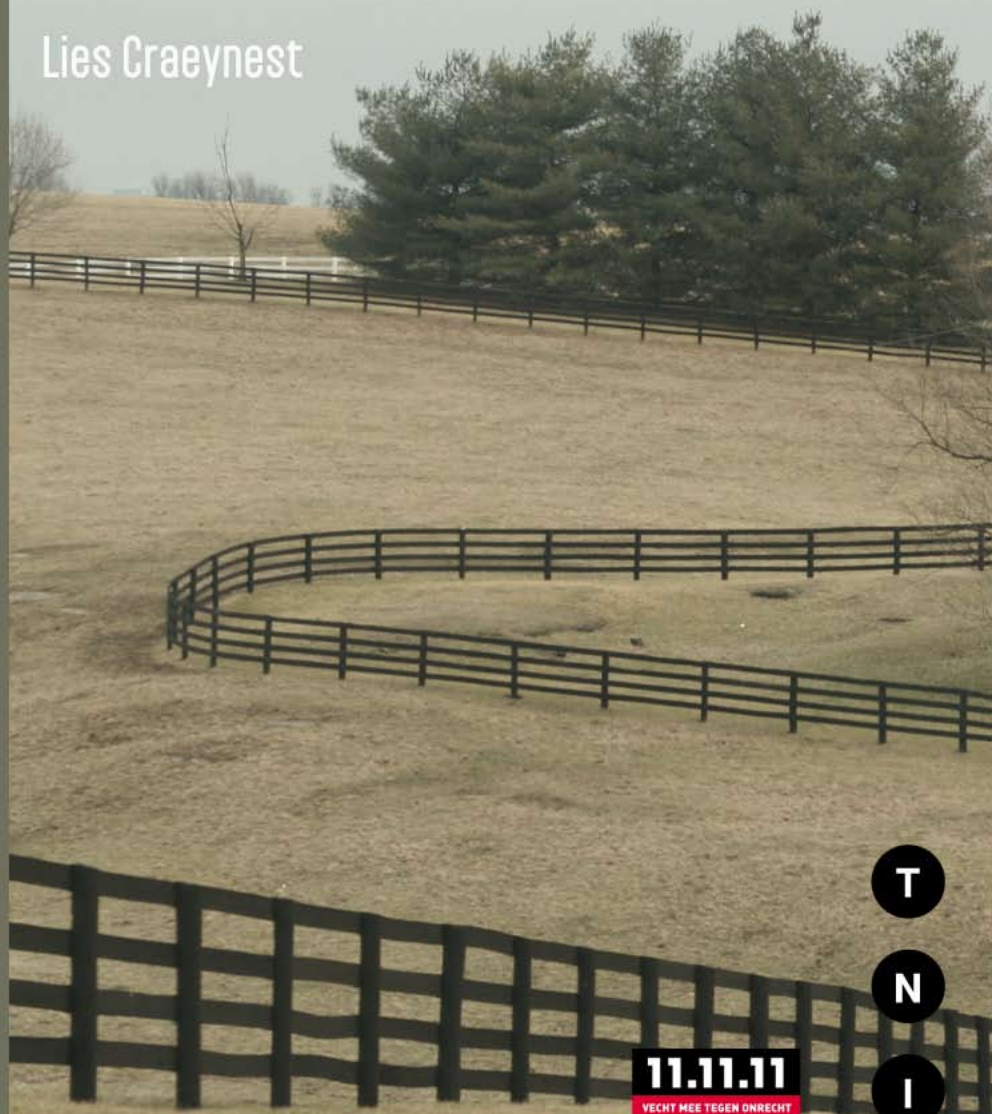


From rural livelihoods to agricultural growth

The land policies of the UK Department
for International Development

Lies Craeynest



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Amsterdam, February 2009

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Lies Craeynest

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Abstract

This paper examines the policies and practices on land of the Department for International Development (DfID) of the United Kingdom. While DfID's approach to land reform in the 1980s reflected the dictates of modernisation, formal registration and market-led distribution of land of the international financial institutions, this was followed by a period from 1997 to 2002 where some changes were made to move land policy in the direction of a rights-based approach. However, after these five years, DfID's central capacity on land policy was reduced substantially, which to some extent allowed the return of the market-based thinking of pre-1997, although now framed in the language of economic growth and good governance. This change in approach to land policy is characterised here as a shift from a Rural Livelihoods period (1997-2002) to an Agricultural Growth period (2003-2007).

After a discussion of DfID's land policy, this report looks at DfID's programmatic support for work on land issues. A data analysis is undertaken of the overall funding, changes in funding levels, focus countries and different emphases of DfID's in-country work. This brings up some interesting results, including the fact that different country offices develop a different approach to land issues. For example, in Bangladesh there is very solid support for land-based 'social movements', while in other places this is not the case. Furthermore the analysis shows that after Africa, the region DfID has invested most of its land related funds is the area with former Soviet states. The report concludes with specific recommendations for activists and researchers.

1. Historical overview

The British Government has been a prominent player on the international land scene for most of the 20th century. Land ownership and land management practices were a key instrument to mediate the relationship between imperial Britain, its colonies and often white settlers. Post independence, land policy has continued to play an important role in British overseas aid programmes, and the UK's policy still carries a lot of weight today through the work of its Department for International Development (DfID).

1.1. COLONIAL ERA

Having been one of the largest and most powerful colonisers in the world, from the 19th century until as late as the 1980s, one of the key domains in which the legacy of the British Empire in former colonies is most strongly felt is in the area of land policies, land distribution and land governance.

In most of **sub-Saharan Africa**, the land remaining after government and white settlers had occupied large tracts, was set aside for the “natives”. During colonial rule, the administration of these “native reserves” and/or Crown Land was placed in the hands of customary leaders and statutory trustees. After independence, this land became State Land, and the role of the customary leaders often disappeared as they were subsumed by government structures. Local people often rejected land allocation powers of both government officials and elected councillors, and land administration became highly contested with widely varying realities between the law and actual practice (Daley and Hopley 2005, 22).

In **South and South-east Asia**, British colonial land policy focussed on creating a secure revenue base through taxation of the land. Feudal lords were declared owners of the land on condition of fixed payments to the British regime, and peasants were therefore transformed into tenant farmers who had to pay rents to the *zamindar* or landowner. A second, but no less important aim of British

colonial land policy in Asia was to identify and secure lands to be used for state forestry or plantation agriculture, for export production to international markets (Hobley 1996, in Daley and Hobley 2005, 9).¹

Daley and Hobley describe the colonial land experience in both Asia and Africa as the imposition and emergence of a Western-legal view of land governance in colonial states, in which 'land rights are rights to territorial parcels of land, precisely measurable and definable, with property rights in general (of which land rights are a subset) regarded as being primarily about the possession (or ownership) of physical things' (Bohannon 1963, 101-3, in Daley and Hobley 2005). The Western legal view is contrasted with what Daley and Hobley call the 'anthropological' view, which looks at land rights as social relationships between people, rather than as a relationship between individuals and material things (i.e. land) (2005, 3). To this date, these 'dual' and 'multiple' systems of land tenure continue to exist in most African countries (Bruce 1988, in Daley and Hobley 2005, 9), and they have been a defining factor in the British development of policies and programmes towards the land sector in Africa: from aiming to eradicate informal land structures, to accepting their existence in their own right, and finally to seeing them as an earlier phase towards formalised land rights.

1.2. MAINTAINING INFLUENCE POST INDEPENDENCE

Between 1945 and the 1980s, colonial rule was brought to an end in many countries, and gradually the new independent states started to build new policies and legal frameworks. However, a considerable part of the new land legislation maintained continuity with the past, and often the colonial land laws formed the basis of the post-colonial land administration systems. The 'Western-legal view' of land tenure and land rights, considered the fundamental structure to achieve economic growth and modern progress, continued to be the prime reference for land policy and practice in most of the developing world (Daley and Hobley 2005, 10).

However, beyond this indirect influence of the 'Western-legal view', post-colonial land policy frameworks were also explicitly and directly influenced by the British government, particularly in countries where large numbers of white people were

¹ Barraclough explains how the control over land was central to the colonial enterprise both for its own progress and the subjugation of the other. The danger was to leave land freely accessible to people, as they might end up farming for themselves. 'This would drive up wages, making export commodities more costly and less competitive for estate owners' (1999, 5). From the colonial perspective, then, there was a solid economic case for landlessness.

settled. The most prominent case of this direct meddling with former colonies' land policies has been Zimbabwe. Since independence, while Britain recognised that there was a political need for land reform in Zimbabwe and also that it had a responsibility to pay up for the costs, Britain obstructed popular demand for justice in land distribution by making its financial support dependent on the policy options the Zimbabwean government could take. It promoted individualised settlements instead of a cooperative settlement, confirming Britain's aversion of anything that smacked of a cooperative ethic and therefore socialism (Palmer 1990, 172). Britain's influence in Zimbabwe's land affairs continued well beyond the initial independence talks, as described in box 1.

Box 1 Britain and Zimbabwe

In early 1990, just before the 10th anniversary of the independence of Zimbabwe and the expiry of the infamous Lancaster House agreement, Robin Palmer described how there was every sign that 'the British government is striving behind the scenes to perpetuate Lancaster House beyond April 1990 and so prevent significant land reform from taking place in Zimbabwe' (Palmer 1990, 163-4). While the Lancaster House constitution reflected first and foremost the interests of the remaining white settlers, the British government continued after its expiry to validate the anti-redistribution tactics of the large scale, export farming industry of the white settler community throughout most of the 1990s. Just before the end of the Lancaster agreement, in 1989, the British High Commissioner provoked Mugabe when he warned him 'not to seize land from commercial farmers when the Lancaster House Constitution expired' (ibid, 176).

In the negotiations over the future of the resettlement programme, the British ignored the calls of the Zimbabweans for the need for a different approach, as the very conciliatory and politically stabilising approach of the government had land prices skyrocketing as a consequence, making it too expensive to continue resettlement in this way (ibid, 177). The British themselves had failed to put up enough money to finance the resettlement, having reduced the initially pledged figure of £75 million to £20 million, to be matched pound for pound by Zimbabwe (Palmer 1990, 166). Even so, the British made contributions beyond 1990 dependent on the continuing principle of willing-seller, willing buyer, and started sowing doubts amongst other donors about Zimbabwe's capacity to support the land reform programme (ibid, 177-8). Combined with other contextual reasons and growing divisions within the government, this ensured that the Zimbabweans in 1990 indeed did renege on their calls for expropriation of land.

In 1997, with a change of government in Britain, the new Secretary of State for International Development 'reaffirmed that the UK would support a programme of land reform that was part of a plan to help reduce poverty in Zimbabwe' (DfID 2000, 2).

The 1998 Land Conference in Harare aimed to, as stated by DfID, refine the GoZ Phase 2 land resettlement programme, and 'resulted in the agreement of guiding principles for the development of resettlement proposals. However, a year after, 'not a single donor dollar had come in' (anonymous quote in Palmer 2005, 12), and the relationship between the British and the Zimbabwean government rapidly deteriorated when an amendment to allow compulsory acquisition of land without compensation was adopted, despite being rejected in referendum in 2000. DfID stated that '[t]he UK is not convinced that the Zimbabwe government has a serious poverty eradication strategy, nor that it is giving priority to land reform to help the poor of Zimbabwe' (DfID 2000, 3), and said it would continue 'to support land resettlement through non-government channels', pledging up to a total of £5 million from 2000 to 2003/5 (ibid, 3) in a Land Resettlement Challenge Fund (LRCF).

1.3. END OF THE NINETIES

In 1997, the British Overseas Development Agency, housed until then within the Foreign office, was made independent by the new Labour Government, and re-named the Department for International Development (DfID) in 1997. Now the over-riding aim of UK policy for international development had become the elimination of poverty in poorer countries.

Already in the first year, with the publication of the first White Paper on International Development in years, it was recognised, even if with one phrase only, that land rights mattered for development (Quan 2003, 1). Combined with the newly embraced livelihoods and rights-based approach within DfID (discussed later in this paper), it meant the start of a solid five years or so of substantial work to move forward policy thinking on land rights.

Many of the people involved in land policy work in those days attribute the recognition of the importance of land issues for poverty reduction mainly to the leadership of Michael Scott, who was then Head of DfID's Rural Livelihoods Division and who secured serious budgetary support and technical assistance

for this work (e.g. Palmer 2006, 6). Julian Quan, Land Tenure specialist from the Natural Resources Institute, joined DfID as land policy advisor for most of that time (1998-2003) and started a wide range of initiatives to build capacity, expertise and influence in DfID on land rights. He set up an advisory group on land tenure and land rights in 1998 which included land experts from Oxfam and the Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and provided these non-governmental organisations with regular access to DfID officials. The Land Policy Advisory group resulted in 'a combined networking, research, advocacy and policy effort to promote a more coherent and people centred approach to land policies and reforms by developing countries and by international development agencies as a whole' (Quan 2003, 2).²

The rights-based work of the Land Policy group and the broader Sustainable Livelihoods Approach DfID developed since around 1998 resulted in DfID being considered as potentially one of the most progressive thinking Western donors, by other donors and even many civil society organisations. However, in 2003, DfID's direct engagement with land issues was substantially reduced because of a series of internal and external events. For several years, there was little work undertaken on land policy centrally, unless in the context of the new approach to agriculture, economic growth and good governance. DfID had no specific policy on land until 2007, when finally a policy paper on land was published: *Land, Better Access and Secure Rights for Poor People* (2007). A detailed overview of DfID land related events and publications since 1997 is produced in table 1.

² The Advisory group was very active and key achievements of the group, according to Quan (2003), were:

- Using the experience of the Land Advisory group to draft a Land Policy paper for DfID (2002).
- Organising the first pan-African conference on land rights in 1999, followed up by the setting up of Landnet Africa in 2000 in Addis Ababa (www.ossrea.net/projects/landnet.htm).
- Encouraging, with other donors, the World Bank to change land policy from the emphasis on individual property rights and the role of the market in providing land access to recognising the social values of land rights and their complexity, including the validity of informal, collective and local land rights.
- Collaboration on agriculture and land with the French through the French British Initiative (FBI) which helped to approach the issue of land rights and transactions in West Africa in a multi-disciplinary way.

Table 1: Timetable of events and publications, 1997-2007

(official DfID policy documents in bold)

Date	Publication/important events
1997	The Labour government creates DfID and appoints Clare Short as International Development Minister. DfID's Rural Livelihoods Division is headed up by Michael Scott, and Land Tenure Advisor is employed
1997	British Government Policy on International Development: <i>Eliminating Poverty: a challenge for the 21st century</i> Setting out priorities for UK government, including a reference to land rights
1998	Establishment of the <i>Rural Livelihoods Advisory Group</i>
1998	<i>Land Tenure Advisory Group</i> , later renamed Land Policy Group, is set up including DfID, NRI, IIED, and Oxfam ³
1999	First international conference on land rights in Africa, Sunningdale, UK ⁴
2000	LandNet Africa is set up with seed funding from DfID, in a workshop in Addis Ababa in January 2000.
2000	'Evolving land rights, policy and tenure in Africa' Book published by DfID/IIED/NRI. based on the Africa land conference
2001	On-line documentation system and database set up: www.landlink.org.uk (<i>now defunct</i>)
April 02	DfID Draft Land Policy: <i>Better Livelihoods for Poor People: the role of land policy</i> Consultation on land policy starting April 2002
May 02	Consultation starts on new agriculture paper ⁵

3 Members included: Camilla Toulmin (IIED) and Robert Palmer (Oxfam).

4 The workshop was attended by participants from eighteen African countries; namely, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. A wide range of donor and international support organisations also participated (www.ossrea.net/projects/landnet.htm).

5 www.livelihoods.org/post/Docs/AgPapA4.pdf

August 02	DfID issues paper: <i>Better livelihoods for poor people: The role of Agriculture</i> ⁶ Initially this was a consultation document for a new agricultural strategy, this was not adopted and instead turned into an ‘issues paper’
Dec 02– March 03	Range of reviews of World Bank Policy Research Report (PRR) on land by ‘independent, south-based civil society land specialists’ ⁷
02-05	Start of 3-year <i>DfID/World Bank Collaborative Programme in Rural Development</i> ⁸ to strengthen harmonisation on rural policies. ⁹ The advisor organising the land policy work was now Neil MacPherson, coordinator of the DfID/WB programme.
Jan 03	Regional Scoping Studies (Brazil, South Africa and South Asia) commissioned on impacts of land distribution for poverty reduction. Objective to inform ‘DfID policy on (...) access to land in highly unequal countries, linked to the creation of sustainable livelihood opportunities for the poor in agriculture’. ¹⁰
April 03	DfID internal restructuring, future of land policy work becomes less certain. Land Policy Group is disbanded, and only continuing work is existing commitments and involvement in the EU land policy guidelines (Quan personal communication, 17 November 2006).

6 www.DfID.gov.uk/pubs/files/agricultureconsult.pdf

7 For the project report, see: www.passlivelihoods.org.uk/default.asp?project_id=57 (accessed 7 May 2007). According to the project report, three outputs resulted:

- *East Africa Peer Review*: questioning commitment of WB to implement the PRR, criticising emphasis on formalised individual rights, limited discussion of land distribution, poor representation in consultation.
- *South East Asia Peer Review*: highlighting difficulties of land access in international trade system, problem of individualisation of land titling, lack of linkage titling and credit supply, need for land value taxes.
- *Case Studies and Land Administration Issues*: summary of the challenges for land administration in Africa (Uganda, Namibia, Mozambique, Ghana and South Africa) in addressing customary and informal rights in the context of PRS.

8 For more information: www.passlivelihoods.org.uk/default.asp?project_theme_id=1037

9 The first phase focussed on the development and harmonisation of rural poverty work. The second phase aimed to build linkages with the Global Platform for Rural Development and other multi-agency initiatives. Research commissioned within phase two were: 1) Computerisation of Land Records – Karnataka, 2) Institutional Framework for Land Administration in India: Issues and Challenges, 3) Land Markets, Access and Development in India, 4) Land Use, Agricultural Productivity Growth and Vulnerability in India, 5) Legal and Institutional Issues for Land Policy Reform in India.

10 See report: www.passlivelihoods.org.uk/default.asp?project_id=61. The programme was officially called: Programme to Assess Means and Impacts of Land and Agrarian Reform (MILAGRE)

2003	Engagement at European level with EU Land Policy Guidelines, but gradual reduction of involvement of land policy advisor in DfID's work.
Dec 03	<i>Agriculture and poverty: unlocking the potential</i> ¹¹ , DfID Policy Paper ¹² This short policy paper briefly outlined new thinking in DfID on agriculture, recognising the new globalised world in which agriculture takes place and the opportunities/challenges this brings for smallholders, announced the e-forum and the consultation that would follow in 2004.
June 04	New policy and consultation process on agriculture, starting with 14 Working Papers on agriculture's role in poverty reduction. One paper was on land reform (next document). All papers are available at online. ¹³ The consultation took one and a half years in total.
Sep 04	<i>Land reform, Agriculture and Poverty Reduction</i> (Martin Adams) Working Paper for Consultation on Agriculture
Nov 04	Publication of EU Land Policy Guidelines
March 05	Tony Blair-led initiative to help focus the 2005 G8 on Africa <i>Our Common Interest</i> , also known as <i>The Commission for Africa Report</i>
Sep 05	<i>Land, changing contexts, relationships, rights</i> , Daley and Hobley Briefing paper commissioned by urban-rural change team DfID
Sep 05	DfID supports newly launched Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (chaired by Madeleine Allbright/Hernando de Soto).
Dec 05	DfID policy paper: <i>Growth and Poverty Reduction: the Role of Agriculture</i> Presented as the new guidelines for DfID's work on agriculture. Access to land and natural resources for the poor is one of the 7 identified priorities
July 06	British Government policy paper on International Development: <i>Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor</i>
June 07	DfID policy paper on land: <i>Land; Better Access and Secure Rights for Poor People</i>

11 Accessible at: www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/agri-poverty-reduction.pdf

12 Accessible at: www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/agri-poverty-reduction.pdf

13 DfID-agriculture-consultation.nri.org/index.htm The website states that all papers will be kept available until March 2007. However, at the moment of writing, the site is still functional. All papers and consultation contributions are kept by the author.

1.4. 2003-2007

From around 2003, DfID disengaged from land policies and programmes from some countries,¹⁴ and in others it let the decision to work on land issues depend on the demand of the partner government. The central capacity to work on land was severely reduced, and between 2003 and 2007, DfID would refer to the European Union land policy guidelines for its official policy position, which is effective policy for all member states, including the UK (Palmer 2005, 8). A DfID policy paper on land which was drafted by the Land Policy Advisor in 2002 and opened for consultation, was never taken on as official DfID policy,¹⁵ but ‘it remains a useful reference in DfID’ (Bradley personal communication, 30 October 2006). Civil society activists and concerned professionals were then taken quite off-guard when suddenly, in June 2007, without much warning, DfID finally launched its own policy paper on land: *Better Access and Secure Rights for Poor People*.

It would be wrong to conclude however that DfID did not feature much after 2003 in the land policy debate, or did not help influence the direction of global debates on land. Land policy remained on the agenda, but was now dealt with from a different angle and within different contexts. After 2003, access to land resurged not as an issue in itself, but as one of the seven priorities set out under DfID’s new agricultural policy (DfID 2005). In programmatic terms, DfID has remained involved in many land related programmes in-country (see table 3).

DfID also still supports a number of international land policy programmes, including the ‘Joint World Bank/DfID programme on Land Policy and

¹⁴ On Uganda for example, DfID stated in a recent response to a parliamentary inquiry that ‘DfID have been leading on initiatives to develop more coordinated and joined up approaches to land reform [in donor support, but] this is a sector DfID consciously withdrew from 4 years ago, DfID don’t have the capacity for further engagement beyond maintaining an overall coordinating role’ (DfID response to PSD inquiry 2006). Parliamentary inquiries are held on a regular basis in the British parliamentary system to investigate aspects of government’s policy. The International Development Committee monitors DfID actions and performance. The response to the Inquiry into Private Sector Development is available online at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmslect/cmintdev/921/92102.htm>.

¹⁵ The document is still available online <http://www.DfID.gov.uk/pubs/files/landpolicy-consult.pdf> and on Oxfam’s land rights website: <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/DfIDpol2.rtf>

Administration for Agricultural Growth¹⁶ run by Klaus Deininger.¹⁷ Support was also given to the Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (CLEP), which particularly focuses on property rights for the poor. DfID has been one of the main donors and supporters of the Commission.¹⁸

According to Julian Quan the formalistic property rights approach of the economist Hernando de Soto, on which much of the work of CLEP is based, has had considerable influence on the land policies in DfID (personal communication in Manji 2006, 4). Indeed, land related policies emerging in key policy documents since 2003 exemplify DfID's gradual move away from looking at land reform within the context of rural livelihoods and assets, not just economically but also socially and culturally, towards seeing land reform 'as intricately connected to questions of good governance and the efficient operation of a market economy' (Manji 2006, 15, in the context of international financial institution's views in Tanzania). The broader shift from a rights-based approach to one focussing on economic growth and agricultural productivity will be discussed in detail in part 3, after a discussion of the institutional context in which some of these changes took place.

16 Stated as part of DfID response to a parliamentary inquiry on property rights. The stated global activities of DfID on property rights were: 1) a regional programme on fisheries in 25 countries in West Africa, Sierra Leone and Cambodia; 2) The Global Rights and Resource Initiative (RRI), which is focused on forestry and rights-based approaches; 3) AU/NEPAD/UNECA pan-Africa Consultative Workshop on Land Policy in Africa, in Addis, March 2006; 4) Joint World Bank/DfID programme on Land Policy and Administration for Agricultural Growth; and 5) lesson learning across DfID offices currently running land programmes.

17 DfID provided £500,000 over three years to this project, ending in financial year 2008 (Dan Bradley personal communication, 2 May 2007). The objective of this programme is to 'improve national land policy and administration that will produce new, practical options that will improve land records and tenure security, formalise rights and improve poor people's access to land. This will unlock agricultural productivity and its links to wider growth' (DfID response to PSD inquiry March 2006). Some findings from India, China and Ethiopia can be found at the following link: web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/RPDLPROGRAM/0,,contentMDK:21132901~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:459597,00.html

18 The support is both through programmatic funding as well as technical support in the form of a programme manager/advisor (a total of \$760,000)

2. Institutional context of DfID's land reform policy

2.1. DWINDLING SUPPORT OR CHANGING FOCUS?

As alluded to in part one, DfID's involvement with land policies has substantially changed over the past 10 years. The people who were involved in land policy making in DfID in the period 1997 to 2003 interpret the changes as a clear reduction of interest in land affairs, which in some cases is self-professed,¹⁹ exemplified by the drop in funding levels (see below), the lack of centralised policy and project capacity and the end of the Land Policy Group. Robin Palmer, recently retired from Oxfam-GB in February 2007, hinted even to a deliberate effort to undo some of the work that the Land Advisory Group had done.²⁰

On the other hand however, support for land related issues has continued, through in-country support, through multilateral funding streams, and through policy approaches reflected in a range of flagship policy documents of the British Government. In June 2007, when the background research for this paper was mostly finalised, DfID suddenly finally launched its own land policy paper: *Land, Better Access and Secure Rights for Poor People*. Whether this means a renewed commitment to engage as an active player on land reform, taking the active role it once took in the debate on land reform, supporting but also challenging the World Bank and the European Union, still remains to be seen.

2.2. MISSION ACCOMPLISHED?

Explaining the reduction in capacity to work on land in DfID, Julian Quan thought that perhaps there was a sense in DfID that with regards to land policy, it had accomplished what it set out to achieve (personal communication, 17 November 2006). The ex-members of the Land Policy Group certainly consider that they managed to positively influence the land policies of the World Bank. Julian Quan said in his final statement of activities on land that '[T]he resulting [World Bank

¹⁹ See report to inquiry on PSD

²⁰ 'The story is pitiful. Two examples will suffice. A major conference was held in London on 'Land in Africa: Market Asset or Secure Livelihood?' in November 2004, attended by a number of African ministers, but not by anyone from DfID's headquarters just half a mile away. Meanwhile, half a mile away, a malevolent newcomer set about rubbishing all that had been done before, reportedly even shredding historical records, and rejected any collaboration with those who had gone before' (Palmer 2006, 7).

land policy] document represents considerable policy convergence between the Bank and bilateral donors on a range of land and property rights issues' (2004a). Camilla Toulmin, director of IIED and ex-member of the Land Policy Group, also praised DfID for its leading role in influencing the Klaus Deininger-led Bank Research report, and in helping to ensure a 'remarkably refreshing' multifunctional approach to land reform.²¹

Furthermore, DfID had been engaged through the EU task force on land in the development of the European guidelines on land policy and reform, and had been one of the more active bilateral donors there. Overall, the feeling was that DfID had played a positive role in the development of both policy frameworks, securing a more important role for issues like customary tenure, common pool rights, redistribution and a more pro-active role for the state (Quan personal communication, 17 November 2006).

So perhaps it was legitimate to ask what the role for DfID was meant to be after these 'successes' had been obtained, apart from working through pooled funding with other European donors and the World Bank to translate the new policy documents into practice and focus on implementation of the various land laws which had been put in place across Africa. But while changes in policy have been secured, there are still differences in practice with the World Bank (Quan personal communication, 17 November 2006). The main problem is to translate new policies into practice on issues such as participation, decentralisation, addressing customary tenure, and supporting state based land reforms. In practice, the Bank still 'tends to emphasise its old favourites like land titling, supporting land administration institutions, and stimulating land markets' (Julian Quan personal communication, 7 June 2007). Furthermore, although DfID nominally supports a broader view of land reform programmes, 'the overall drift of aid policy is in the direction of financial aid/budget support and joined up working with the Bank and other donors – so DfID has less autonomy to do things on its own and take distinctive approaches, and less staff, because of government caps, to address specific issues like land in a meaningful way at country level' (ibid).²² DfID's lack of capacity to engage pro-

21 APGOOD meeting, 25 October 2005

22 Camilla Toulmin explained the main unresolved divergences with the World Bank approach as following: 1) The continuing pro-market-assisted land reform and willing-buyer, willing-seller approach of the WB, which 'rarely worked'; 2) Doubts about the role for expropriation and compensation in redistributive policies; 3) Differences of opinion about the rights of FDI incomers, versus local rights and priorities; 4) Doubts about successful micro- and other credit being through land titles, 5) Attempts to bring land into PRSPs, and 6) Livelihoods approaches versus the response to a globalising world over land in developing countries (APGOOD meeting, 25 October 2005)

actively on land policy and implementation therefore meant that it started to rely much heavier on the World Bank's policy lead.

2.3. WIDER INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Looking at the institutional and external context in which DfID found itself in the early 21st century helps to start understanding the sudden changes in support for central technical capacity and budgets for land policy work.

In 2003, following the invasion in Iraq, the British government was desperately in need of funds to start financing Iraq's reconstruction. While the Iraqi government did not receive any aid prior to 2003/04, in that year, bilateral aid from the UK including humanitarian assistance was £209 million, a whopping 11 per cent of the total amount of bilateral aid. The diversion of funds to Iraq²³ was raised as a great concern by the British NGO community (BOND Funding Working Group minutes, Oct 2003²⁴) as well as in the House of Lords.²⁵ This large amount of money had to be found from somewhere, and apart from a drastic drop in funding to middle income countries, there were also some drastic changes to the allocations to internal technical capacity in DfID in favour of capacity on governance and economics.

This coincided with an internal restructuring of the policy division in DfID in 2003, to 'strengthen evidence-base for policy making'.²⁶ The restructuring was finalised in 2004, and by then there was no infrastructure department, health, social development, urban department left, and new teams were created which to some extent took on a policy role, but which had no real control over budgets and resources (Quan personal communication, 17 November 2006). Combined with the retirement of Mike Scott, who had encouraged a serious level of engagement with land rights (Palmer 2006), this led to the disappearance of the Rural Livelihoods

23 The imminent budgetary changes were announced in a Parliamentary Statement by Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development in November 2003. Parliamentary Statement: DfID Funding For Low Income And Middle Income Countries: accessed on 22 April 2007: www2.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/Speeches/benn-micstatement-nov03.pdf

24 www.bond.org.uk/wgroups/funding/minutes/24oct03.htm Accessed 22 April

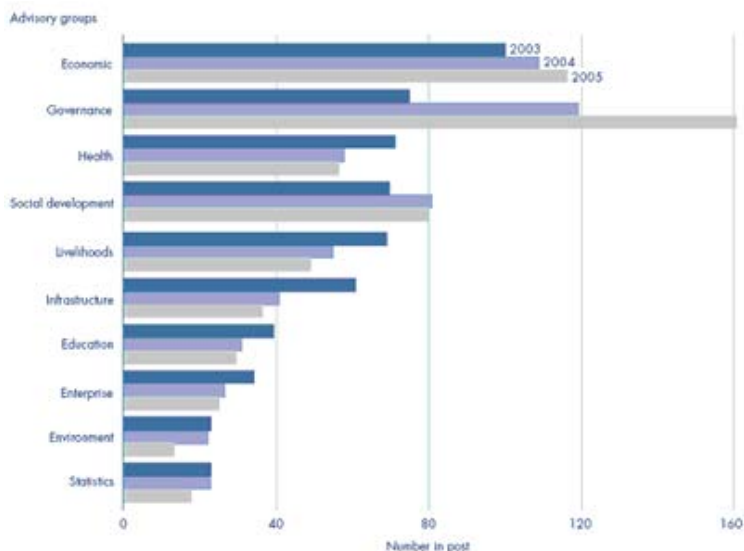
25 In June 2004, concern was raised by Baroness Northover in the House of Lords: 'Why is it that the reconstruction forced on us by the UK's actions comes out of the DfID budget which is supposed to help the poorest in the world? Can the Minister tell me which countries are, therefore, suffering cutbacks as a result of this policy, this distortion in the budget?'

www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200304/ldhansrd/vo040609/text/40609-13.htm

26 DfID Performance Partnership Agreement www.civilservice.gov.uk/archive/performance_partnerships/publications/pdf/DfID_PPA.pdf

Division and the replacement by ‘a mix of Urban-Rural Change and Agriculture within a huge new Policy Division’ (Palmer 2005, 8).²⁷ As a result, there has been a differentiation of the type of technical assistance funded in DfID, with capacity in such areas as economics and governance increasing steeply, while support for ‘softer’ areas, such as health, livelihoods, education and environment decreased substantially (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Advisory Capacity in DfID, 2003-2005



Source: NAO review of DfID impact on rural poverty 2007, 26

Lastly, quite substantial changes have taken place in recent years to aid levels and disbursement methods. DfID’s budget has increased with more than 60 per cent in only 5 years (from 2.9 billion in 2002-03 to £4.7 billion in 2006-07) in line with its international commitments to reach 0.7 per cent of GNI by 2013.²⁸ At the same time there is ever increasing pressure to reduce overheads, meaning that the Department increasingly was organised around ensuring large sums of money can be administered and passed on to other organisations, through either multilateral support for development banks, through Programme Partnership Agreements with large NGOs, or through Direct Budget Support with developing country

²⁷ There is still a livelihoods Head of Profession in DfID, but no livelihoods team (the current HoP is John Barrett).

²⁸ UK aid levels in 2006 equalled 0.52% of GNI <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/14/5/38354517.pdf>

governments.²⁹ As a result, as one insider put it, ‘it has become impossible to get small money from DfID’. It was the ‘small money’ that previously had supported DfID initiatives on land issues, such as research pieces, support for seminars and conferences, and the Land Policy Group.

The combined impacts of both institutional and external changes have led many to believe that DfID has compromised its ‘progressive’ position as a global leader on crucial issues such as livelihoods approaches, rights based development, sustainability and the environment. To what extent these ‘progressive’ policies were ever translated into practice in the first place is of course subject to debate, and beyond the scope of this paper.³⁰ But despite the lack of coherent and multiple concrete achievements on the ground, according to Quan the reorganisation of DfID’s policy division has left the organisation without a team or focal point to carry forward the rights based approach it was widely regarded to champion (Quan 2004, 4).

Moreover, DfID’s institutional culture instigated by the then Minister for International Development Clare Short in 1997, characterised by a certain inclusiveness uncharacteristic for government departments, and a certain willingness to work through joint working groups spanning the civil service and civil society which ‘offered a regular two-way flow of ideas and information’ (Palmer 2006, 7), was changed quite dramatically as a result, pointing perhaps to a slight unease that DfID might have been too accessible, and therefore less in control.

²⁹ Poverty Reduction Budget Support is general or sector specific support towards country government’s national poverty reduction plans through the direct funding of Ministries of Planning or Finance. This type of funding doubled from 7 per cent of the overall DfID programme in 2002/03 to 14 per cent in 2005/06 (calculated on the basis of DfID statistics: www.DfID.gov.uk/pubs/files/sid2006/section2.asp. Overall DfID programme excluding DfID administration and Humanitarian Assistance.)

³⁰ It suffices to briefly quote Piron, who suggests that the way in which rights were taken up in DfID tended to be rather instrumental and focused on community participation in service delivery, which is not the same as ‘demanding and be able to ensure the respect or protection of specific rights, such as, for example, the right to health or education’ (Piron, in Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall 2004, 36).

3. Presenting land policies: shifting focus

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As in any large institution, the pace of the changes described above has been uneven, and despite a renewed focus centrally on economic growth and governance as described in chapter 2, it is likely that the nature of land policies at country level will depend on the individuals involved, and whether DfID staff based in-country have been involved in earlier land policy work in DfID or not. For this reason, it is useful to give a short summary of the key principles of land policy in both periods, as different staff may be guided by different sets of principles. At the risk of simplifying the discussion, but for ease of reference, I will refer to the period from 1997 to 2002 as the *rural livelihoods period* and to the period from 2003 to today as the *agricultural growth period*. The key approaches are outlined in the following points, and summarised in table 2.

Table 2: Comparison of Rural Livelihoods period with Agricultural Growth period

Key issues	Rural Livelihoods period 1997-2002	Agricultural Growth period 2003-present
Land redistribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equality in land ownership important for equitable economic growth • Stays clear from supporting expropriation • Recognises that market-based redistribution has been controversial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central principle willing buyer, willing seller, no recognition of existing controversy^a • Explicit commitment to support voluntary land redistribution^a
Formalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognises the security customary tenure offers • Titling will not resolve difficulties for smallholders, and can make situation worse • Caution about de Soto's support for formal titling • Caution about new technical and computerised solutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formalisation is a question of development. With economic progress, formal titling becomes more important^a • preference for clear and transferable property rights^a • Security of tenure = incentive to invest^{a,b} • Support for technology^a

Privatisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solutions to tenure problems exist other than individual freehold titles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No pronouncement on individual and/or customary land titles
Women's land Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call for cultural action and education to change discriminative practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong focus on gender and women's marginalisation through culture, tradition and legislation^b
Indigenous peoples	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • States that land rights of indigenous people are increasingly recognised 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of exclusion of people on basis of ethnicity and tribe^b
Development orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihoods • Rights and redress • Economic growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural growth cornerstone for economic growth^a • Build investment climate^a • Good governance: effective states and accountability to civil society^b
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicit recognition of role civil society in moving debate • Focus on government and civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective states • Scrutinising civil society • Private sector led development
Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gradual increase in commitment to land related programmes³¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No data on current funding figures • Minister: spending £50 million³²

a) based on Agriculture Policy Paper, 2005

b) based on Land Policy Paper, 2007

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31 Part 4 will show that while there was an overall increase in funding over this period, substantial sums were invested in land privatisation programmes in former Soviet states.

32 Stated by Private Under Secretary of State Gareth Thomas at the launch of the 2007 land policy paper, 19 July 2007

3.2. RURAL LIVELIHOODS PERIOD: 1997-2002 AND THE DRAFT LAND POLICY PAPER

3.2.1. *Broader context: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach*

The development of the land policy during what I have called the Rural Livelihoods Period needs to be situated within the wider context of the development of thinking around Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) concepts in DfID.³³ Much of the period 1997-2002 was characterised by the development of policy and practice around the SL concept, starting with its inclusion in the first DfID White Paper, the establishment of various Livelihoods policy groups and fora,³⁴ the publication of various papers, a website³⁵ and organisation of conferences, and finally the reorientation of the work of the Natural Resources Policy and Advisory Department away from a focus on *resources and technologies* to a focus on *people and sustainable livelihoods* (Solesbury 2003). A sustainable livelihood was seen to comprise ‘the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) for a means of living’ (DfID 1999) and drew on changing views of poverty, recognising the diversity of aspirations, the importance of assets and communities, and the constraints and opportunities provided by institutional structures and processes (Ashley and Carney 1999: 4; in Solesbury 2003, 14).

It was in this context that the Land Policy Group was set up, and that the subsequent draft paper *Better Livelihoods for poor people: the role of Land Policy* was developed in 2002. Many key elements in the draft paper reflect elements of the broader Sustainable Livelihoods approach, as will be briefly highlighted below. The paper was however never adopted as official policy in DfID, even though it is still available online.³⁶

33 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) emerged at the end of the 1990s from experiences of OXFAM, CARE and others and was further developed and strongly supported by DfID. Its concern was to move the focus of development interventions from food security to the wider concept of livelihood strategies. It considers the Pentagon of Assets (Human, Natural, Financial, Physical and Social capital) available to rural people as a paradigm of any effort to promote sustainable development. The approach focuses on livelihood outcomes instead of project objectives with an emphasis on holistic diagnosis. (FAO 2005, 23)

34 The Rural Livelihoods Advisory Group was set up in 1998 and the Sustainable Livelihoods Resource Group of researchers/consultants in 1999. DfID commissioned and funded Livelihoods Connect, a website serving as a learning platform for the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (Solesbury, 2003)

35 The website is still active, and is hosted by the Institute for Development Studies: www.livelihoods.org/

36 See Oxfam land rights website: <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/DfIDpol2.rtf>

3.2.2. Draft land policy paper 2002: Why is land important?

The land policy paper centres on the need to focus on land, land rights and land reform because of the centrality of land as a fundamental livelihood asset. ‘Shelter, food production and other livelihood activities all depend on it’ (DfID 2002, 1), and therefore it is a crucial, even though not sufficient, element in poverty reduction. The four key ways in which pro-poor land policy is thought to contribute to poverty reduction are through *sustainable economic growth, greater equity, security, and environmental sustainability*.

The paper treads a careful path between approaching the land question as an essential element in achieving ‘economic growth’ and in securing ‘sustainable livelihoods’. Overall, it did a good job in recognising the inherently political nature of the land question, and raised some serious questions around the accepted land orthodoxies of the time, epitomised by the promotion of formalised individual land tenure by the World Bank since the 1970s. Specific criticism is reserved for technocratic, stand alone approaches, and the paper is clear that ‘land policies and reforms need unambiguously to address the inherent tensions and interests. National stakeholders, including a wide range of government, civil society and community stakeholders must be effectively engaged in the development of land policy’ (ibid, 16).

Overall, in line with DfID’s country focus, the paper addresses particularly issues with regards to sub-Saharan Africa, and although making reference to situations of highly unequal countries like Brazil, the policy recommendations bear more relevance to the African continent.

3.2.3. Position on key issues

Redistribution

From an economic point of view, the paper asserts that equality in land ownerships brings faster and more equitable economic growth (ibid, 6), and that in terms of productivity, ‘[s]mall farms are often more productive than larger estates’ (ibid, 2). Inequality in land ownership also inhibits possibilities for poverty reduction, as ‘[w]hen land ownership is highly unequal, agricultural growth delivers fewer benefits for the poor’ (ibid, 2).

The paper thus argues in favour of land distribution: ‘[t]here is good evidence that *equality in the ownership of land and other assets encourages faster, more equitable growth*. This underpins the case for land redistribution’ (ibid, 6, original emphasis). The paper steers away however from endorsing expropriation, and states that ‘there

is a range of alternatives for improving land distribution, short of expropriation' (ibid, 6), and lists these as strengthening tenant rights, abolition of intermediary landlords, imposition of land ceilings and introducing a land tax.³⁷

The paper also refers to the potential of market-based policy but notes: 'However, it has proved highly controversial amongst civil society organisations that see it as favouring the better off' (ibid, 6).³⁸ A final alternative put forward is one involving 'landless people's organisations directly' (ibid, 6). However, rather strangely, this includes the idea of NGOs acting on behalf of the poor and leasing land to them, a charitable version of the 'intermediary landlord' which was suggested to be abolished earlier.

Formalisation

'Formal rights do not necessarily provide greater security than informal or customary rights' (ibid, 2), the paper asserts. First, it argues that titling will not resolve the difficulties of smallholders to access credit markets, because formal titles have little value as collateral in cases where plots are small, where the legal system or land markets do not function (ibid, 8). Second, the paper outlines how formal titling can result in the breakdown of customary or informal resource management systems leading to environmental degradation (ibid, 4) or the loss of security for the most vulnerable, particularly women and the very poor who are unable to participate in the bureaucratic process of formal registration (ibid, 8).³⁹ There are many other, 'incremental improvements to tenure', which do not need to be individual freehold titles. The ones listed are: formalisation of tenure, recognition of informal rights, codification of tenancy and sharecropping agreements, and cooperative or condominium ownership (ibid, 9).

37 While many of these alternatives centre on legal reform, the redistributive potential of legal or constitutional reform that broadens the function of land, as is the case in Brazil, is not highlighted. The land related clause in the Brazilian constitution is what gives social movements the legal framework to be able to demand distribution of underused land through campaigning and occupations.

38 'Although this [market based mechanisms for land reform] has potential in certain contexts it has aroused considerable opposition in others, for instance from landless movements in Brazil and the Philippines. The main criticisms are that: the poor face enormous difficulties in accessing land through the market; markets do not tackle structural inequalities in land ownership; markets do not necessarily help level the playing field between smallholders and agribusiness. Whatever the approach, successful redistribution needs infrastructure and social and agricultural support services. At the extreme, some programmes have been described as creating 'agricultural slums' (DfID 2002, 5).

39 The paper also highlights that formalisation of land titles has not even been completed in any of the leading OECD economies, and questions an approach that would take formalisation of titles as the necessary fundamentals for 'development' and 'economic growth'.

With regard to the theories of Hernando de Soto, the paper cautions that ‘it should not, therefore, be assumed that formal titling is a universal requirement’ and that a variety of systems may be appropriate for different countries and circumstances (ibid, 9). Instead, it strongly argues for distinct, locally appropriate approaches instead of one-size-fit-all solutions (ibid, 17).⁴⁰

Indigenous people territories and marginalised groups

There is no extensive discussion of indigenous peoples’ territories apart from the assertion that ‘many indigenous groups have now gained legal title’, cautioning that some of the communal ownership in these titles can exclude internal vulnerable users (ibid, 11). There is more attention however for women and marginalised groups, and both formal and informal land tenure systems are criticised for failing to offer secure land rights to women. There is a need to go beyond legal reform alone, and cultural action, advocacy and education will be needed to change discriminative practices (ibid, 10).

Box 2 Draft land policy paper (2002): what DfID will do

- Support land reform where land is identified by poor people as a priority (e.g. through supporting national debate, ensuring the voice of the poor is heard, capacity building and provide access to expertise)
- Support regional initiatives, ‘particularly those that promise to move country processes forward’
- At international level, promote ‘well-coordinated, joined-up approaches between multilateral and bilateral agencies working on land reform’ (e.g. EU, IFIs, UN, Cities Alliance)
- A 3 year programme on land policy to strengthen partnerships at all levels.⁴¹

Source: DfID 2002, 17-8

⁴⁰ According to the paper, this aimed to:

- Support pro-poor approaches to land, primarily through country programmes.
- Support regional initiatives for lesson learning, capacity building and providing forums for debate.
- Promote coherent approaches to land policy amongst bilateral and multilateral organisations.
- Strengthen knowledge, learning and best practice, and effective civil society engagement in land policy and land reform.

⁴¹ ‘Some countries have made efforts to recognise customary rights, and the examples of Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Tanzania, Uganda are listed, but two unresolved questions remain in these cases, which are the role of traditional chiefs in these processes, as well as the need to find the balance between small scale agriculture and the needs of commercial agriculture’ (DfID 2002, 10).

3.3. AGRICULTURAL GROWTH PERIOD: 2003-NOW

3.3.1. *New approach to agriculture*

As was discussed in part 2, the capacity and funding made available centrally for work on land was drastically reduced shortly after the draft land policy paper came out. The post of Land Policy Advisor did not exist in a similar form anymore after 2003, and the draft land policy paper was never published as DfID land policy.⁴² At the same time, in parallel with a broader shift in the official development community after decades of policy and funding neglect of the agricultural sector, DfID started paying more attention again to the agriculture, mainly as a stepping stone to economic growth.

The Policy Division was restructured accordingly, and a new Renewable Natural Resources and Agriculture Team, or RNRA team, was formed, which itself forms part of the bigger Growth and Investment Division. The RNRA team sits next to the other teams of the Growth and Investment Division which are Business Alliances, Financial Sector, Investment Climate, and Growth. The positioning of agriculture within this overarching economic growth and private sector perspective was for many civil society organisations proof that DfID had lost interest in the sustainable livelihoods approach.⁴³ In fact, DfID itself states as much in its Agricultural Policy paper ‘The emphasis given to agriculture’s wider role in poverty reduction, particularly through accelerating economic growth, represents a change from our recent approach that has focused on the direct contribution to rural livelihoods.’ (DfID 2005, 37).

Land reform is now dealt with within the *Agriculture* area of the RNRA team (the other two areas being *Forestry and Fisheries*). Until DfID developed its own official land policy in 2007, it referred to the EU Guidelines on Land Policy as its official policy (developed in 2004 with DfID input). But even before the official policy was published, a shift in approach was discernable in the context of the wider changes away from the rural livelihoods agenda to one of pro-poor economic growth and good governance with agriculture as a cornerstone, through statements in key flagship DfID policy documents on agriculture and land reform.

⁴² This is still available online: <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/DfIDpol2.rtf>

⁴³ The UK Food Group, a coalition of development and environment NGOs, voiced its concern after a consultation on the draft agricultural strategy in September 2005: ... with its focus ‘on farmers capable of increasing productivity and creating significant additional employment’ (p5), it appears from the way in which it is presented that these Guidelines are abandoning DfID’s pro-poor policies and placing emphasis on working with a privileged class of rural people, in the hope that benefits to the poor will ‘trickle down.’ (UKFG 2005, 1).

Below, I will summarise the highlights on land reform in three recent high level UK policy documents on international development. These are: the DfID policy paper *Growth and Poverty Reduction: the role of agriculture* (2005), the *Report of the Commission for Africa* (2005) and the most recent *White Paper on International Development* (2006). Finally, the recently launched land policy paper will be discussed, aiming to illustrate some of the differences with the earlier livelihood approach.

3.3.2. Land reform in key UK Policy Papers

The first key policy paper that will be looked at is the *Agricultural Growth Policy Paper*. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this was an extensive piece of work carried out by the Agriculture team of the Growth and Investment Department of DfID's policy department, which included 14 preparatory working papers on key themes, an e-discussion forum, a two months consultation, and in total took a full year and a half to complete (from June 2004 to December 2005).⁴⁴ The Agricultural policy paper identifies seven priority areas for action, which includes work on land and property rights. The priority areas are: to create policies that support agriculture, to target public spending more effectively, to tackle market failure, to fill the agricultural finance gap, to spread the benefits of new technology, to improve access to land and secure property rights and to reduce distortions in international agricultural markets (DfID 2005, 3-4).

With regards to land, a few key issues stand out that illustrate the difference with the earlier thinking on land reform. On *redistribution* for example, the policy paper leaves no doubt: 'In land redistribution, "willing buyer, willing seller" must remain the central principle' (ibid, 34). The recognition in the 2002 draft land policy paper that this principle has aroused considerable opposition from landless people (DfID 2002, 5) is completely absent from the paper, despite this issue also being raised various times by civil society in the consultation phase. The paper proposes that measures need to be designed to help poor people to buy land, while encouraging landowners to sell it to the poor (ibid, 34).

While the earlier draft land policy paper was very cautious about *formal titling of land* and its benefits for poverty reduction, this paper points out that the question is one of a continuum of formalisation, where in less developed countries formal titling may be less important, while as economies develop, more formal mechanisms are important in defining property rights (ibid, 34).

⁴⁴ The various documents from the consultation period are still available on the web www.DfID-agriculture-consultation.nri.org/

While the pitfalls associated with formal land titling are recognised, for example that land titling sometimes can become a weapon of the strong against the weak, overall, there is a clear preference displayed for ‘clear and transferable property rights that are recognised by banks [...and] allow land to be used as security by farmers wanting to borrow money’ (ibid, 34). Deininger and de Soto are quoted to show how important this is for poor farmers ‘who would otherwise have limited access to credit’ (ibid, 34).⁴⁵ Box 3 summarises the commitments made by DfID in this paper with regard to land.

Box 3 Policy Paper on Agriculture (2005): what DfID will do

‘Working with developing country governments, civil society and other development agencies, we will, in accordance with EU guidelines:

- when requested, support programmes for voluntary land redistribution by increasing poor people’s ability to buy land and by making legal processes more accessible to them;
- support efforts to improve land policy and legal and administration systems, including initiatives to make leasehold and other systems operate more efficiently and consistently with the land rights of marginalised groups and women; and
- support programmes seeking to improve access to water resources by the poor’

The second flagship policy piece was produced by the Commission for Africa, which was an initiative established in 2005 by Tony Blair, then Prime Minister of Britain, to gather support for prioritising Africa’s development at the G8 meetings in June that year. The Commission consisted of 17 international leaders, including many African leaders, so the resulting report is therefore not British policy. It is however still worth looking at because Britain played an important role in the Commission, and also because the Commission for Africa is specifically referred to in the 2007 Land Policy paper.

The importance of land rights is recognised in the Commission for Africa

⁴⁵ In a later point however, the paper does recognise that there are also cases where formal titling does not necessarily improve access to credit.

report, mainly within the context of the importance of agricultural growth for Africa's development.⁴⁶ The Commission states that the objective of land reform should be to 'provide poor people, particularly women and the most vulnerable, with some sort of security in land tenure, and thus the incentive to invest'. Technological advances such as Geographical Information Systems and computerised records are said to be potentially helpful in land registration and increasing transparency and accountability, although the paper warns that security of tenure should not automatically be equated with formal titling systems, which would generally be more appropriate in urban areas. Proposals for land reform 'need to be grounded in local social and political legitimacy and provide methods, based on local culture, for dealing with conflict and dispute' (ibid, 239).

However, in another place in the report, a strong case is made for promoting formal property rights, claiming that access to credit and financial services is problematic as formal legal title to homes and land are often required as collateral to obtain commercial credit. The recommendation following from this observation is that:

African governments must unleash the strong entrepreneurial spirit of Africa's people. To promote this, donor, governments and the private sector should co-ordinate their efforts behind the proposed Investment Climate Facility (ICF) of the African Union's NEPAD programme. This requires US\$550 million from donors and the private sector over seven years to identify and overcome the obstacles to doing business (Commission for Africa 2005, 231).

The Commission for Africa thus has quite contradictory statements with regards to how the question of land rights should be approached, although the overall approach of building attractive business environments, promoting better investment climates which ensure private property rights and business interests are protected indicate which approach is the most favoured. According to Manji, the Commission for Africa report embodied a way in which DfID could still play a very important role in setting the land policy agenda globally as well as in-country, as 'the report of Britain's Commission for a Strong and Prosperous Africa has urged that all donors support the acquisition of formal legal title to

⁴⁶ Land rights and secure tenure are presented as one of five 'interlocking areas', which must be addressed together. These are: Irrigation, Getting crops to market, Research and innovation, Selling within Africa, Land rights and secure tenure (Commission for Africa 2005, 49 and 237).

land in order to tackle poverty and promote growth' (Manji 2006, 32). Others however would perhaps disagree with the extent to which the Commission for Africa was concerned with land rights.⁴⁷

The final policy paper of interest in this section is the UK's most recent White Paper on International Development, *Making Governance Work for the Poor* (2006), because it sets policy priorities for DfID for the foreseeable future (the previous White paper was published in 2000). Land does not feature strongly in and of itself in the White Paper.⁴⁸

More broadly however, as the title suggest, the 2006 White Paper focuses entirely on *good governance*, and the central role governance plays in poverty reduction. Since the White Paper, much of DfID's work has been reorganised around governance issues, and, increasingly, land issues are being incorporated within the good governance agenda.⁴⁹ The second central element to the new DfID poverty reduction agenda presented in the White Paper is *economic growth*, as 'growth is the best way to reduce poverty' (ibid, 57). Both agendas are the explicit framework in which land rights are embedded in the 2007 official policy paper on land.

On land rights specifically, it is only worth mentioning that the White Paper couches security of land tenure mainly in terms of helping poor people to participate in newly created economic opportunities. Growth in itself will not do the trick of poverty alleviation, and the poor can still be left behind even with fast economic growth (ibid, 64). That is the reason why the property rights of the poor need to be strengthened 'as they provide collateral and encourage people to invest in the land' (ibid, 65). The argument put forward in the Agriculture Strategy paper (2005) that it is not always true that formalised property rights improve access to finance has by now disappeared.

47 For example, Camilla Toulmin, in a meeting of the All Parliamentary Group on Overseas Development (APGOOD) on 25 October 2005 said that 'Despite EU progress in and broadening of this area, the meagre attention paid to land in the Commission for Africa 2005 Report (a few paragraphs) was a disappointment' (www.odi.org.uk/speeches/apgood/Agric_in_Africa_05/apgood_oct25/report.html)

48 There are two practical examples given where DfID has helped developing countries, amongst others by focussing on land issues, notably in Rwanda through supporting the land reform process (DfID 2006, 26) and in Tajikistan through supporting Third Party Arbitration Courts which 'provide poor people with a cheap, fair and accessible way of resolving disputes and protecting their rights' (ibid, 31).

49 See for example Robin Palmer's literature study on governance and secure access to land, commissioned by DfID (<http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HD417.pdf>).

3.3.3. DfID Policy Paper - Land: Better Access and Secure Rights for Poor People (2007)

In June 2007, DfID launched a policy paper on land. Gareth Thomas, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for DfID, introduced the paper as follows:

So, it's time to bring land centre stage for a change as an important development issue. An issue where perhaps we haven't done as much as we could to talk about the £50 million of commitments that we currently have on land issues. This new paper therefore sets out our approach, which is guided by the EU's Land Policy Guidelines (2004). It also provides an update on what we're doing together with other donors and also with NGOs to improve poor people's access to land and secure their rights in 21 countries around the world.⁵⁰

The document does not read like a typical policy paper, however, and it seems that the key objective underlying its publication is to re-affirm the importance of land in DfID's thinking, rather than to set out DfID's policy. This is done in two ways. One is to stress the fact that access to land is linked very strongly with DfID's current development priorities of economic growth and good governance, and a separate section is dedicated to explain each. The second aim is to give more information about what DfID is practically doing both in country and at a global level, and the document is peppered with practical examples of what DfID is doing in a wide range of countries. DfID hasn't invested much energy in publicly communicating much of its work on land since 2003 and, until now, there were no concerted efforts to bring it to the public eye.

The final section of the paper generically sets out what 'DfID's approach to land issues' is. It states that DfID's land policy is based on the EU land policy guidelines as well as being embedded within the DfID 2005 Agriculture Policy Paper.⁵¹ Three key comments are made about the approach DfID takes on land:

- Land is not only a rural issue, competition over land rights is much higher in urban areas
- Focus on country-led approaches, where partner governments request support
- Contribution to multi-donor efforts, but taking the lead in Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa.

⁵⁰ Speech available at: <http://www.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/Speeches/land-paper-launch.asp>

⁵¹ The Commission for Africa and the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme of NEPAD are also mentioned briefly.

- Support for global initiatives including the Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor, and the global Rights and Resource Initiative.

As mentioned above, the paper is peppered with practical cases and boxes with examples of how DfID supports in-country as well as regional and global land related work. DfID works either directly or supporting other donors in 21 countries (2007, 4), and DfID's work in most of these countries is described in the paper.⁵² This enriches the paper substantially, showing the complexity of various country contexts and the wide variety of DfID supported programmes, as well as perhaps avoiding a uniform policy approach to the issue, giving DfID country staff a wider menu of options to inform their work.

At the same time, the approach of using many examples without framing them within a broader strategy makes the paper appear rather unclear about DfID's policy approach. Keith Bell from the World Bank is quoted in order to convey DfID's thinking on this: 'There is no template for land policy. What works in one country might not be suitable in another' (2007, 23). This lack of a clear policy steer however has led some to claim that the paper is intellectually weak (anonymous, personal communication, November 2007).

However, even DfID's support for country-led programmes cannot take place in a policy vacuum, and much of this is provided in the broader framing on economic growth and good governance, as well as through the positions outlined in the Agricultural Strategy paper above. Unlike with the 2002 draft land policy paper however, the new land policy paper does not lend itself to discussing land policy positions more in-depth, and the reader is referred to the EU Land Policy Guidelines to find specific policy positions on various land related issues.

The implications of the DfID 2007 land policy paper in relation to the broader paradigm within which DfID now frames land rights will be explored in further detail below, from which the key policy positions listed in table 4 have been deduced. Finally, a table is presented which summarises the various examples used in the policy paper, to give a flavour of DfID's current support for land programmes.

⁵² These are: Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Moldova, Mozambique, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, South Africa, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam

Overall Paradigm

Secure access to land is important for two reasons. Highly *unequal land distribution* is bad as it ‘slows economic growth, and closes down opportunities for poor people’ (2007, 1). Secondly, *lack of tenure security* to land and property ‘makes people vulnerable to eviction, and discourages them from making productive investments’ (ibid, 1). However, unlike in the Agriculture Policy Paper, the paper shows no explicit preference for reform mechanisms, and DfID affirms that it takes its lead from partner governments themselves, when they ‘request support for their land reform processes and where we consider they are committed to supporting change’ (ibid, 24). This mirrors DfID’s broader stated approach to development as being country-led and focussed on strengthening governance and accountability: ‘Success ultimately lies with improving governance – tackling the institutions and power structures that control access to land’ (2007, 3).

The two key priorities for DfID outlined in the paper are to ensure poor people can participate in *shared economic growth*, and to *improve governance* so poor men and women can gain secure access to land and property (2007, 3). The twin emphasis on shared economic growth and good governance links the paper directly with DfID’s 2006 White Paper, and therefore explicitly highlights the current relevance of land rights in DfID’s work.

Shared economic growth

‘Better access to land’, the land policy paper asserts, ‘can play a large part in addressing the four big challenges for growth identified by the White Paper – ensuring *faster growth*, *tackling inequality*, making growth *sustainable* and enhancing *mobility*’ (2007, 5). DfID has established that economic growth in and of itself does not necessarily lead to poverty reduction, and secure access to land is presented as a key entry point to ensure that growth will be genuinely poverty reducing as well as environmentally sustainable. The specific ways in which these four challenges are partly overcome through better land access is set out over seven pages of the paper. In some ways, this approach is reflected in the proposition of the economist Hernando de Soto, which claims that the real problem of poverty is the fact that in reality, poor people sit on millions of dollars worth of assets, but because these are not formally recognised as such, they cannot participate within the wider economy.⁵³

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53 In fact, it is thought that de Soto’s programme has had ‘a considerable influence on thinking on land issues at the UK’s Department for International Development’ (personal communication with Quan, in Manji 2006, 4).

The paper also focuses on improving the business investment climate, much in line with the White Paper and the Commission for Africa, through strengthening of land and property rights. At the same time, however, the tension between external and local investors is recognised, stating that ‘If external investment is likely to increase land and property prices to levels which local people can’t afford, inequality will increase, at least in the short to medium term. On the other hand, if regulations are not attractive enough to external investors they will go elsewhere’ (2007, 7). No recommendations are made for how this tension should best be tackled to ensure poor people are not further marginalised.

Underlying the section on the economic importance of land reform is a clear reflection of the approach taken in the agricultural policy paper. Agriculture needs to be modernised, and land reform is a key aspect of that. While explicitly the text refers to land rights for poor people, there is hardly any mention of the role of smallholders in this context or, perhaps even more tellingly, of the fact that many smallholders that currently own land are becoming increasingly land insecure because of the forces of the global food production system, including the liberalisation of agriculture, food dumping and the dismantling of state support for agriculture imposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions. The paper does not recognise these as pressures on land ownership at all, but remains solely focused on national level frameworks. In this way, the paper fails to set out a fuller picture of problems with secure land access.

Good governance

Land issues are also explicitly linked to DfID’s good governance agenda. The analysis in the second section of the paper turns more socio-political, and recognises that land ‘is also a source of identity, status and political power’ (2007, 12). It acknowledges that poor people are actively prevented from accessing land by powerful elites, landowners and land professionals with vested interests through the obstruction of simple and accessible systems for land transfer (ibid, 13). Red tape, the paper seems to say, serves the purpose of political elites to keep the poor away from the land. Ultimately, the paper states, ‘[T]here needs to be both broad political consensus and wider reforms – in short, the creation of effective states’ (ibid, 14).

Some of the examples given in the paper illustrate the work DfID is doing to strengthen civil society. For example, the work in Indonesia to help ‘strengthen farmers’ voices and encouraging local government to respond’ (ibid, 14), mainly with regard to agro-forestry activities, the support to landless peoples’

organisations in Bangladesh, and the funding of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions in Kenya to tackle forcible evictions. The paper also gives a number of examples of how DfID works directly on state effectiveness by supporting land law improvements and implementation, for example in Nigeria and in Rwanda. Table 4 lists all current programme support mentioned in the paper, and shows how a substantial part of the work supported by DfID focuses on governmental effectiveness and effective law and policy implementation.

Table 3: DfID actions at country, regional and global level, Land Policy Paper 2007
(Countries where DfID is lead agency are underlined>)

Country level	
<u>Afghanistan</u>	Working with the Asian Development Bank, DfID is helping the government. A national land policy is being prepared, together with a new land titling and registration system, in order to make land administration more efficient and fair (2007, 20).
<u>Angola</u>	DfID co-funds the Luanda Urban Poverty Project to tackle urban poverty and to support the peace process, aiming to influence fairer and more inclusive policies in Luanda (2007, 20).
<u>Bangladesh</u> <i>£11 million</i>	Support for two civil society organisations, Nijera Kori and Samata, to help improve poor people's access to public land (2007, 15).
<u>Cambodia</u>	Promotion of access rights by the poor (2007, 23).
<u>Ghana</u> <i>\$9 million</i>	Working with the World Bank, DfID is helping to coordinate support to the Land Administration Project (LAP) to improve the effectiveness, transparency and accountability of traditional authorities (2007, 22).
<u>India</u>	Working with UN Food and Agriculture Organisation to distribute basic homestead plots to landless people (2007, 8).

Indonesia	Helping poor people to access unused and deteriorating state land for agro-forestry activities to reverse poverty and environmental decline through the Multistakeholder Forestry Programme (2007, 14).
<u>Kenya</u>	Support for <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - government as well as civil society (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions) to develop national guidelines on forcible removal - technical assistance to the Ministry of Land to finalise the National Land Policy. - implementation of formal and transparent legal mechanism to redress injustices - training of 7,000 members of the Kenyan Land Control Boards and Land Disputes Tribunals (2007, 16). - with the World Bank, a Financial and Legal Sector Technical Assistance Programme, to digitise land records for the central business district in Nairobi
Malawi	Focus on land titling and registration to land and governance (2007, 23).
Mozambique <i>£2 million</i>	DfID leads a Community Land Use Fund, open to communities and civil society, to raise awareness of the Land Law, link policy with practical actions, and integrate land rights allocation with local development planning. DfID contributes half of the overall budget (2007, 24).
Nigeria <i>Part of £30 million programme</i>	In five states, working to reduce the time it takes for courts to settle land disputes, and to improve the slow and costly business of registering and transferring land in the country. Also working with Ministry of Lands to develop best practice standards (2007, 12).
<u>Rwanda</u>	DfID supported a land consultation process. The ongoing task in Rwanda is to work out the detailed systems and safeguards of the new policy and legal framework (2007, 24). Land administration is also one of the three components of the Investment Climate Facility for Africa initiative in Rwanda (2007, 6).
<u>South Africa</u> <i>£2 million</i>	DfID has two linked land programmes: Urban LandMark to improve institutions and frameworks that manage urban land, and an associated rural land programme to help farmers secure access during the restitution process, and provide post-settlement support (2007, 23).

Tajikistan	Helped to make legal services available to 800,000 people (12 per cent of the population by supporting Third Party Arbitration Courts (TPACs) (2007, 17).
<u>Tanzania</u>	DfID was the lead donor in 2006 of the Business Environment Strengthening in Tanzania (BEST) Programme, which supports the government's strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws.
Regional	
African Union	Support to develop a regional framework to support national action plans (2007, 4).
World Bank	Research and policy programme with focus on Uganda, India, Ethiopia and China to develop practical options for land policy (2007, 25).
Global	
CLEP	Funding and advisory support to the Commission for Legal Empowerment of the Poor (2007, 25).
GRR	Global Rights and Resource Initiative: to secure property and user rights in forest areas (2007, 25).

3.4. SHIFTING PRIORITIES IN POLICY AND PRACTICE

As illustrated above, the shift in DfID's approach to land policies has been gradual. This could partly be explained by its decreasing capacity to work on land issues, leaving a vacuum in which agendas of other donors, particularly the World Bank, could settle again. DfID's changing focus is however in line with a wider shift in thinking on agriculture that is taking place in the donor community. After having dropped off the international aid agendas over the 1980s and 1990s, agriculture seems to be back on the agenda with a vengeance, with a plethora of new initiatives. Most of these new initiatives firmly propose a model of African agricultural development which is fundamentally made in the image of the West: modernised, technologically driven, market-oriented and private sector led. They explicitly claim to repeat the agricultural programmes which were rolled out across Asia in the 1960s, and seem to proclaim that the main cause of the problem of hunger in Africa is one of lack of funding and investment.

One of the most prominent examples is the 'Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa', which was launched in September 2006 by a partnership of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. Its first large-scale programme is to set up a \$150 million 'Program for Africa's Seed System' (PASS). It will focus on developing improved seeds, technical training and improvement of seed distribution mechanisms.⁵⁴

While the renewed attention on agriculture has been broadly welcomed,⁵⁵ there is also growing concern about the underlying agendas are driving these initiatives, and whether it is ultimately business, rather than poor people, that will benefit from them. For example, in a joint statement, several nongovernmental organisations⁵⁶ attending the January 2007 World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya rejected the Gates-Rockefeller initiative. They called the initiative a 'new foreign system that will encourage Africa's land and water to be privatised for growing inappropriate crops for export, biofuels and carbon sinks, instead of food for African people.'⁵⁷

Some of the new initiatives supported by DfID since the Commission for Africa and the White Paper illustrate how there is an increasing consensus about the central role of the private sector, often foreign investors, in driving African development, including in agriculture. For example, the Investment Climate Facility (ICF), announced in the White Paper, is co-sponsored by DfID (\$30 million over 3 years⁵⁸), Anglo American Plc, Royal Dutch Shell and Shell Foundation, Unilever Plc, SABMiller, Ireland, the Netherlands the European Commission

54 A similar sounding initiative, called 'African Green Revolution', is an initiative of Norway, which brings together a donor (NORAD), a private bank (Rabobank) and the chemical industry (Yara) to jointly support a technical revolution in the seed industry in Africa (www.africangreenrevolution.com). Its second conference was held in August 2007 in Norway. DfID recently also has joined the growing call to invest in 'seeds for development' and has provided £10 million for the Global Crop Diversity Trust, an initiative of the CGIAR, which is a seed bank to protect global crop varieties. They have joined Norway, the United States, Australia and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, in financing the Endowment Fund to finance the seed bank, and have 'invested' £10,000,000 over four years out of a total already pledged £68 million (www.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/pressreleases/seedbank.asp).

55 UKFG letter to Hilary Benn, 7 December 2004, www.ukfg.org.uk/seminars/DfID_30_Nov-fs.htm

56 E.g Ethiopia's Africa Biodiversity Network, Uganda's Centre for Development Initiative, the Kenya Organic Agriculture Network and Kenya Genetically Modified Organisms Concerned

57 Statement from African civil society organisations at the World Social Forum, Kenya, 25 January 2007, www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0002404/index.php

58 DfID Press release 17 November 2005 www.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/pressreleases/investment-climate-facility.asp

and the International Finance Corporation.⁵⁹ The main objective of the IFC is to improve the image of Africa as a place to do business (DfID 2006, 60) by, amongst other measures, looking at ‘property rights and contract enforcement’ and ‘the capacity building of institutions, such as land registries’.⁶⁰ Other recently launched initiatives also show a similar trend towards favouring formally enforced property rights to encourage the participation of the poor in markets.⁶¹

This private sector-led development approach is, on the other hand, to some extent balanced by DfID’s parallel emphasis on good governance, and particularly on the role of civil society in ensuring that development benefits wider society. Also as part of the new White Paper commitments, DfID launched a new ‘Governance and Transparency Fund’ (GTF) of a substantial total of £100 million,⁶² which aims to support the ability of citizens to make their voices heard and hold their governments to account, a very welcome contribution to strengthening the voices of marginalised groups. However, it is also important to remember Robin Palmer’s words of caution to DfID at the launch of the land policy paper in response to the policy’s focus on good governance:

It’s absolutely right that you now stress that ‘good governance is a vital ingredient in land reform.’ But you did not always emphasise that. If I were a veteran African civil society activist, I would ask you ‘where was all that governance rhetoric in the time of Moi’s Kenya, Banda’s Malawi, or Mobutu’s Zaire?’ With the Cold War safely won, we can all now preach good governance, but let us do so acknowledging our past sins!⁶³

59 Business Action for Africa website:

www.businessactionforafrica.org/documents/TheInvestmentClimateFacilityforAfrica.pdf

60 DfID website, Frequent Asked Questions on ICF www.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/pressreleases/investment-climate-facility-faqs.asp

61 The White Paper announced the creation of a DfID-led Africa Enterprise Challenge Fund (DfID 2006, 65), which will be a US\$100 million multi-donor fund to improve the participation of the poor in markets. It is expected to be launched in summer 2007. It makes specific references to boosting agricultural growth, and initial press releases state that the fund ‘will push the frontiers of market access for the poor in sectors particularly important to the poor – finance and agriculture’.

This Challenge Fund is presented within a package of measures to ensure that poor people benefit from growth, which focus on 1) tackling barriers to market access for the poor, *particularly finance and property rights* (my emphasis), 2) microfinance initiatives, 3) promotion of labour standards, and 4) support for the Africa Enterprise Challenge Fund (ibid, 65).

62 Later increased by a further £20 million <http://www.DfID.gov.uk/news/files/alexander-governance.asp>

63 Presentation available at: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/DfID_land_policy_launch_rpalmer_land_and_governance.rtf

How have these changing policy priorities on land and agriculture, on good governance and economic growth translated into practice? It is still too early to know, as the key policy documents discussed here, and the land policy paper itself, were only published relatively recently and are probably only now being translated into actual programmes on the ground. Furthermore, there is a lack of coherent and consistent information available on land-related programmes from DfID to be able to make the links between policy and practice in sufficiently rigorous ways as to be able to draw solid conclusions. In reality, depending on actual individuals in DfID country-offices, some parts of the overall agenda may be emphasised more than others. As Robin Palmer reminds us: ‘so much hinges on individuals, on personal relationships, on particular contexts, and on exploiting (or failing to exploit) new spaces and opportunities which open up.’⁶⁴

While in the 2007 land policy paper there is no commitment to evaluate land related work, DfID committed itself in the agricultural strategy paper (DfID 2005) to take stock of progress made after three years (thus in 2009). This evaluation should have the mandate to examine whether support for land reform has had pro-poor results. In the next section, DfID’s practical in-country support for land programmes since 1987 is further examined. Despite the lack of comprehensive data, this offers some useful insights and indications for future research and monitoring by activists.

⁶⁴ Donor and NGO involvement in land issues – Some further reflections, presentation at the International conference on legalisation of land tenure for development, Leiden, September 2007. Available at: www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/donor_and_ngo_involvement_in_land_issues_leiden.rtf

4. Land policies in practice

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This section aims to examine how DfID has translated its policies into practice, if at all, and aims to analyse policy priorities through the lens of project expenditures and country priorities. It is not always easy to identify direct links between policy and practice, making it harder to draw straightforward conclusions in this section. Furthermore, problems with finding the relevant, complete and comparable data make it less easy to make conclusive statements about DfID's translation of policy into practice and, even more so, to make statements about the actual impact DfID's practice has had in terms of achieving pro-poor, progressive national land reform.

For these reasons, this part of the chapter will present a basic overview of some trends and patterns emerging from the data that is available, without claiming to fully reflect DfID's history and present record on land reform. This will be followed by some further highlights of just a few projects and trends, which by definition will not encompass DfID's entire approach to land reform, but which hopefully will give some useful pointers for further reflection and study.

4.2. RESOURCES USED

This paper has used three sources of information to find out about DfID's current and historic land related projects and programmes across the world. These are:

1. **The Aida Development Database:** www.aida.org. As part of the donor harmonisation agenda, donors post the projects they are involved in on a joint database available on the web. The database is searchable for keywords (title only), country, donors and sector. DfID land related projects on the database date from 1987.
2. **Statement of activities on land and property rights, Julian Quan** (March 2004). This is a summary of all land related activities ongoing at the time of the restructuring of DfID, and upon the departure of Julian Quan. For most projects, it includes titles, timeframes, and total funding amounts.

3. **DfID written evidence to IDC inquiry on Private Sector Development** (Ev 127, Ev 140, Ev 150, July 2006). This document includes an annex which highlights DfID's support for property rights related programmes, per country and per region. This document is less clearly structured in terms of timeframes, funding levels and official project titles, but is broadly similar to the information found on the Aida Development Database⁶⁵. For a summary of activities mentioned in this document please refer to annex 1.

In annex 2, a table compiling all information from the three sources is included, giving an overview of all land related projects that could be found. While inevitably this information is not completely accurate, as some incoherent and conflicting data between the three source documents indicate, the annex and the analysis of some of the data (see below) should give a good indication of the broad range of work on land DfID has engaged in since the mid 1980s. To the author's knowledge, this is the first attempt to put together concrete information on land projects funded by DfID. This should be a useful resource for country-based land activists to find DfID related information on land projects.

While the land project database in the Annex is relatively comprehensive, covering a time period from 1987 to 2010 and a geographic reach of all continents, including Central Asia and Eastern Europe, there might be some problems drawing definitive conclusions out of the information because of various reasons:

- It is unclear whether *all* bilateral and multilateral projects implemented and supported by DfID are included, as some projects mentioned in the land statements are missing from the database, raising doubts on how up-to-date it is.
- There are some conflicting funding figures between the Aida database and the Statement on land (2004). When this was the case, I have used Quan's figures as he was closely involved in many of the land projects.
- Some of the project pages on the Aida Database include links to project documents and Logical Frameworks, providing more information on the project beyond title, dates and funding. However, this is only the case for roughly 30 per cent of all projects (52 out of 155). It is more difficult to deduct information when only the most basic information is available.

⁶⁵ There are, however, certain projects mentioned in DfID's submission which do not appear on either the Aida Database (because they have not been uploaded) or in Julian Quan's land statement (because they started after 2004). This includes projects in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cambodia, Pakistan and India, as well as the 'Global Rights and Resource Initiative' and the DfID/World Bank programme on Land Policy and Administration for Agricultural Growth.

- 14 land related projects found on the Aida database do not mention in which country the project was implemented.
- Some land related support might be hidden into larger programmes. For example, the Char Livelihoods Programme in Bangladesh, according to Quan, includes work on land rights but is enormous in scope and funding (£50 million total cost). Large partnership agreements with civil society organisations, for example with Christian Aid or Oxfam, also indirectly fund civil society organisations working on land related issues in the South. These types of programmes have not been included in the analysis because the figures would distort analysis of overall funding to land related projects.

Taking these caveats into account, it is still possible to draw some broad conclusions out of the data.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF LAND RELATED PROJECTS

4.3.1. Expenditure per region and country

Overall, the figures show that DfID's funding for land related projects, both in-country and cross-regionally, amounts to just under £155 million pounds over the period which starts in 1987 and with commitments running up to 2010. It is unlikely that all currently agreed and negotiated commitments up to 2010 are available from the three resources mentioned above, so this is probably an underestimate.

Table 4 shows DfID funding figures over the period for which data is available (1987-2010) per continent or region. Africa is the continent where most land related projects are take place and which receives most funding (just under half of the total land spending over this period), which is not surprising considering DfID's policy to spend most of its funds in the poorest countries, many of which are in Africa. More surprising however is that the second largest group of recipients are the Central and East European Countries (CEEC) and New Independent States (NIS), which receive more than double the funding for Asia. The fact that fewer projects take place in this region, but expenditure is very high, reflects the fact that the size of at least some of the projects was/is very large. For an institution committed to spend its resources in the poorest places in the world, it raises some question as to why DfID chooses to invest such enormous resources in land reform programmes in former Soviet states. This point will be further highlighted below.

Table 4: Funding per continent or region, 1987-2006

Region	# countries	# projects	Start	End (1)	Total Cost
Africa	20	78	1987	2010	£71,776,336
CEEC-NIS, Central Asia	11	29	1992	2008	£50,054,144
Asia	7	14	1997	2010	£21,483,100
Latin America	4	12	1987	2005	£6,330,363
Cross regional	0	11	1998	2008	£2,902,525
Unknown	0	15	1987	2006	£2,336,289
Grand Total	42	156			£149,377,224

Note 1: The start and end date indicate when DfID, according to the information available, started engaging with land projects in that particular country, as well as when the last reported project ended or is projected to end. Whether this is correct depends on the accuracy of the data input into Aida database.

The importance of the CEEC/NIS in DfID funding allocations for land related programmes is clear also in Table 5 which disaggregates expenditure figures further, listing the top ten countries in terms of funding levels for land related programmes received from DfID. These 10 countries alone account for a total of 73 per cent out of the total land related funding.

Table 5: Top 10 countries of DfID engagement in land programmes

Top 10 countries	Start	End (1)	Total cost
Russia	1994	2003	£24,600,000
Ukraine	1995	2005	£16,090,032
South Africa	1993	2008	£15,962,687
Bangladesh	1997	2010	£12,208,647
Africa regional/multi-country	1999	2009	£10,960,901
Mozambique	1998	2010	£10,067,000
India	2000	2007	£7,107,333
Ghana	1992	2009	£6,290,000
Zimbabwe	1987	2003	£6,101,982
Kenya	1989	2009	£4,778,010
GRAND TOTAL			£114,166,592

Note 1: See Note 1 of Table 4

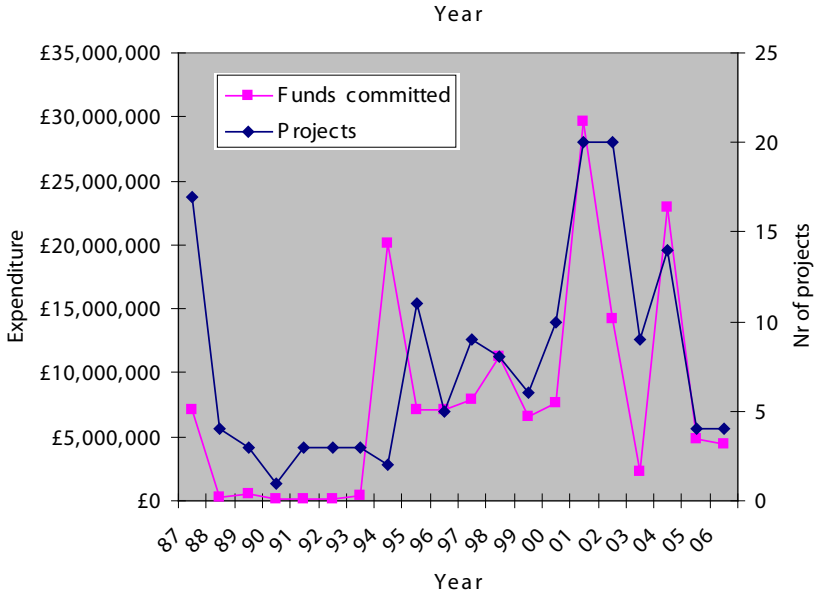
Russia tops the table, receiving a total of over £24 million in less than 10 years, for only three programmes. The largest of these is the ‘Russia Land Privatisation and Farm Reorganisation Project’ which was funded jointly with the International Finance Corporation between 1994 and 1997 (DfID contributed £20 million) in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The second biggest individual country recipient of DfID assistance for land programmes is the Ukraine which, from 1995, started receiving much attention and support for programmes related to land registration and land privatisation, rapidly breaking up the communist structures of nationalised land property. Large land privatisation programmes were carried out, in three main phases between 1995 and 1999, jointly with the IFC and the World Bank (for more information consult the website links in annex 2).

In Africa, the top priority countries for DfID over this period in terms of expenditure appear to have been South Africa, Mozambique, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya, as well as cross-country and regional programmes in Africa. Other important countries in that continent (over £1 million expenditure in this period) were Rwanda, Nigeria, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Uganda, in that order (see Annex 3 – list of countries). In Asia, DfID has funded large programmes particularly in India and Bangladesh. For specific information on country involvement, projects and funding levels, please see Annex 2.

4.3.2. Changes over time

As the available data is limited to total project cost as opposed to yearly budgets or expenditure, it is not possible to gain an accurate picture of DfID’s yearly spending on land related programmes. However, if looking at what projects started and what budgets were attached to these projects on a yearly basis, it is possible to get a sense of the pattern of interest in funding land related projects in DfID over the years for which data exist.

Figure 2: DfID funding to land projects, committed each year, 1987-2006



Note: The very large funding figure in 1994 is due to the start of just one project in Russia which accounted for £20 million.

The graph in figure 3 confirms the findings of section 2, namely that there was renewed interest in the late 1990s in working on land reform, which clearly translated into larger project funding as well as more projects being undertaken. The committed funding curve drops dramatically in 2003, perhaps an indication again of the diversion of funding at the start of the Iraq war, picks up in 2005, and drops again in 2006. Because of a lack of information land project currently implemented, it is difficult to make a decisive statement particularly about recent spending on the basis of this graph.⁶⁶

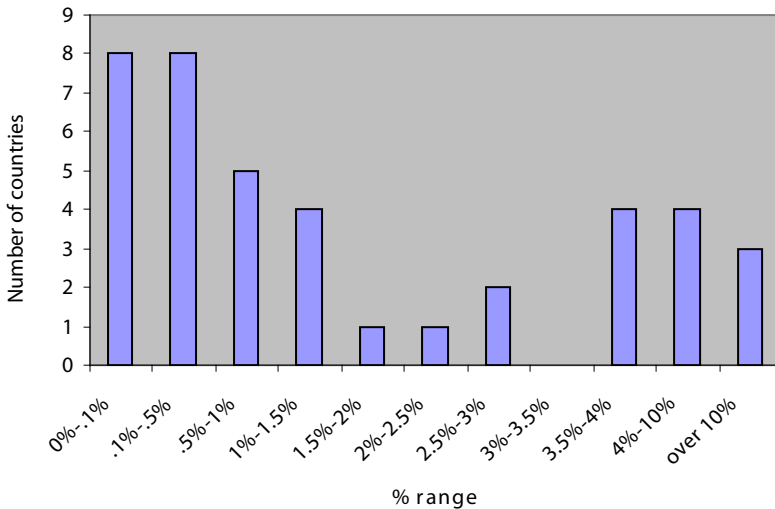
4.3.3. Proportion of total spending

As explained before, yearly expenditure for DfID land projects is not available in the three resources used, and it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate yearly figures for each project. The closest indication, albeit imperfect, to understanding the proportion of total DfID funding to land related programmes

66 To see the above graph in table format, please refer to annex 4.

is to compare the total land related project funding for the period for which figures exist (from 1987 onwards), with total UK overseas aid (ODA) per country.⁶⁷ The latter figures, per country, were at the time of analysis only available up to 2005, which means that some of the comparisons do not fully match up. For example, expenditures/budget for Ghana land related projects includes a project which will end only in 2009, while the data used for total ODA in Ghana only covers the period 1987-2005. For this reason, it is likely that some of the data in figure 3 with regards to the proportion of the aid budget spent on land are inflated. This is the case for Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan and Moldova, all of which have projects running beyond 2005.

Figure 3: Percentage of total UK ODA⁶⁸ per country spent on land programmes



The graph in figure 3 shows the proportion of overall UK ODA funding dedicated to land related programmes, and shows how countries are spread across different proportions. It is clear that in the majority of cases, 25 out of the 40 countries for

67 Data on UK Overseas Development Aid obtained from the OECD DAC website: www.oecd.org/document/33/0,2340,en_2649_34447_36661793_1_1_1_1,00.html

68 Total UK Overseas Development Aid (ODA) as stated on the OECD DAC website (see note 67). This includes spending of the UK government beyond DfID. For the official definition of ODA please visit: www.oecd.org/glossary/0,2586,en_2649_33721_1965693_1_1_1_1,00.html#1965586. Total ODA figures for Russia and the Czech Republic are not reported on the DAC aid statistics database.

which data is available, the expenditure on land programmes is very small, i.e. less than 1.5 per cent out of total UK ODA. Five countries receive between 1.5 to 3 per cent of overall aid for land programmes.

However, the graph also shows that there are a few countries where DfID spends comparatively larger proportions of overall aid (above 3 per cent) to land related programmes. These countries are: Botswana (3.58 per cent), Georgia (3.69 per cent), South Africa (3.89 per cent), Croatia (3.96 per cent), Kyrgyz republic (5.42 per cent), Kazakhstan (6.64 per cent), Uzbekistan (6.95 per cent), Tajikistan (6.97 per cent), Moldova (13.03 per cent), Swaziland (17.85 per cent) and Ukraine (282.62 per cent⁶⁹). It is interesting to note that, again, out of these 11 countries, seven are New Independent States, meaning that DfID dedicated much attention to issues of land administration and reform in the states formerly part of the Soviet Union. More specifically, this happened often in the form of large scale support for land privatisation programmes, often in conjunction with the IFC or World Bank. This will be discussed in section 4.4 below. See annex 5 for actual figures on overall ODA and land related funding per country.

4.4. CRITICAL ANALYSIS: POLICY AND PRACTICE

While some of the above information and analysis needs to be taken with the caveats mentioned at the beginning, there are nevertheless some important findings to be deduced which I discuss below. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a comprehensive analysis of all land related policies and practices of DfID, how these relate in various country contexts as well as what the actual impact has been, I aim to highlight a small number of specific issues which hopefully could serve as pointers for future research and monitoring for researchers and activists alike.

4.4.1. Political understanding of land reform: DfID support for civil society

Both the draft Land Policy Paper (DfID 2002) and the 2007 land policy paper explicitly stress the need for DfID to strengthen ‘effective civil society engagement in land policy and land reform’ as one of four final recommended activities of the policy paper (2002, 18, see box 2). However, even from the limited information on the overall portfolio of DfID supported projects (Annex 2), it is clear that the

⁶⁹ The overall reported land related funding on Aida database for Ukraine (last project ending in 2005) is higher than the UK ODA figures reported on the DAC website, leading to a proportion of spending of 282.62 per cent. Of course this is technically impossible. It is unclear to the author where the discrepancy lies, in the DAC reports or in the Aida Database.

large majority of funding, across all periods, goes towards programmes involving surveying, national land administration processes and capacity building of Land Departments. It could be argued that it would not be appropriate for a donor to directly support civil society pressure groups for land reform, particularly also as in many cases DfID needs to tread very carefully considering the UK's colonial past (for example in Kenya). There are also other, more indirect ways in which civil society groups can be supported by DfID, for example through its Civil Society Challenge Fund, or the new Governance and Transparency Fund, which is not included in the analysis here. Moreover, the answer does not necessarily just lie in expenditure figures only, as sometimes small financial or other support can make a big difference for civil society groups, in terms of allowing events to take place, giving legitimacy to certain processes or offering advice to land activists. However, it is fair to say that the large majority of funding goes towards governmental led land programmes.

There is just one notable exception to this worth discussing, which is DfID's country programme in Bangladesh. Unlike other country offices, DfID Bangladesh seems to have been able to support financially land-related civil society organisations, as it has supported, since 2001, three separate NGOs, two of which have very large programmes even by general bilateral standards (support for Samata is £6.475 million, and for Nijera Kori it is £5.3 million).⁷⁰ These projects seem to have been set up in recognition that while public sector reform and economic growth will be necessary to achieve the long term aims of poverty and inequality reduction, '[M]ore pressure on government, political and other elites is needed' (Project Memorandum Samata 2001, 1). DfID Bangladesh states that it is 'increasingly promoting more grassroots social mobilisation, both through specific organisations, and in our mainstream programmes with [the Government of Bangladesh]' (ibid, 6).

The project memorandums for these projects appears to be remarkably sensitive to some of the questions around 'social movements', NGOs and service delivery. For example, the preparatory concept note of Nijera Kori, which, at the time of its writing had 190,000 organised members, states that 'Nijera Kori (NK) is the largest 'pure' social mobilisation NGO in Bangladesh. NK does not itself provide any 'services', the document notes, before pointing out that 'as a member owned organisation, close to a social movement, DfID will need to approach project design with sensitivity' (Project memorandum Nijera Kori 2001, 2). (See box for further information on the Nijera Kori project). While not within the scope of this

⁷⁰ For more information on Nijera Kori, visit: www.nijerakori.org/

paper, further research into the actual impact if this approach would be extremely useful to inform further debates on the role of donors in land reform processes, particularly with regards to the potential for the actual redistribution of land.⁷¹

Box 4 Nijera Kori, Bangladesh

Project name: Social mobilisation, voice and democracy programme, DfID funding £5.3million (April 2001 - 2008)

Purpose: ‘Nijera Kori members and their allies increase effective pressure on government, political and other elites, to provide better access to decision-making processes, resources and services for poor men and women’.

Outputs:

1. Sustained and expanded **social mobilisation** of poor men and women in NK areas at village, Union, Thana and regional levels
2. Poor women and men in Nijera Kori areas are more **aware of their civil, political, economic, and social rights**, including gender equality
3. **Collective actions** planned and taken by poor women and men in specific areas to:
 - protest abuses and protect rights at community and local levels (e.g. actions on violence against women, better operation of village ‘shalish’ courts, police accountability).
 - increase their security and access to resources and entitlements (e.g. access to Khas land and water; reduced land capture by elites, for shrimp farming and other uses; more wage and sharecropping bargaining power);
 - and improve the accountability and operation of government services (e.g. health, education, food security and employment schemes)
4. Poor people gain **more influence in local level administrative and political arenas** and related decision-making processes.
5. **Improved organisational capacity** of Nijera Kori and its members for learning, advocacy and coalition building at national and international levels.

All information from Concept Note and Logframe Nijera Kori, 2001

⁷¹ It seems that an evaluation of the Nijera Kori programme is underway, carried out by the Dhaka-based Human Development Research Centre. See: www.hdrc-bd.com/ongoing_activities.htm

4.4.2. Land reform and the law

Donor engagement in national land reform processes is potentially messy and difficult, particularly for DfID, as the UK in many donor-recipient relationships is an ex-colonial power which used to mediate its colonial relationships through unequal land administration systems. DfID recognised as much in its draft land policy paper.

Land reform is a long-term process that requires sustained support. It is an issue of central political importance and considerable sensitivity. Governments need to win support for reform through broad-based consultative processes. For their part, donors should avoid stand alone, technically driven land programmes and work instead with Governments through poverty reduction strategies and co-ordinated sector-wide approaches (DfID 2002, iv).

Despite this explicit recognition, it seems that DfID still has a considerable focus in practice on technocratic approaches. From the database in annex 2, it is clear that DfID has engaged in a substantial number of projects which focus on developing land laws as well as on implementing land laws, by putting in place the necessary elements of surveying, planning and registration. This is particularly clear in countries such as Cameroon, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Ghana, Montserrat and Tanzania.

According to Manji (2006), DfID is a fervent supporter of a *law-based approach* to land reform, and she describes the various ways in which this happens, for both the World Bank and DfID, in her chapters 'Paying for law' and 'Making Law'. Manji offers an explanation for donors' favouring of a legal approach to land law reform, stating that 'there is an unarticulated hope among practitioners and scholars that opting for law might substitute for, and thus avoid confrontation with, 'perplexing political and economic choices' (Kennedy, in Manji 2006, 12).

Explaining why land law reform has become an 'obligatory point of passage' for those seeking to solve Africa's development problem (ibid, 14; quote from Latour, 1983), Manji argues that today's land reform 'no longer signifies *redistributive reform* with its emphasis on the possibilities of transferring larger operation holdings to those with little or no land, such as wage labourers or the landless. Instead, land reform has come to mean *tenurial reform* (ibid, 34). Land issues on the international aid agendas 'take a discernible form: the encouragement of private, individual and registered property rights' (ibid, 32) which is why the

emphasis within land issues is very much on tenure reform, which is in fact land law reform.

This fits well within the overarching view of international financial institutions that see land reform ‘as intricately connected to questions of good governance and the efficient operation of a market economy’ (ibid, 15). Or citing McAuslan:

the twin emphasis of donors, led by the World Bank, on ‘good governance’ and the market economy as the keys to social and economic regeneration in Africa are increasingly seen as necessitating a greater reliance on legal forms and a legal culture similar to those operating in Western, market oriented economies; conscious moves to adapt legal and judicial systems to that end are thus increasingly part of aid programmes (McAuslan 2003, in Manji 2006, 81)

The ‘rural livelihoods’ period described in section 3 (1997-2002) tried, to some extent, to break away from the purely legalistic approach described above, and explicitly recognised the intrinsically political nature of land reform. However, the new ‘agricultural growth period’ potentially prioritises more technocratic, law based land reform work again, even if the politics of land distribution and reform are explicitly mentioned in the 2007 land policy paper.⁷² Interpretations of good governance can be so narrow that they just focus on building state effectiveness through strengthening legal frameworks and implementation. Quite a few of the examples given in the 2007 land policy paper reflect a legal and administrative approach to the issue, for example the work on Afghanistan’s land policy, the Land Administration Project in Ghana, the assistance to the Ministry of Land in Kenya, the Third Party Arbitration Courts in Tajikistan and the Business Environment Strengthening in Tanzania programme (BEST).⁷³ According to Robin Palmer, the sensitivity of DfID’s engagement in some countries is largely a product of the work of a few dedicated individuals, for example in Rwanda, Ghana, Mozambique and Kenya (Palmer 2005, 8).

⁷² This could signify, as Manji explains, ‘the result of a series of political and economic choices, among them the choice to prioritise a functioning market economy over the provision of secure livelihoods and to promote the idea of land as a form of collateral rather than as a means to tackle landlessness and poverty’ (2006, 83).

⁷³ BEST includes a Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws (SPILL). DfID contributes through a donor pool towards the government roll-out of its \$300 million SPILL (DfID response to PSD inquiry 2006).

4.4.3. Land privatisation and TPAC

While not usually discussed in the context of land reform in developing countries, it is important to at least briefly discuss the involvement DfID has had, and still has, with land reform in Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) and Newly Independent States (NIS). After the collapse and breakup of the former Soviet Union, DfID seems to have invested a lot of energy and funding in land administration programmes there. As shown in table 4 above, the proportion of overall funding in some of the CEEC and NIS countries going to land projects is very high compared to others. There have been some very large programmes, such as the £20 million Russian ‘Land Privatisation and Farm Reorganisation Project’ (1994-97), carried out jointly with the IFC, and the Land Privatisation programme in the Ukraine, which was rolled out in three phases in four years for a total of nearly £4.5 million (1995-99) (see box 6).

Box 5 Ukraine Agricultural Land Privatisation Project

This project was the ‘mass privatisation’ follow up to previous financial support of USAID and IFC for ‘small scale privatisation’ projects, and would be followed by two further large investments in land privatisation in the Ukraine (£1,502,230 in 1995-96, £1,300,000 in 1996-07 and £1,689,802 in 1997-99).

The stated **goal** at the start of the project was to ‘create capacity within Ukraine (e.g. through training and support) to invigorate and support a farm privatisation programme aimed at giving individual ownership rights to farm members’. The purpose of the project was ‘to create and demonstrate a Ukrainian specific, fair, transparent and legally defensible mechanism that will enable members of collective and state farms to exercise their individual rights to farm land and assets. Two proposed activities would contribute to this objective: the development of local and national legislations and regulations aimed at facilitating ownership rights and farm privatisation, and (...) the design and implementation of a methodology for transferring individual ownership rights and the privatisation and reorganisation of farm land and assets’.

All information and quotes from the original project memorandum of the first project.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10787134&res_name=aida:activity

Land administration projects in former Soviet countries have generally been managed by the European and Central Asia Department⁷⁵ (ECAD) in DfID. A special Know-How-Fund (KHF)⁷⁶ was set up in the early 1990s as a programme of bilateral technical assistance for countries in transition in Central Asia and Central and Eastern Europe. It explicitly aimed to support the process of transition to pluralist democracy and a market economy. The KHF seems to have been of central importance in supporting many of the land projects, and is mentioned in many of the project memorandums. Although the KHF no longer operates under this title, DfID continues to run development assistance programmes in some of these countries.

Despite the size of some of these land programmes, there does not seem to have been much coordination with the general policy work DfID undertook on land reform, and there seems to have been little overt involvement in cross-regional work or lessons learning, as happened to some extent between other continental programmes through conferences and cross-regional research. There are hardly any references to these very large programmes in any of the policy papers DfID has produced. One aspect of the land related work in CEEC/NIS does seem to have received attention centrally, however. This is the DfID-led and promoted initiative for community based dispute resolution on land and resource rights, or “Third Party Arbitration Courts” (TPAC). As this way of working seems to have gained more ground recently in DfID and has become a flagship approach for its engagement with emerging new platforms on land rights, such as the Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor, it deserves some further discussion.

Third Party Arbitration Courts (TPAC)

Third Party Arbitration Courts were developed in response to the destabilisation of rural society that happened following the rapid break up and privatisation of nationalised farm ownership in the former Soviet countries. The approach was suggested by local staff of the technical assistance projects linked to the massive land reform programmes in Rostov-on-the-Don in Russia to deal with the specific disputes arising from land privatisation and farm restructuring. They had previously been exposed to third party arbitration by learning about international grain trading (Brustinow 2006, 93). In short, TPAC is an alternative out-of-court dispute resolution mechanism that combines ‘the best traditions of Alternative

⁷⁵ ECAD sits within the Europe, Middle East, Americas and Asia Division in DfID, and is responsible for DfID-supported activity in Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

⁷⁶ www.DfID.gov.uk/funding/khf.asp

Dispute Resolution with the formal enforcement of decisions achieved out-of-court’ (Brustinow 2006, 96). Simply put, the disputing parties themselves appoint a judge (or judges) that is a third person. As both parties select and agree a third trustworthy person, they should be confident in their experience and ‘assume an obligation to voluntarily accept their decision as the binding’ (PASS technical output report 2003, 5). Box 7 gives more details on the stated advantages of TPAC.

Box 6 Third Party Arbitration Courts: how it works

1. One or both of the disputing parties visit the nearby TPAC office or contact a trained TPAC practitioner in search of **information** and **advice**.
2. Both parties choose one or several conciliators/arbitrators to consider their dispute.
3. The disputing parties **agree** to use the TPAC mechanism to settle their dispute.
4. The chosen conciliator/arbitrator(s) consider(s) the dispute by **mediating and conciliating** between the disputing parties.
5. If an amicable settlement cannot be agreed during conciliation, the disputing parties progress to the next stage which results in an arbitrator or an arbitration panel issuing an **arbitral award**.
6. By signing the TPAC agreement the disputing parties make a **commitment** to accept the arbitral proceedings and to implement the outcome of the settlement agreement or arbitral decisions. An arbitral award is binding.
7. If one of the parties does not comply with the arbitral award, the other party enjoys the enforcement of the arbitral award by the formal court system.
8. The representative of the formal court system backs up the arbitral decision.

From Brustinow (2006, 96-7)

DfID has emerged as the initiator and a fervent supporter of TPAC, and while the approach has been around since 1998 in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, recently the approach has started to move more centrally and has picked up interest within DfID more broadly. For example, TPAC is mentioned in DfID’s most recent White Paper in the context of enforcing land rights in Tajikistan, in which it claims that UK support to TPAC ‘has helped to make legal services available to 800,000 people in Tajikistan (12 per cent of the population)’ (2006, 31).

The number of countries in which TPAC has been introduced has been growing steadily, and fairly recently, a large £1 million programme was launched in

Tajikistan to support the development of TPAC ‘as one of the indirect means to support land reform processes at country level’ (Angelika Brustinow personal communication, 14 May 2007). Box 7 lists some of the countries and projects where TPAC projects have taken place.

Box 7 TPAC projects⁷⁷

Russia

March 1998-Aug 1998: Third party arbitration courts.

Nov 1998 – Aug 1999: Third party arbitration courts in agrarian sphere (TPAC): dissemination of TPAC project and information about this project

Feb 2000 – March 2003: Third party arbitration courts in agrarian sphere (TPAC): TPAC dissemination and institutional strengthening in Russia and other CIS countries

Kyrgyzstan

1998 – 2001: Kyrgyzstan: Land and agrarian reform – phase 1

Jan 2001 – Jan 2004: Kyrgyzstan: Land and agrarian reform – phase 2 (Alternative Dispute Resolution and NGO Development)

Moldova

Nov 1999 – Nov 2002: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Project (SRLP)

Nov 2002 – Feb 2006: Support to Rural Investment and Services Project

Ukraine

Nov 1999 – Nov 2002: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Project (SRLP)

November 2002 – February 2006: Support to Rural Investment and Services Project

Tajikistan

2003: Study visit on TPAC

2004: Third Party Arbitration Courts (£100,000)

2005-2008: Supporting the Development of Third Party Arbitration Courts (£1million)

Cross-regional

2002-2003: Third Party Arbitration Courts: Dissemination and Institutional Strengthening Project. Designed to be disseminated across the region (Ukraine, Moldova, and Kyrgyzstan) (£550,000) (Quan, 2004).

⁷⁷ From Aida database, Quan Land Statement (2004) and PASS Technical Output document on TPAC (2003)

There has been a concerted push to disseminate more information on the TPAC approach from the Eastern European context into mainstream land reform approaches. DfID is strategically placed through its direct support for the UNDP based Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (CLEP) to ensure the TPAC approach was considered within the overall 'property rights for the poor' approach of CLEP, having been involved since 2002.

In the same way as DfID aimed to influence the development of the World Bank and the European Union land policies in the early 2000s (see above), the concerted effort behind promoting the TPAC agenda within the relatively new but potentially powerful CLEP and other institutions⁷⁸ could be seen as a continuation of DfID's strategy to influence international policy making on land. TPAC is at times referred to in the context of a more livelihoods based analysis of rural transformation, as opposed to a purely technical solution to problems of low productivity in the transition economies. Perhaps DfID aims to use its influence in CLEP as a way to ensure that elements of livelihoods and community based approaches do not get lost in the generally private property rights based approach of the Commission?

In reality, however, TPAC still remains a fairly legalistic approach to the problem of land reform, albeit perhaps smarter, more pragmatic, cheaper and less formalistic than formal legal processes. The proclaimed virtues of TPAC focus on cost-effectiveness, speed, flexibility, access and mobility, voluntary action, active engagement, simplicity and confidentiality, which all compare favourably to the formal legal system (Brustinow 2006, 97-8). In this sense, DfID's increasing use of the TPAC approach within the land reform context is reminiscent of a legalistic interpretation of what the problems with land distribution and tenure are in the first place. In fact, the TPAC system consists fundamentally of the creation of numerous "Legal Support Centres" or TPAC offices in rural areas to bring legal services closer to people.

There may be important lessons to be learned from the TPAC mechanism, particularly as it appears to be an accessible mechanism and aims to bring 'justice' closer to rural people and isolated villages which suffer from 'deteriorating communications infrastructure, and decreased access to affordable transportation', limiting 'the ability of the rural poor to have access to reliable sources of information

⁷⁸ A recent think piece of the World Bank "Legal Empowerment of the Poor, an Action Agenda for the World Bank" (revised March 2006), also refers to TPAC as a mechanism in land dispute settlement. See: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAWJUSTINST/Resources/LegalEmpowermentofthePoor.pdf>

and advice' (Brustinow 2006, 100). However, there is a danger in embracing this tool as the one way in which DfID engages with land reform in-country. In essence, TPAC is just a mechanism for the implementation of national legal frameworks, which themselves are the outcome of contested political processes, and which very often do not stack up in favour of the poor. After all, the fundamental question with regards to land reform is how national legal systems can be developed which are genuinely pro-poor and redistributive, rather than a formalisation of already unequal and unfair ownership structures. As a briefing paper on 'making law work for the poor' by Lorenzo Cotula at IIED states: 'the national legal system must build on local concepts and practice, rather than 'importing' one-size-fits-all models. This entails, among other things, legally recognising local land rights, which are the entitlements through which most people gain access to rural land' (IIED 2005, 3).

5. Conclusion

This paper has tracked the record of the UK's Department of International Development and its predecessor on land reform, in terms of policy as well as practice, since the mid 1980s. The issue of land reform has been an important element in British overseas aid programmes, particularly as Britain's relationship with its former colonies has generally been strongly mediated through issues of land administration. During colonisation, land was used very much as a tool for asserting control and power, and creating safe spaces for white settlers (Africa), as well as raising revenue, and creating a cheap working class for plantation agriculture (Asia). At independence and after, land continued to be very important in the ex-colonial relationship.

While DfID's approach to land reform in the 1980s was very much in line with the dictates of modernisation, formal registration and market mechanisms for redistribution, espoused by the international financial institutions during the 1980s and most of the 1990s, there was a brief period from 1997 to 2002 where a wind of change blew through the thinking on land in DfID. This was made possible because of a range of factors, including a new government with a minister in a brand new department who wanted to make some radical changes in the way Britain 'conducted' its aid, a changing development discourse of livelihoods, assets and 'rights-based approaches', and a relatively open civil service structure which allowed for some cross-institutional and cross-disciplinary thinking on various issues, including land.

When comparing approaches to land developed in the 1997 to 2002 period with the trends in thinking on agriculture and land from 2003 onwards, there are clear differences in overall approach. To capture the difference in emphasis between these periods I have named these the Rural Livelihoods period and the Agricultural Growth period. The most discernable differences between both periods come down to four main areas relevant for this discussion.

The first difference concerns formalised property rights. The Rural Livelihoods approach does not promote either formal or informal property rights, but states very specifically that titling will not resolve difficulties for smallholders, and can even make matters worse. The Agricultural Growth approach takes a more evolutionary perspective, arguing that some countries or contexts might not be

ready yet in terms of development, so formal titling is inappropriate in that context, but as a result of economic progress, formal titling becomes more important.

The second difference is strongly linked to the first. Where the Agricultural Growth approach has a more linear, even if paced, vision of the land reform processes that developing countries need to go through in order to develop, the Rural Livelihoods approach recognises that one size-fits-all models are not appropriate and that a more contextualised approach will be needed to address the intensely political nature of national and regional land debates. There is an explicit cautionary note about the applicability across continents and countries of de Soto's promotion of formal titling, as well as about putting too much faith in new registration technologies as these do not solve the political nature of the land debate.

Thirdly, the approaches differ in the importance they place on different actors in helping to move land reform forward. The Rural Livelihoods approach focuses mainly on the roles of government and civil society, explicitly recognising the importance of the participation of civil society in developing a national project for land reform, and advocates that donors should, when appropriate, provide direct support to civil society so that the voices of the poor are heard. The Agricultural Growth approach, on the other hand, puts its emphasis much more on private sector led growth, and thus gives a much bigger role to the private sector. In this context land reform translates more as 'financialising land relations' (Manji 2006, 23), which is particularly relevant within the new development debates on building better investment climates in developing countries, particularly Africa. There is also emphasis however on 'good governance' – ensuring that states are effective and civil society plays a scrutinising role to reinforce accountability.

Finally, although both approaches concern themselves more with reforming land tenure rather than with actual land redistribution, there is a difference with regards positions on methods for land distribution. No particular approach is favoured within the Rural Livelihoods approach, and, although it does state that 'there is a range of alternatives for improving land distribution, short of expropriation' (DfID 2002, 6), it blames both state-led and market-led solutions for not having had any real impact on actual transfer of land. The Agricultural Growth approach on the contrary seems to take quite a different line. The Agricultural Growth paper states clearly and upfront that the central principle for land redistribution must be the 'willing buyer, willing seller' model, a step back from the the earlier recognition – under the Rural Livelihoods approach – that this model has been severely criticised and is seen as favouring the better off.

With the abandonment of the Rural Livelihoods approach in most of DfID's agricultural thinking, a loss of central capacity to work on technical and livelihoods related issues, and a move towards focussing on the economic growth potential of agriculture and investment climate in rural areas, DfID seems to have returned to the economic models espoused in earlier decades, although now with a reinvigorated interest in the role of agriculture. On land reform, this seems to have implied a return to some extent of the preference for clear, transparent and formalised land titles, and it is in this context that de Soto's thinking has had an important impact in DfID.

While it is much harder to point to a solid trend within the actual practice of DfID's support for particular programmes, I have shown that there, from the total amount of funding going towards land projects, a quite high percentage has gone towards the former Soviet states, mainly to support large scale land privatisation programmes. From this experience, particular approaches, called Third Party Arbitration Courts (TPAC) have arisen to deal with the ensuing disruption in rural relations, and the disputes that may follow the breakup of large tracts of land into individualised ownership. There seems to be a growing interest in this approach.

While TPAC probably has many benefits, particularly in helping to bring a form of justice to people who otherwise live in too remote areas to have access to courts, I have pointed out that the approach is still very much rooted in a legalistic conceptualisation of what the land reform problem consists of. There is a danger that this will lead to policy makers overlooking the intrinsic political nature of the land reform debate, and seeing it as a mechanism to help roll out land laws which in themselves often are contested and often do not benefit the poor. As DfID explicitly espouses the fact that governance and growth should benefit the poor, and that the poor should have their voices better heard, it would do well in looking back at some of the ideas which were too readily rejected in 2003 in favour of a more growth focussed paradigm.

For researchers and activists concerned with land reform, there are some concrete areas of further work and monitoring that follow from this paper. First, DfID has committed itself to reviewing its progress in 2009, three years after it launched its agricultural strategy paper. In that paper, DfID has recognised the importance of land rights and committed itself to doing programmatic work on this area. Civil society land groups could request to be included in the evaluation in the countries where DfID land related programmes are being rolled out. Also, civil society

organisations could carry out their own review of how DfID has performed against its own standards of benefiting the poor. Perhaps interesting lessons could be drawn from all sides through this process.

Secondly, as it seems to be growing in importance, civil society and researchers should attempt to find out more about the application of the TPAC tool, and research its relevance within the context of land reform and land disputes. In particular, if there is an intention to apply this tool more broadly in different contexts, they should attempt to establish and assess the potential of TPAC: is it a tool to empower poor men and women and gives them greater access and control over their land? Or is it an instrument to drive through a policy of privatisation and individualisation of land, which is contested in many countries throughout the developing world?

Finally, as DfID is increasingly interested in working with and through other organisations - with its budget increasing but staff levels decreasing, civil society should aim to influence the direction in which this money flows. While DfID has traditionally put a lot of faith in the World Bank and other international financial institutions, there is an increasingly open concern with some of the policies of the Bank, and there have been political calls inside Britain, as in other countries, for the Bank to reform.⁷⁹ There is a role for civil society to lobby DfID to put its money towards institutions that have more credibility with civil society organisations and the social movements of the poor, whose voice DfID explicitly says it wants strengthen. A good example could be the follow up processes to ICCARD.

⁷⁹ A concrete example of this is that in September 2006 DfID withheld (albeit for a short while) £50 million from the Bank in response to its continuing use of imposing specific economic policies on aid recipients. 'When the UK's funding of World Bank programmes was agreed last year we specified that payment of some of the money would depend on progress on the Bank's use of conditionality. I have decided not to release a payment of £50m to the World Bank until there is evidence of more progress in this area' (Hilary Benn, October 2006. <http://www.DfID.gov.uk/aboutDfID/cutstrings.asp>).

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Quan, Julian. 17 November 2006.

INTERNET SITES

DfID related sites

Homepage

www.DfID.gov.uk

Agricultural consultation May 2002

<http://www.livelihoods.org/post/Docs/AgPapA4.pdf>

DfID agriculture consultation 2005

<http://DfID-agriculture-consultation.nri.org/index.htm>

DfID Performance and Expenditure, Statistics on International Development 2006

<http://www.DfID.gov.uk/pubs/files/sid2006/contents.asp>

Aida Database

<http://www.DfID.gov.uk/aboutDfID/projects.asp> or www.aida.org

Programme of Advisory and Support Services to DfID

www.passlivelihoods.org.uk

Other sites

African Green Revolution

<http://www.africangreenrevolution.com>

Commission for Africa

www.commissionforafrica.org

Landnet Africa

<http://www.ossrea.net/projects/landnet.htm>

Livelihoods Connect

www.livelihoods.org

OECD/DAC aid statistics

http://www.oecd.org/topicstatsportal/0,3398,en_2825_495602_1_1_1_1_1,00.html

Oxfam Land Rights in Africa website

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/index.htm>

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

www.unece.org

Annex 1: Summary of most recent land projects as stated by DfID, May 2006
 From DfID written evidence to IDC inquiry into Private Sector Development
 2006.

DfID country offices and land related projects, Statement May 2006		
Angola	Co-funding of the Luanda Urban Poverty Project (LUPP2)	
Ghana	DfID contributes with \$9 million to the Land Administration Programme and gives advisory input, and agreed to harmonise support under World Bank lead.	Partner: WB lead DfID: \$9 million
Ethiopia	DfID co-funded a survey of small farmers' perceptions of the land rights situation. The resulting lobby of the draft PRSP suggested certification and formalisation of leasehold markets.	
Kenya	Withdrawal from direct provision of technical assistance because of political sensitivities being a former colonial power. Work instead through UN-Habitat chaired partner group. Even so, substantial work continues on land rights, including on land grabbing, forced evictions and capacity building for land registries.	Partner: donor group, UN Habitat
Malawi	DfID Malawi has a Safety, Security and Accessible Justice programme which includes a focus on commercial justice, particularly property rights and contract enforcement.	
Mozambique	DfID leads the Community Land Use Fund (April 2006-March 2011) on behalf of five other donors, which aims to improve the enabling environment for rural communities to register their land rights and negotiate economic benefits from land concessions. DfID states that 'expertise is mainly external to DfID', but they are building internal expertise through training.	Partner: SIDA + 4 other donors DfID: £2 million out of total cost £4 million.

Nigeria	<p>Through the British Council managed Security, Justice and Growth (SJG) Programme, DfID is working on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improving the structures at state level to improve (streamline) the process of land registration at the sub-national (State) level, and • alternative land dispute resolution through multi-door courts 	
Rwanda	DfID supports Phase 1 of the Land Reform Process in Rwanda (2 years from November 2005) and provided a Land Policy Specialist within the ministry responsible for lands, from 2002 to 2004.	
South/Southern Africa	DfID Southern Africa has approved two linked land programmes, which are currently in their inception phase. £1m goes to the Urban LandMark programme, and £1m to a rural land programme, that is being done in partnership with the Belgians. The rural land component focuses mainly on farm dwellers.	Partner: Belgian government Total of £2m over 2 years.
Tanzania	DfID Tanzania contributes through a donor pool towards the government roll-out of its \$300 million Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws (SPILL),	Partner: donor pool
Uganda	DfID was the lead donor on land reform until 2002, when DfID withdrew from the sector in favour of other priorities. DfID was involved in facilitating a policy dialogue between government and civil society over the new land policy, and maintained a low key watching brief since 2002.	Partner: donors
Cambodia	New joint DfID-DANIDA project which will include a land management component. It will focus on policy coherence, better legal and regulatory frameworks, government institutional capacity, access of civil society to information, and investment support to implement land use planning and management.	Partner: Danida

Pakistan	DfID is co-financing a national level programme on Access to Justice with the Asian Development Bank that looks at the issue of property rights, as property rights were one of the identified barriers to investment in an 'Investment Climate Assessment' by the World Bank.	Partner: World Bank, Asian DB
India	Little concrete project information, but overall, DfID claims to be working on (a) common property resources and marginalised groups; (b) land distribution and development programmes for the poor; (c) with FAO, distribute homestead plots to the landless; and (d) policy discussion on land issues with the government and other development agencies. Specific new project in Orissa will develop a new state land policy and land administration system, focussing on land use efficiency, land transaction costs, protecting the rights of the poor and improve livelihoods.	
Indonesia	No concrete project information. 'DfID is supporting land and governance reforms in forestry by helping civil society to strengthen farmers' voices, and encouraging local government to respond.'	
Vietnam	DfID work on property rights has been through support to the Making Markets Work for the Poor project, and through Vietnam's programme to issue land use right certificates to rural households.	

Annex 2: Database of DfID land related projects 1987-2010

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
AFRICA					
Land Tenure Workshop	Africa regional	1999	1999	£138,200	No
Land Development in Africa	Africa regional	2002	2005	£318,051	No
Securing Land Rights In Africa (jointly with OECD)	Africa regional	2002	2006	£352,150	No
Land and agrarian reform in Southern Africa : SADC regional technical support facility	Africa regional	2002	2007	£150,000	No
Land Reform	Africa regional	2002	2007	£5,000,000	Yes
DFIFD SACU Land programme	Africa regional	2004	2009	£5,000,000	No
Land Policy Workshop Addis Ababa - AU/NEPAD/UNECA	Africa regional	2006	2006	£2,500	No
Angola Land Access	Angola	2002	2006	£350,000	Yes
Land Survey	Botswana	1987	1997	£2,175,755	No
Land Management Livestock Project	Botswana	1988	1994	£319,512	No
Land Use Planning	Botswana	1990	1997	£150,000	No
Land Use Surveys	Cameroon	1987	1994	£130,000	No
Land Use Conservation	Cameroon	1991	1993	£376	No
Land Tenure Implications On Agricultural Performance	Ethiopia	2001	2003	£61,830	No
Ministry Of Lands and Nat Resources	Ghana	1992	1992	£20,000	No

Source Ref Link

A	37	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10767574&res_name=aida:activity
A	34	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10790761&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	35	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10791377&res_name=aida:activity
Q	113	n/a
A	33	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=110775620&res_name=aida:activity
Q	163	n/a
A/P	36	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10767775&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q/P	39	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10767959&res_name=aida:activity
A	42	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10768146&res_name=aida:activity
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A	43	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10768147&res_name=aida:activity
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A	45	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10768412&res_name=aida:activity
A	48	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10768655&res_name=aida:activity
A	51	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10769406&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Land Administration Project	Ghana	2003	2009	£440,000	Yes
Land Administration Project	Ghana	2004	2009	£5,620,000	Yes
Land Administration Project	Ghana	?	?	£210,000	No
The Law Legal Institutions: Protection Of Land Rights	Ghana-Cote D'Ivoire	2002	2003	£288,834	No
Land Rights: Legal Institutions In Ghana And Cote d'Ivoire	Ghana-Cote D'Ivoire	2004	2005	£117,404	No
Land rights project	Kenya	1991	1996	£26,010	No
Support To Kenya Land Reform	Kenya	2000	2004	£472,000	Yes
Enhanced Land Management Capacity (Cscf 119)	Kenya	2000	2006	£200,000	Yes
Support To Kenya Land Reform (Phase 2)	Kenya	2004	2009	£4,080,000	Yes
Land Survey	Lesotho	1987	1997	£759,352	No
Land Survey Planning Project	Lesotho	1987	1997	£678,434	No
Dept Of Lands Survey Phys Plan	Lesotho	1992	1993	£22,000	No
Support To Department Lands Surveys and Physical Planning	Lesotho	1995	1997	£440,000	Yes
Dept Of Lands Surveys Phys Planning Phase II	Lesotho	1997	1999	£435,000	Yes
Support to land policy and legislation Lands Dept	Lesotho	2000	2003	£200,000	No
	Malawi	1987	1993	£0	No
Land Utilisation Study	Malawi	1995	1996	£48,300	No
Estate Land Utilisation Study	Malawi	1995	2000	£1,173,000	Yes

Source	Ref	Link
A	179	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10769417&res_name=aida:activity
A/P	49	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10769342&res_name=aida:activity
Q	134	n/a
A/Q	18	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=991903&res_name=aida:activity
A	20	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1107982&res_name=aida:activity
A	52	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10770404&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	57	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10769901&res_name=aida:activity
A	55	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10770462&res_name=aida:activity
A	58	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10769908&res_name=aida:activity
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A	65	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10770906&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Review and assistance of the development of a sector wide strategy for land	Malawi	2001	2004	£500,000	No
Zambezia Agricultural Development Project Phase II (ZADP II)	Mozambique	1998	2003	£7,752,000	Yes
Mozambique Land Markets	Mozambique	2001	2001	£40,000	Yes
Oram/Ca Advocacy And Land Rights Project	Mozambique	2001	2001	£50,000	Yes
Community Land and Natural Resources Registration and Negotiation Support Programme	Mozambique	2003		£130,000	No
Community Land Use Fund	Mozambique	2006	2010	£2,095,000	Yes
National Conference On Land Reform	Namibia	1991	1994	£51,730	No
Assessing Alternative Land Uses	Namibia	1997	1997	£45,000	No
Enhancement Of Wetlands Livelihoods - Jewel Jigawa (CPR)	Nigeria	2002	2005	£2,965,690	Yes
Securing Forest Land Cscf0352	Nigeria	2005	2010	£394,220	No
Land Policy Adviser Minitere	Rwanda	2002	2005	£350,000	No
Assessments of options for systems of land registration, land use planning and mapping	Rwanda	2004		£97,000	No
Land Reform Phase I	Rwanda	2005	2008	£3,000,000	Yes
Land and Water Management Research Programme	SADCC	1989	1995	£316,450	Yes
Land Registration Project	Seychelles	1987	1992	£224,741	No
Northern Cape Land Support	South Africa	0	2001	£50,000	No
Land Development Unit University Of Western Cape	South Africa	1993	1996	£287,500	Yes

Source	Ref	Link
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A	82	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1073331&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Lapc Phase II Land Redistribution Options Conference	South Africa	1993	1997	£13,000	No
Agricultural Development Training For Land Reform	South Africa	1995	2000	£478,182	Yes
Land Reform Support Programme	South Africa	1996	2003	£5,520,000	Yes
Land Agriculture Policy Centre	South Africa	1997	1998	£3,623,240	Yes
Agricultural And Land Reform Policy Support Project	South Africa	1997	2001	£1,490,765	Yes
Land Markets And Post Transfer Service Delivery	South Africa	2002	2005	£2,000,000	Yes
Land Reform (Cscf 277)	South Africa	2004	2007	£500,000	No
Rural And Urban Land Reform	South Africa	2006	2008	£2,000,000	Yes
Land Survey	Swaziland	1987	1992	£63,313	No
Land Development	Swaziland	1988	1993	£0	No
Land Resource Management Consultancy	Swaziland	1994	1995	£75,000	No
Development Of a National Lands Policy	Swaziland	1997	1998	£130,000	No
Tabora Land Use Planning	Tanzania	1987	1992	£301,258	No
Management Land Use	Tanzania	1987	1992	£100,000	No
Tabora Land Use Project	Tanzania	1989	1992	£1,557	No
Assistance With Preparation Of Land Laws	Tanzania	1995	2001	£120,000	No
Uganda Land Laws Tenure Project	Uganda	1998	1998	£1,350,000	Yes

Source	Ref	Link
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A	80	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773697&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	84	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773343&res_name=aida:activity
A	81	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773327&res_name=aida:activity
A	79	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773319&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	83	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773366&res_name=aida:activity
A	85	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773732&res_name=aida:activity
A/P	86	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10773367&res_name=aida:activity
A	164	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10774352&res_name=aida:activity
A	91	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10774353&res_name=aida:activity
A	92	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10774354&res_name=aida:activity
A	90	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10774358&res_name=aida:activity
A	95	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10774598&res_name=aida:activity
A	93	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10774914&res_name=aida:activity
A	96	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10775017&res_name=aida:activity
A	167	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10774726&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	97	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10775139&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Land Use Survey Branch	Zambia	1987	1994	£180,000	No
Pilot Projects In Land Use	Zimbabwe	1987	1992	£68,000	No
Zimb Land Resettlement	Zimbabwe	1987	1992	£20,394	No
Resettlement Scheme Options Study	Zimbabwe	1987	1995	£505,533	No
Communal Land Soil Survey	Zimbabwe	1989	1995	£241,170	No
Assistance to Land Tenure Commission	Zimbabwe	1994	1996	No info	No
Land Resettlement In Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	1998	1999	£19,800	No
Land Resettlement	Zimbabwe	1999	2000	£200,000	No
Land Resettlement Challenge Fund (LRCF)	Zimbabwe	2001	2002	£5,000,000	Yes
Long-term changes in land use and resource entitlements with resettlement in Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	2001	2003	£47,085	No

ASIA

Land Access and Poverty in South Asia:	Asia Regional	2004		£25,000	No
Farm Size, Land Tenure and productivity. An Approach Using GIS In Bangladesh	Bangladesh	1997	1998	£19,546	Yes
Methods for consensus building for management of CPR	Bangladesh	2000	2001	£134,101	No
Land rights for the poor. A strategy for DfID Bangladesh	Bangladesh	2000	2001	£40,000	No
One World Action - Land rights programme of the Association for Land Reform (ALRD), Bangladesh	Bangladesh	2001	2004	£240,000	No

Source	Ref	Link
A	98	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10775917&res_name=aida:activity
A	101	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776821&res_name=aida:activity
A	24	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1006597&res_name=aida:activity
A	180	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776445&res_name=aida:activity
A	99	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776451&res_name=aida:activity
A	181	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776505&res_name=aida:activity
A	28	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1004739&res_name=aida:activity
A	102	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776492&res_name=aida:activity
A	182	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776493&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	178	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10791376&res_name=aida:activity

Q	114	n/a - Studies on scope for expanding traditional and innovative approaches to land access in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh
A	2	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1003995&res_name=aida:activity
Q	116	n/a
A/Q	115	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10780068&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	117	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10780545&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Support to SAMATA (land rights NGO)	Bangladesh	2001	2008	£6,475,000	Yes
NIJERA KORI - Social Mobilisation, Voice and Democracy Programme Project (Land rights NGO)	Bangladesh	2001	2008	£5,300,000	Yes
Common pool resources in semi-arid India - dynamics, management and livelihood contributions	India	2000	2001	£107,333	No
Orissa: Support for strengthening land administration / land and other natural resource based rights	India	2004	2007	£7,000,000	No
Multi-stakeholder Forestry Programme	Indonesia	2004	2004	£24,000	Yes
Alternative patterns of land tenure	Pakistan	2001	2001	£52,000	Yes
Indigenous peoples land and property rights - Budkos multisectoral alliance	Philippines	2002	2003	£10,000	No
Lands Dept.Staff	Vanuatu	1987	1995	£756,120	No
ADB Making Markets Work better for the poor: mapping impacts of land markets (indirectly linked to land issues)	Vietnam	2003	2006	£1,300,000	Yes

CENTRAL ASIA/EASTERN EUROPE AND NEW INDEPENDENT STATES

TA for land Policy	Afghanistan	2006	2007	£335,000	Yes
Europe and Central Asia Department inter-regional rural livelihoods lesson sharing workshops	Central Asia regional	2002	2003	£140,000	No
Institutional complexity and resource access in transition: challenges of co-operation for livelihoods improvement	Central Asia regional	2002	2003	£99,457	No

Source	Ref	Link
A/Q	119	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10780073&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	118	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10780174&res_name=aida:activity
Q	136	n/a
Q/P	137	n/a
A/Q	139	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10782456&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	154	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10783653&res_name=aida:activity&res_name=aida:activity
Q	155	n/a
A	27	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10785395&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q/P	177	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10784501&res_name=aida:activity
A	103	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10779661&res_name=aida:activity
Q	126	n/a
Q	125	n/a

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Third Party Arbitration Courts (TPAC) Dissemination and Institutional Strengthening Project	Central Asia regional	2002	2003	£550,000	No
Property rights and registration project - World Bank	Croatia	2001	2002	£410,000	Yes
Agricultural Land Management	Czech Republic	1992	1995	£46,200	No
Development of Family Allotments for Urban Poor	Georgia	1999	2003	£90,000	Yes
Sustainable livelihoods for Adigeni and adjacent “rayons”	Georgia	2000	2004	£800,000	No
Rural Advisory Support Services Project (RASSP)	Kazakhstan	1998	2002	£586,455	No
Semipalatinsk project: land use planning and land management / rehabilitation in former nuclear testing zone	Kazakhstan	2002		£600,000	No
Land And Agrarian Reform	Kyrgyzstan	1998	2001	£645,000	Yes
Land And Agrarian Reform Phase II (Third Party Arbitration Mechanism)	Kyrgyzstan	2001	2004	£616,000	Yes
Rural Investment and Services Project (RISP), with WB, including TPAC and protection of ownership rights	Moldova	2001	2006	£2,600,000	No
Russia Land Privatisation and Farm Reorganisation Project (with IFC)	Russia	1994	1997	£20,000,000	Yes
Sustainable Rural Livelihoods - Pilot Project (SRLPP) - Including protection of land ownership, of distribution of land in-kind and improvement of rural livelihoods.	Russia	1999	2003	£4,000,000	Yes
Distribution and allocation of land to redundant mineworkers, and the protection of land ownership.	Russia	2001	2003	£600,000	Yes
TPAC Study visit for inter-ministerial Government officials	Tajikistan	2003	2003	£68,000	No
Third Party Arbitration Court Project	Tajikistan	2004	2004	£100,000	No

Source	Ref	Link
Q	175	n/a - Designed to be disseminated across the region (Ukraine, Moldova, and Kyrgyzstan).
A/Q	127	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10790264&res_name=aida:activity
A	47	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1004769&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	132	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10786529&res_name=aida:activity
Q	133	n/a
Q	140	n/a
Q	141	n/a
A/Q	3	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1009949&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	14	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=991198&res_name=aida:activity
Q	145	n/a
A/Q	161	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10788590&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	160	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10788618&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	159	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10788624&res_name=aida:activity
Q	165	n/a
Q	166	n/a

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Study visit for Tajikistan	Tajikistan	2004	2005	£178,000	Yes
Third Party Arbitration courts	Tajikistan	2005	2008	£1,000,000	Yes
Land Privatisation	Ukraine	1995	1996	£1,502,230	Yes
Land Reform Study Tour	Ukraine	1995	1996	£68,000	No
Land Registration Project - Preparation World Bank	Ukraine	1995	1996	£30,000	No
Alternative land privatisation/farm restructuring project	Ukraine	1995	1997	£3,000,000	Yes
IFC - Land Privatisation 2	Ukraine	1996	1997	£1,300,000	No
Land Privatisation Phase3	Ukraine	1997	1999	£1,689,802	No
Agriculture and Rural Development Legal Unit (ARDLU)	Ukraine	1999	2001	£1,500,000	No
Ukraine Rural Livelihoods Programme Protection of land ownership, promotion of distribution of land in kind and improvement of livelihoods. TPAC	Ukraine	2001	2005	£7,000,000	Yes
Bulungur Institutional Strengthening and Micro-credit Project	Uzbekistan	1997	2001	£500,000	No

CROSS REGIONAL

Law And Social Change (R7983)	Brazil/ Philippines	2001	2003	£236,863	Yes
Land Reform Consultancy	General	1998	1998	£15,000	No

Source	Ref	Link
A	107	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1107953&res_name=aida:activity
A	105	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=1195258&res_name=aida:activity
A	169	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10787134&res_name=aida:activity
A	171	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10787130&res_name=aida:activity
A	172	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10787129&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	173	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10787139&res_name=aida:activity
A	170	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10787147&res_name=aida:activity
A	112	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10787153&res_name=aida:activity
Q	168	n/a
A/Q	174	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10787198&res_name=aida:activity
Q	176	n/a

A	21	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=991901&res_name=aida:activity
A	38	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10776907&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Support to regional policy debate and learning on land issues in sub-Saharan Africa	General	1998	2002	£750,000	No
Support to World Bank African Land Policy Consultation	General	2002	2002	£110,000	No
Support to UNECE Land for Development Programme	General	2002	2004	£63,000	No
Support to the Third Summit of the UNECE Land for Development programme	General	2004	2004	£20,000	No
Support To UNECE Conference 12 04	General	2004	2004	£20,000	No
UNECE project (Legal empowerment of the poor)	General	2005	2007	£412,281	Yes
Improving access to natural capital for the rural poor in contexts of uncertainty	regional research	2000	2003	£900,451	No
Changes in land access, institutions and markets in West Africa (CLAIMS)	regional research	2001	2005	£83,254	No
Informal Land Development Processes and Access to Land for the Poor: A comparative study of six African cities	regional research	2002	2004	£291,676	No
World Bank DfID Collaborative Programme For Rural Dev Phase II	General	2003	2005	£300,000	No

LATIN AMERICA

Tenure and access to the use of the land in the Bolivian Valleys	Bolivia	2002	2003	£18,000	No
International Workshop: "Outcomes and perspectives of the agricultural reforms and indigenous and peasants movements in Latin America"	Bolivia	2003	2003	£6,000	No
Tenure and access to the use of the land in the Bolivian Altiplano	Bolivia	2003	2005	£14,500	No
Tropical Forests Land Use Phase II (R6377)	Brazil	1995	1997	£119,776	Yes

Source	Ref	Link
Q	131	n/a
Q	130	n/a
Q	128	n/a
A	104	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=1195253&res_name=aida:activity
A	129	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=1195253&res_name=aida:activity
A	106	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=1195249&res_name=aida:activity
Q	158	n/a
A/Q	156	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10791375&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	157	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=10790761&res_name=aida:activity
A	26	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1107996&res_name=aida:activity
Q	123	n/a
Q	121	n/a
Q	122	n/a
A	11	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1005441&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates		Amount	Info
Mechanisms and impacts of land and agrarian reform	Brazil	2003	2004	£30,000	No
Guyana Land Administration Support Project (GLASP) Phase I:	Guyana	2000	2004	£4,497,000	Yes
Land Surveying Project	Montserrat	1987	1993	£100,000	No
Land Survey Project	Montserrat	1998	2000	£100,000	No
Housing Land Technical Assistance Project	Montserrat	1999	2003	£705,000	Yes
Montserrat lands and surveys department appointment of director of lands and surveys	Montserrat	2000	2002	£260,000	No
Land And Property Tax	Montserrat	2001	2002	£45,000	No
Geographical and Land Information Systems	Montserrat	2002	2005	£435,087	Yes

UNKNOWN

Land Yesrm Man Book	Unknown	1987	1992	£6,251	No
Land Law Registration	Unknown	1987	1992	£0	No
Land Water Management Project	Unknown	1987	1994	£972,142	No
Sind Land Lev Project	Unknown	1988	1993	£0	No
Land Policy Summer School	Unknown	1993	1995	£60,000	No

Source	Ref	Link
Q	124	n/a
A/Q	135	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778098&res_name=aida:activity
A	150	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778629&res_name=aida:activity
A	149	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778634&res_name=aida:activity
A	151	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778789&res_name=aida:activity
A/Q	146	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778636&res_name=aida:activity
A	148	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShowCustomView.do?mode=AiDAActivityShowCustomView&sco_id=10778754&res_name=aida:activity
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A	4	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1003717&res_name=aida:activity
A	29	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1003557&res_name=aida:activity
A	8	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1006555&res_name=aida:activity
A	12	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1006606&res_name=aida:activity
A	17	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=11009545&res_name=aida:activity

Project Name	Country	Dates	Amount	Info
Land Water Management	Unknown	1995 1999	£192,773	No
Public Private Sector Partnerships In Land For Housing (R6541)	Unknown	1996 1997	£131,593	No
Land Management Partnerships	Unknown	1996 1997	£25,000	No
Land Reform Management	Unknown	1996 1998	£190,000	Yes
Urban Land Tenure And Property rights: A Literature Review	Unknown	1997 1997	£8,299	No
Land Titling And Low Income PeriUrban Households (R8062)	Unknown	2001 2003	£201,672	Yes
Secure Tenure For The Urban Poor	Unknown	2002 2003	£92,634	Yes
Land For Housing Poor People	Unknown	2003 2004	£55,925	No
Land Access Development	Unknown	2004 2006	£100,000	No

Source	Ref	Link
A	7	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1003907&res_name=aida:activity
A	23	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1005068&res_name=aida:activity
A	16	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=11009555&res_name=aida:activity
A	5	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1009948&res_name=aida:activity
A	30	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1005073&res_name=aida:activity
A	31	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=992287&res_name=aida:activity
A	32	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=992303&res_name=aida:activity
A	22	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1083424&res_name=aida:activity
A	19	http://aida.developmentgateway.org/aida/AiDAActivityShow.do?mode=AiDAActivityShow&sco_id=1165119&res_name=aida:activity

Notes:

- 1) Information compiled by author based on
 - The Aida Development Database: www.aida.org.
 - Statement of activities on land and property rights, Julian Quan (March 2004).
 - DfID written evidence to IDC inquiry on Private Sector Development (Ev 127, Ev 140, Ev 150, July 2006).
- 2) Caveats: when interpreting this table, please refer to the caveats raised in section 4.2.
- 3) Explanation of columns: **Info**: indicates whether further project information is available from the Aida website, beyond basic project data (such as project concept note, project memorandum, logframe), **Source**: indicates where information was found. A stands for Aida database, and Q stands for Quan's statement of activities on land (2004). No solid project data are mentioned in the DfID written evidence to the IDC inquiry, so this has been used mainly to confirm findings; **Reference**: indicates the reference number used by the author to store project information. All project information can be found either by clicking the link or by contacting the author.

Annex 3: Total land related funding per country, 1987-2006

Country	Start Date	End Date	Amount
Russia	1994	2003	£24,600,000
Ukraine	1995	2005	£16,090,032
South Africa	1993	2008	£15,962,687
Bangladesh	1997	2010	£12,208,647
<i>Africa regional/multi-country</i>	1999	2009	£10,960,901
Mozambique	1998	2010	£10,067,000
India	2000	2007	£7,107,333
Ghana	1992	2009	£6,290,000
Kenya	1989	2009	£4,778,010
Guyana	2000	2004	£4,497,000
Rwanda	2002	2008	£3,447,000
Nigeria	2002	2010	£3,359,910
Botswana	1987	2001	£2,645,267
Moldova	2001	2006	£2,600,000
Lesotho	1987	2003	£2,534,786
General	1998	2008	£2,390,281
<i>Unknown</i>	1987	2006	£2,336,289
Malawi	1987	2004	£1,721,300
Montserrat	1987	2005	£1,645,087
Uganda	1998	1998	£1,350,000
Tajikistan	2003	2005	£1,346,000
Vietnam	2003	2006	£1,300,000
<i>Regional research</i>	2000	2005	£1,275,381
Kyrgyzstan	1998	2004	£1,261,000
Kazakhstan	1998	2002	£1,186,455
Georgia	1999	2004	£890,000
<i>Central Asia regional</i>	2002	2003	£789,457
Vanuatu	1987	1995	£756,120

Country	Start Date	End Date	Amount
Zimbabwe	1987	2003	£596,449
Tanzania	1987	2001	£522,815
Uzbekistan	1997	2001	£500,000
Croatia	2001	2002	£410,000
<i>Ghana / Cote D'Ivoire</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>£406,238</i>
Angola	2002	2006	£350,000
Afghanistan	2006	2007	£335,000
SADCC	1989	1995	£316,450
Swaziland	1987	2001	£268,313
<i>Brazil/Philippines</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>£236,863</i>
Seychelles	1987	1992	£224,741
Zambia	1987	1994	£180,000
Brazil	1995	2004	£149,776
Cameroon	1987	1994	£130,376
Namibia	1991	1997	£96,730
Ethiopia	2001	2003	£61,830
Pakistan	2001	2001	£52,000
Czech Republic	1992	1995	£46,200
Bolivia	2002	2005	£38,500
<i>Asia Regional</i>	<i>2004</i>		<i>£25,000</i>
Indonesia	2004	2004	£24,000
Philippines	2002	2003	£10,000
Grand Total			£149,377,224

Annex 4: Land related funding committed in each financial year

Funding year	Funds committed	# Projects	
1987	£6,535,760	16	
1988	£319,512	4	
1989	£559,177	3	
1990	£150,000	1	
1991	£78,116	3	
1992	£88,200	3	
1993	£360,500	3	
1994	£20,075,000	2	(1)
1995	£7,172,261	11	
1996	£7,166,593	5	
1997	£7,941,652	9	
1998	£11,218,255	8	
1999	£6,633,200	6	
2000	£7,610,885	10	
2001	£24,608,704	19	
2002	£14,184,579	20	
2003	£2,344,425	9	
2004	£22,881,404	14	
2005	£4,806,501	4	
2006	£4,432,500	4	
Grand Total	£149,167,224	154	

Notes:

(1) 1 project in Russia accounted for £20m out of total 1994

Annex 5: Proportion of UK ODA spent on Land related programmes

Recipient country	TOTAL UK ODA '87-'05	Total Land Funding 1987 onwards	Proportion of ODA
AFRICA			
Angola	£105,181,322	£350,000	0.33%
Botswana	£73,967,430	£2,645,267	3.58%
Cameroon	£111,942,289	£130,376	0.12%
Cote d'Ivoire	£32,398,077	£406,238	1.25%
Ethiopia	£425,296,134	£61,830	0.01%
Ghana	£855,444,742	£6,696,238	0.78%
Kenya	£653,628,315	£4,778,010	0.73%
Lesotho	£87,310,112	£2,534,786	2.90%
Malawi	£728,031,598	£1,721,300	0.24%
Mozambique	£685,140,364	£10,067,000	1.47%
Namibia	£51,981,670	£96,730	0.19%
Nigeria	£1,530,539,726	£3,359,910	0.22%
Rwanda	£299,666,564	£3,447,000	1.15%
Seychelles	£8,536,130	£224,741	2.63%
South Africa	£410,279,352	£15,962,687	3.89%
Swaziland	£2,059,251	£268,313	13.03%
Tanzania	£1,300,372,898	£522,815	0.04%
Uganda	£866,502,119	£1,350,000	0.16%
Zambia	£867,976,502	£180,000	0.02%
Zimbabwe	£408,766,777	£596,449	0.15%
ASIA			
Bangladesh	£1,290,168,729	£12,208,647	0.95%
India	£2,190,524,080	£7,107,333	0.32%
Indonesia	£355,509,696	£24,000	0.01%
Pakistan	£567,075,535	£52,000	0.01%
Philippines	£80,320,280	£10,000	0.01%

Vanuatu	£37,007,622	£756,120	2.04%
Viet Nam	£188,916,695	£1,300,000	0.69%

LATIN AMERICA

Bolivia	£186,517,567	£38,500	0.02%
Brazil	£96,343,702	£149,776	0.16%
Guyana	£244,878,238	£4,497,000	1.84%
Montserrat	£266,076,845	£1,645,087	0.62%

CEEC/NIS

Afghanistan	£466,509,704	£335,000	0.07%
Croatia	£10,341,916	£410,000	3.96%
Czech Republic	(Data n/a)	£46,200	(Data n/a) (2)
Georgia	£24,144,362	£890,000	3.69%
Kazakhstan	£17,864,029	£1,186,455	6.64%
Kyrgyz Republic	£23,253,678	£1,261,000	5.42%
Moldova	£14,565,051	£2,600,000	17.85%
Russia	(Data n/a)	£24,600,000	(Data n/a) (2)
Tajikistan	£19,323,088	£1,346,000	6.97%
Ukraine	£5,693,122	£16,090,032	282.62% (3)
Uzbekistan	£7,194,188	£500,000	6.95%

TOTAL	£15,597,249,499	£131,452,840	0.84%
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Notes:

(1) The UK ODA figures are taken from the OECD DAC website: http://www.oecd.org/document/33/0,2340,en_2649_34447_36661793_1_1_1_1,00.html

The OECD DAC statistics are given in million USD, which have been converted to British Pounds by converting yearly ODA figures with conversion rates of 1 April of each year (from <http://www.economist.com/markets/currency/>). Because of fluctuations within each year, there will inevitably some error in final figures in British Pounds.

(2) ODA figures for Russia and the Czech Republic are not reported on the DAC aid statistics database.

(3) The overall reported land related funding on Aida database for Ukraine (last project ending in 2005) is higher than the UK ODA figures reported on the DAC website. This is technically impossible. It is unclear to the author where the discrepancy lies, in the DAC reports or the Aida Database.

LAND POLICY WORKING PAPER SERIES

The **Land Policy Working Paper Series** is a joint publication of the Belgian Alliance of North-South Movements (11.11.11) and the Transnational Institute (TNI). Activist researchers from various non-governmental research institutions have come together to carry out this collective undertaking.

Three quarters of the world's poor are rural poor. Land remains central to their autonomy and capacity to construct, sustain and defend their livelihoods, social inclusion and political empowerment. But land remains under the monopoly control of the landed classes in many settings, while in other places poor peoples' access to land is seriously threatened by neoliberal policies. The mainstream development policy community have taken a keen interest in land in recent years, developing land policies to guide their intervention in developing countries. While generally well-intentioned, not all of these land policies advance the interest of the rural poor. In fact, in other settings, these may harm the interest of the poor. Widespread privatisation of land resources facilitates the monopoly control of landed and corporate interests in such settings.

Local, national and transnational rural social movements and civil society networks and coalition have taken the struggle for land onto global arenas of policy making. Many of these groups, such as Via Campesina, have launched transnational campaigns to expose and oppose neoliberal land policies. Other networks are less oppositional to these mainstream policies. While transnational land campaigns have been launched and sustained for the past full decade targeting international development institutions, there remains less systematic understanding by activist groups, especially their local and national affiliates, about the actual policy and practice around land issues by these global institutions.

It is in the context of providing modest assistance to rural social movements and other civil society groups that are engaged in transnational land campaigns that this research has been undertaken and the working paper series launched. It aims to provide a one-stop resource to activists engaged in global campaigns for progressive land policy reforms. The research covers analysis of the policies of the following institutions: (1) Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); (2) World Bank; (3) European Union; (4) International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); (5) UK Department for International Development (DFID); (6) Belgian Development Aid; (7) German Technical Assistance (GTZ); (8) Australian Aid (AusAid); (9) Canadian International Development Assistance (CIDA).

The research is coordinated by Jun Borrás (TNI), Jennifer Franco (TNI), Sofia Monsalve (Food First Information and Action Network, FIAN – International Secretariat), and Armin Paasch (FIAN – German section).

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11.11.11 is a coalition of the Flemish North-South Movements. It combines the efforts of 90 organisations and 375 committees of volunteers who work together to achieve one common goal: a fairer world without poverty.

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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

Founded in 1974, TNI is an international network of activist scholars committed to critical analyses of the global problems of today and tomorrow. It aims to provide intellectual support to grassroots movements concerned to steer the world in a democratic, equitable and environmentally sustainable direction. In the spirit of public scholarship, and aligned to no political party, TNI seeks to create and promote international co-operation in analysing and finding possible solutions to such global problems as militarism and conflict, poverty and marginalisation, social injustice and environmental degradation.

www.tni.org



This briefing examines the policies and practices on land of the Department for International Development (DfID) of the United Kingdom. While DfID's approach to land reform in the 1980s reflected the dictates of modernisation, formal registration and market-led distribution adopted by the international financial institutions, this was followed by a period from 1997 to 2002 where land policy moved in the direction of a rights-based, Rural Livelihoods approach. Since then, DfID has reverted to a market-based model of land policy, although this is now framed in the language of economic growth and good governance. Lies Craeynest analyses the reasons behind this shift, as well as offering an extensive data analysis of DfID's programmatic support for work on land issues.