc., which have a dominant impact on agricultural production efficiency, would help define the real scale of injustice.

The level of land concentration in Latin America is currently much higher than in the 1960s, which was a period of important agrarian reforms based on the realization that excessive land accumulation is not only unreasonable but also destructive to agricultural modernization and general economic recovery. Today, attaining large-scale production and the need to attract investment capital is recognized a priority, along with the disregard of the importance of land redistribution in favor of the increasingly fewer number of stakeholders.

Thus, the territory of Brazil is now characterized by excessively biased land distribution. The urgent need for reform here was first recognized in the 1930s; its implementation included active settlement of state-owned lands. In 1964, the Land Law was adopted, which defined the procedure for possible expropriation of the latifundias (only their unproductive areas) to meet public needs with a provision of adequate compensation. At first, there were isolated precedents of expropriation, while landowners in 95% of cases appealed such decisions in the court [9]. The implementation of the provisions of large-scale agrarian reforms during 1995-2010, which provided for the distribution of 80 million hectares of state-owned land among almost 1 million farms, did not have any positive effect either. Despite the efforts made, in the country's agricultural sector is still dominated by large farms, the largest of which (less than 1%) are using about half the area of agricultural land [1].

Inequality in the distribution of land resources limits the growth of employment; aggravates the spread of poverty in urban settlements due to peasants' relocation to urban areas; destroys social cohesion - a characteristic feature of democracy, and the environment; and leads to the destabilization of food systems at the local, national and global levels. Besides, it has a strong negative impact on food security and raises the spread of hunger in the region, especially in today's climate change. Thus, about half of small farms - key grain producers - are located in the "dry corridor" (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua). The constant drought for five years has led to significant land degradation, reduced yields and economic instability. According to experts, 1.4 million people are on the verge of survival and need food aid, which is now received by only by 160 thousand citizens (11.4%). Small agrarian producers are deprived of the opportunity to obtain credit resources secured by land, as their ownership on it is not guaranteed by the state [10].

Increased size of the large farms leads to a gradual phasing out of the activities of small agrarian producers with their subsequent cessation. For example, in Uruguay, according to the censuses of 1961-2000, the number of farms decreased by 34%. The lands of peasant households, who a priori use small plots of land, are subject to even further fragmentation due to their redistribution during inheritance, which makes efficient agriculture nearly impossible. Thus, in Peru during 1994-2012, the number of farms with average land area not exceeding 5 hectares increased by 40%, while total land area did not increase, because average farm size decreased

from 1.7 to 1.3 ha [1]. Such fragmentation is aggravated due to the lack of appropriate state support and significantly narrows the opportunities for economic development, which, given the lack of employment in rural areas, leads to migration of labor, in particular of its economically active part.

The results of the analysis of budgets of different countries of the Global South [11] show that promoting the development of large agricultural enterprises leads to the suspension of agricultural insurance programs, public lending services, and technological and commercial support of indigenous peoples and small farms. The conclusions of FAO studies on 19 Latin American and Caribbean countries show that total public investment in the development of small producers in the region in the 1990s decreased from 225 USD to 140 USD per farm [12].

In all countries of the region, except for Brazil and Bolivia, a significant reduction in investment in the growth of small farms become an element of the structural economic reforms; in most countries, the institutions responsible for providing services to farms ceased to function. The implementation of such policies has a strong negative impact, mostly on indigenous peoples, who are practically excluded from the process of economic development.

At the same time, limited access to capital, production resources, and information leads to low productivity of the allocated land plots, gradual cessation of their use, and increased risk of their seizure by adjacent economic entities of a larger size. Moreover, many countries in the Global South are currently feeling the consequences of changes taking place in technology platforms related to digitalization, robotics, big data and artificial intelligence, which are increasingly affecting rural lifestyle and limiting the livelihood of the rural population. One aspect of such changes is the monitoring of fields with digital technologies, cameras and sensors that record data about yields, climate, soil, irrigation, pests, weeds, etc., with which the companies who sell seeds and agrochemicals can remotely identify problems and dictate, for example, to the farmer which pesticides or fertilizers to use. This provokes an "erosion" of knowledge of many generations, a loss of the community's traditional agri-environmental skills to manage biodiversity and soil quality, and creates new forms of the farmers' dependence on agro-industrial corporations. Another danger is related to the intrusion of e-commerce platforms into the agri-food chain and the distribution of value added in it. Since agro-industrial companies buy large tracts of land in the Global South, they are able to control the entire food production and distribution chain, through which they can also set prices. Initially, agro-industrial companies use unfair competition against local producers by selling at lower prices to monopolize the market. Later, when they have enough market power, they can increase prices at will [13].

The struggle for land resources in Latin America has become a prerequisite for social regression, emergence of internal conflicts and population displacement of many countries in the region. Moreover, control over the territory now remains a source of economic and political power, which is exercised mainly through repression and violence. Despite the significant intensification of migration to cities, which is largely due to the lack of adequate development opportunities in rural areas, the

competition for land is intensifying against the background of the expansion of extractive companies and activities related to aggressive use of natural resources. The extractive model of the economy is gradually crowding out the rural population, who are forced to seize vacant lands and other forms of confrontation with representatives of big business, who have a strong representation in politics, in order to protect their land ownership. Such actions become a basis for increased risks of attacks and harassment on the part of government agencies, private security services, criminal groups, and so on.

Thus, in Colombia, illegal paramilitaries are responsible for two-thirds of the attacks and killings of rural human rights defenders. Contradictions between the provisions of the policy of restitution of state lands and mechanisms to promote the development of agro-industrial production and extractive industries pose a significant threat to community leaders who act as protectors of the rights to community-owned territories.

In Guatemala, in March 2011, about 800 families - more than 3,000 people - from fourteen communities in the Polochyk Valley were forcibly evicted from land they had been cultivating for generations due to the expansion of a sugar cane plantation of a neighboring large agricultural enterprise. Citizens' homes and agricultural products were burned by the military, police and agricultural workers. According to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, one peasant was killed. During five years of confrontation, land has been returned to only 221 households, while 548 families are still awaiting. The expelled rural families are deprived of access to basic services of health care, education, and catering. No one was punished for the crimes committed during the eviction.

The deadly confrontations in Kuruguata changed the course of Paraguay's political history. Hundreds of landless families occupied state-owned land Marina Kue, seized by business representatives because of fraudulent transactions. An attempt by armed police to expel people from these areas in June 2012 led to the impeachment of President Fernando Lugo and the tragic death of 11 villagers and six police officers. Eleven villagers were convicted of involvement in the murder of police officers. According to the results of the trial, which was accompanied by numerous violations, four of them were sentenced to 18 to 35 years in prison [16]. At the same time, no one was convicted and punished for killing 11 villagers and torturing those in prison.

The Bajo Aguan region of Honduras was the site of a joint operation by the military and private security services to evict hundreds of families living on land allotted to them because of the Agrarian Reform Act and subsequently illegally acquired by private companies. During 2008–2013, 89 peasants died as a result of armed conflicts with representatives of palm oil industry enterprises. According to the IACHR [17], since 2009, due to the coup and significant increase in militarization, the number of deaths, threats, intimidation and forced evictions against small farms has considerably increased.

This is too unequal a confrontation between government officials who accumulate economic benefits and millions of people whose rights are systematically oppressed (indigenous people, descendants of African citizens, rural households, and women). Therefore, citizens become victims of resettlement, they are deprived of livelihood and opportunities to receive services of educational institutions, health care, and government institutions; they are feeling a powerful negative impact of the change of their living environment. Moreover, the probability of return of such migrants to rural areas is extremely low due to the lack of a documented right to own land and of the lack of potential and opportunities to protect it.

Economic and social inequality are the biggest obstacles to Latin American society on the path to sustainable development and economic growth. 32% of the region's richest people own the same amount of wealth as the 300 million poorest people do. Economic inequality is closely linked to land tenure, as non-financial assets account for 64% of total wealth.

The experience of Latin American countries is quite instructive for Ukraine, where a similar phenomenon of land overconcentration in the hands of certain stakeholders is observed. The result of seizures of agricultural land by agricultural corporations (agricultural holdings) in our country was the fact of overconcentration in one hand of large tracts of land whose size sometimes exceeds half a million hectares. The incomplete reforms and, consequently, the poor institutional system of land tenure have led to the emergence of shadow control over the distribution of agricultural land. For the peasants, this turned into socio-economic problems in rural areas, reducing their range of opportunities to a mere provision of livelihood at the place of residence.

With Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), agricultural corporations are increasingly narrowing crop rotations in order to grow several commercial crops with subsequent export to commodity markets. According to latest statistical observations, 75% of the total sown area is used by the corporate sector to grow three low-cost, highly profitable crops, namely wheat, corn and sunflower, while other strategically important grains and legumes, vegetables and fruits only account for 25%. There is a steady trend to increase in the area under the above crops (during five years – by more than 2 million hectares) (Fig. 2).

This approach contradicts the law of crop rotation, as well as the standard ratios of crops in crop rotation, defined by Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No 164 of 11 February 2010 "On approval of standards for optimal ratio of crops in crop rotation in different natural and agricultural regions" [18]. The practice of growing monoculture, which poses a direct threat to the sustainable development of agriculture, has become a characteristic element of crop production in Ukraine.

Under the conditions of the complex and dynamic development of the agricultural sector, peasant households continue to produce almost half of Ukraine's agricultural GDP, providing the population with key food products (vegetables, potatoes, meat, milk, etc.). Such sustainability of peasant households is due to the use of family labor, effective management of limited resources, informal ties with consumers, and traditional forms of tillage with manure application.

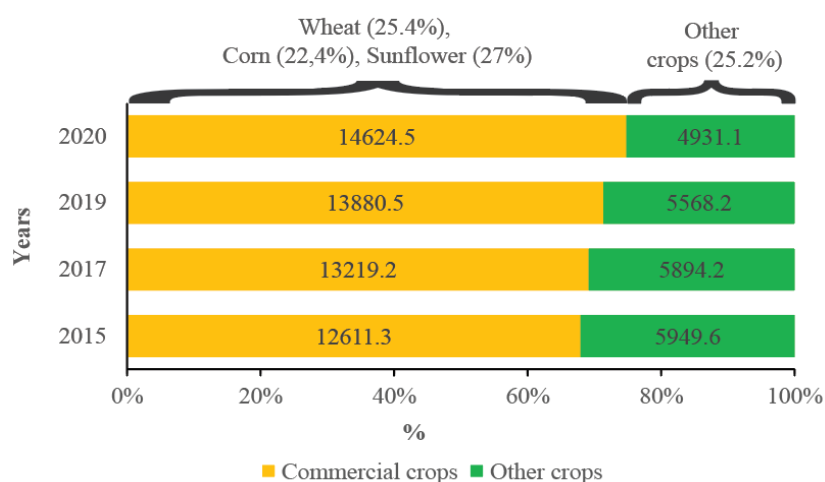


Fig. 2. Distribution of crop areas in the corporate sector, *th* ha, %

Source: calculated by the authors according to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

After Ukraine signed the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014, the government took resolute steps to reform the economy, securing the guarantees of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) [19]. These steps included an increase in foreign investment, including in agriculture. According to the independent land transaction monitoring initiative Land Matrix, there has been a marked increase in foreign investors in Ukraine's agricultural sector, including UK companies (Rohini Finch, 30,000 hectares; Tommy International Trading Limited, 23,000 hectares, etc.). Saudi Arabia (Public Investment Fund (PIF) of Saudi Arabia, 189 thousand hectares; Saudi Grain and Fodder Holding Co. LC, 34 thousand hectares, and others), the United States of America (NCH Capital Inc., 360 thousand hectares; TNA Corporate Solutions LLC, 132 thousand hectares, and others), and many other countries [20]. A great interest in Ukrainian lands is shown by the People's Republic of China. Its representatives (Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), China National Corporation for Overseas Economic Cooperation) sought to obtain for use at least 3 million hectares in the East of Ukraine [20].

Well-known in Ukraine agroholdings, although registered abroad in "tax havens" and supported by transnational financial institutions, are currently consolidating significant amounts of land, including Ukrlandfarming - 500 thousand ha, Kernel - 530 thousand ha, Myronivsky Hliboproduct - 370 thousand ha, Astarta - 235 thousand ha and others (Table 1). According to expert estimates, in 2011 the total area of land under cultivation by the agroholdings was about 5.1 million hectares, or 12% of total area of agricultural land in Ukraine [21].

The beginning of 2020 in Ukraine was marked by a new large-scale attack on people's rights to land. On March 31, at an extraordinary session of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine "On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Concerning the Use of Agricultural Land" was adopted [22]. The adoption of this law took place in violation of established parliamentary procedures and



Table 1

The largest in terms of land use agricultural holdings in Ukraine, 2020

Agroholding	Country of registration	Land bank, thousand hectares
Kernel (Kernel Holding S.A.)	Luxembourg	530
Ukrlandfarming (Ukrlandfarming PLC)	Cyprus	500
Agro-industrial holding MHP (MHP S.E.)	Cyprus	370
Agroprosperis Group of Companies (AP Group)	USA	300
"Agropromholding Astarta-Kyiv" (Astarta Holding N.V.)	Netherlands	235
Continental Farmers Group, (beneficiary - SALIC (UK) Ltd.)	United Kingdom	195
TNA Corporate Solutions LLC	USA	132
HarvEast, under control of System Capital Management (SCM) and Smart Holding	Cyprus	127

Source: compiled based on sample surveys data.

contrary to the wishes of peasants, family farmers, and civil society [23]. Thus, the opinion is being imposed to Ukrainian society that the liberalization of land market, which, in essence does not differ from the discussed above similar reforms in Latin America, will lead to the emergence of "effective owner" and will bring "billions in budget revenues." At the same time, the problem of excessive concentration of land resources and its social consequences are ignored by such "advisers" and "analysts"; instead, their priorities include attraction of investment and achieving "new records" in agricultural output and exports, usually consisting of raw materials. Certain provisions of the law are in fact aimed at depriving peasants and farms of fair access to land.

New legislative initiatives in July 2020 under the guise of de-shadowing of agricultural production legitimize a direct threat to the farming system in Ukraine and legislative acceleration of further concentration of agricultural land with the use of tax levers. These initiatives are set out in draft laws № 3131 on amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and other Laws of Ukraine on de-shadowing of agricultural production. These draft laws include: № 3131-1 - on amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and some other legislative acts of Ukraine to improve the taxation system in the field of land relations and agriculture, № 3131-2 - on amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and other laws of Ukraine to encourage the cultivation of agricultural land and, finally, № 3131-d - on amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and other laws of Ukraine on de-shadowing of agricultural production, which is the final version of the previous draft laws and allegedly takes into account the remarks made about them.

Despite these changes, the proposed way to "de-shadow" agricultural land use is wrong. The authors of the graft law, appealing to the need to impose a similar in essence (though different in size) tax burden on all owners and users of agricultural land, completely disregard the principles of social justice, and cost-effectiveness of taxation, proclaimed by the Tax Code of Ukraine. As a consequence of exaggerated attention to certain principles and neglect of others, a methodologically absurd initiative is proposed: to apply the same approach to taxation of different types of management and socio-economic functions, that is, the family farms and subsidiary farms, on the one hand, and



large commercially oriented agricultural entities, on the other. This tax novelty is similar in nature to a penalty (confiscation) for land owners / users with the introduction of joint and several liability for other people's crimes, as it is calculated with the assumption of the conditionally probable income, not the one actually earned by farmers who "almost completely use the generated gross value added for their own reproduction, i.e. to ensure the development of the production and social spheres at the place of operation, care more about preserving the fertility of the lands they use and other natural resources that shape their living environment" [24].

Conclusions

The experience of Latin American countries is quite instructive for Ukraine. It shows the obvious close link between inequality in land distribution, spatial development and the country's low prosperity. Excessive concentration of land impedes economic growth in the long run, and affects other aspects of development, such as the quality of the functioning of government agencies, law enforcement agencies, the state system of science and education, and so on. And on the contrary, the even distribution of land leads to a gradual increase in the productivity of agricultural sector on a sustainable basis, and raises rural income and the country's overall economic growth.

Industrial agricultural production, which positions itself as an economic system that can meet the population's growing demand for food, inversely affects their impoverishment, degradation of the former natural environment, and depopulation of rural areas. These problems are most acute in Latin America. Countless South American peasants who oppose over-concentration of land in search of ways to protect their right of free access to natural resources fail and are often forced to leave their homes. The governments of these countries defend the interests of the dominant groups for a number of well-known reasons, in particular, corruption, aggressive lobbying of corporate interests, "taming" of representatives of local authorities and power structures, and so on. Confrontations between the population and influential groups often lead to tragic consequences.

Due to the predominance of liberal approaches to the transformation of land relations, in Ukraine, the changes characteristic for Latin America are becoming tendencies in this country, such as: active expansion of the sphere of influence of representatives of domestic agricultural holdings, their acquisition of economic and political power in the country, control by transnational influential groups, excessive concentration of cultivation of a limited range of highly profitable crops, raiding practice in agricultural land use and spatial discrimination in the distribution of communal lands at the level of individual territorial communities, etc., which has a destructive effect on the economy, rural development and people's welfare.

From the standpoint of spatial justice, corporate land users take more resources of rural areas than they invest in their reproduction, as a significant part of the generated added value is withdrawn outside of them. Individual land users (individuals) almost completely direct the generated gross value added to their own reproduction, i.e. to ensure the development of production and social spheres at the place of operation, care more about preserving the fertility of their soils and other natural resources that shape

their living environment. Rural residents - producers of agricultural items regularly invest in the reproduction of their human potential and development of rural areas (housing, local infrastructure development, village development, etc.).

Attaining spatial justice in agricultural land use is intrinsically linked with the promotion of conservation, dissemination and comprehensive progress of individual land users - family (small) forms of agricultural management. Such a policy leads to reduced outflow of rural population, suspension of over-urbanization, development of rural attractions, satiation of local markets with high quality food at reasonable prices, achieving national food sovereignty and so on.

The results of land reforms in different countries show that ensuring free access to land resources is a necessary but insufficient condition for the preservation and upturn of rural areas, and their fair spatial development. Overcoming their backwardness involves intensifying public investment in the provision of basic services to rural population, improving their access to financial and productive resources, profitable markets, new knowledge, advice and information, and involving representatives of the small-scale sector in the development and implementation of state policy of agricultural and rural development.

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ЗЕМЛЕКОРИСТУВАННЯ ТА ПРОСТОРОВА СПРАВЕДЛИВІСТЬ У КРАЇНАХ ЛАТИНСЬКОЇ АМЕРИКИ: УРОКИ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНИ

Узагальнено досвід країн Латинської Америки у сфері трансформації земельних відносин з точки зору соціальної справедливості, формування необхідного простору для життєдіяльності селян, забезпечення їхнього економічного суверенітету тощо. Доведено, що вільний доступ до земельних ресурсів та здійснення контролю за їх використанням значною мірою визначають загальний потенціал розвитку сільських територій та сус-пільного розвитку країни загалом.

У результаті проведених досліджень виявлено формування стійких тенденцій до упередженого розподілу земельних угідь країн Глобального Півдня та їх надмірної концентрації у руках домінуючих угруповань та великих сільськогосподарських під-

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приємств, що здійснює потужний деструктивний вплив на загальне піднесення регіону та знаходить своє відображення у нерівномірному просторовому розвитку, систематичному утиску прав селян, в обмеженні зростання рівня їхньої зайнятості, поширенні бідності, руйнуванні соціальної згуртованості, дестабілізації продовольчих систем локального, національного та глобального рівня, виникненні збройних конфліктів тощо.

Окреслено загальні загрози змін у землеволодінні та землекористуванні в Україні, пов'язані зі схильністю до перерозподілу земельних ресурсів на користь корпоративного сектора, їх надмірної концентрації та обезземелення селян; визначено низку факторів, що призводять до незбалансованого розподілу земельних угідь, обґрунтована необхідність урахування уроків латиноамериканських країн для майбутнього суспільного розвитку України у довгостроковій перспективі⁸.

Ключові слова: трансформація земельних відносин, просторова справедливість, землекористування, концентрація земельних ресурсів, дрібні фермерські господарства, корпоративний сектор аграрного виробництва, особисті селянські господарства

⁸ Публікацію підготовлено в рамках виконання НДР "Просторова справедливість у землекористуванні для сталого розвитку сільських територій" (державний реєстраційний № 0120U100816).