USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

LAND & CONFLICT

A TOOLKIT FOR INTERVENTION

Key Issues

Lessons Learned

Program Options

Rapid Appraisal Guide

Monitoring and Evaluation

Resources

Photo opposite page: Children playing with toy guns and a discarded bazooka.

COVER PHOTO: PANOS/CENINI
PHOTO THIS PAGE: PANOS/HORNER

FROM THE DIRECTOR

Conflict can be an inherent and legitimate part of social and political life, but in many places the costs and consequences of conflict, crisis, and state failure have become unacceptably high. Violent conflict dramatically disrupts traditional development and can spill over borders and reduce growth and prosperity across entire regions. Although development and humanitarian assistance programs are increasingly implemented in situations of open or latent violence, unfortunately, most still do not explicitly incorporate a sensitivity to conflict in their design or execution.

The Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) in the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was established to provide technical leadership on conflict to USAID Missions and our Washington-based regional and pillar bureaus. The vast majority of our field missions and staff are currently working in areas that are either in conflict, coming out of conflict, or are at high-risk for violence. A central objective of the office is to integrate or "mainstream" best practices in conflict management and mitigation into more traditional development sectors such as agriculture, economic growth, democracy, education, and health. Where appropriate, CMM will be an advocate for stable change.

As Director of CMM, I am pleased to introduce this document on land and conflict. I hope that readers will find the information contained herein thoughtful, innovative, and useful. CMM will release additional toolkits in the near future and I trust that each one will bring its own value to discussions about development and conflict. We consider these toolkits to be "living documents" and would welcome your comments and observations to help us improve future iterations.

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LAND AND VIOLENT CONFLICT: A TOOLKIT FOR PROGRAMMING

The purpose of this toolkit is to provide a practical introduction to the relationship between land and violent conflict, whether we are talking about how land issues function as causal or aggravating factors in conflict, or whether we are thinking about land issues that arise in post-conflict settings. The toolkit is also designed to familiarize practitioners with a range of programmatic interventions and to sensitize officers to the fact that development activities, such as infrastructure projects and the exploitation of underground resources, can inadvertently cause land conflicts to erupt.

As with many issues addressed in this series, land issues are a general development concern from the perspective of economic growth, governance, and the environment. However, land is also a critical 'prize' in many local and national power struggles, and any development initiative needs to be aware of this. The lead authors have therefore attempted to inspire creative thinking and encourage short-term action around land related conflicts, as well as capture the relevance of land to long-term development issues. The toolkit emphasizes the point that land issues must be approached systematically and that, in many contexts, sequencing and process are critical to the sustainability of programs and to broader issues of stability.

In addition to covering key issues, discussing lessons learned, and suggesting relevant program interventions, this toolkit offers a rapid appraisal guide that can help determine which land issues are most relevant to conflict in a particular setting. It also identifies a number of approaches to monitoring and evaluation and USAID mechanisms and implementing partners that work on land issues. Together, the elements of this toolkit are intended to help raise awareness about the linkages between land, development assistance, and conflict; and to assist officers integrate a conflict perspective into their land programs.

The toolkits in this series explore individual risk factors in depth. They do not identify all relevant factors linked to violence; as such, they serve as companion pieces to conflict assessments. Conflict assessments provide a broad overview of destabilizing patterns and trends. They sift through many potential causes of conflict and zero in on those that are most likely to lead to violence (or renewed violence) in a particular context. While they provide recommendations about how to make development assistance more responsive to conflict dynamics, they do not provide detailed guidance on how to design activities. The toolkits in this series fill that gap by moving from a diagnosis of the problem to a more detailed discussion of potential interventions. Together, the assessment framework and toolkits are designed to help Missions gain a deeper understanding of the forces driving violence and to develop more strategic and focused interventions.

This toolkit was initially authored by David Bledsoe (Rural Development Institute) and Michael Brown (Independent Consultant). It was subsequently revised with substantial input from officers in USAID Washington, USAID Missions, donor agencies, academic experts, and members of the NGO community. Comments, questions, and requests for additional information should be directed to the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation.

Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM)

Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance

United States Agency for International Development

KEY ISSUES 2

LESSONS LEARNED 8

PROGRAM OPTIONS 14

RAPID APPRAISAL GUIDE 18

MONITORING AND EVALUATION 22

RESOURCES 32

KEY ISSUES

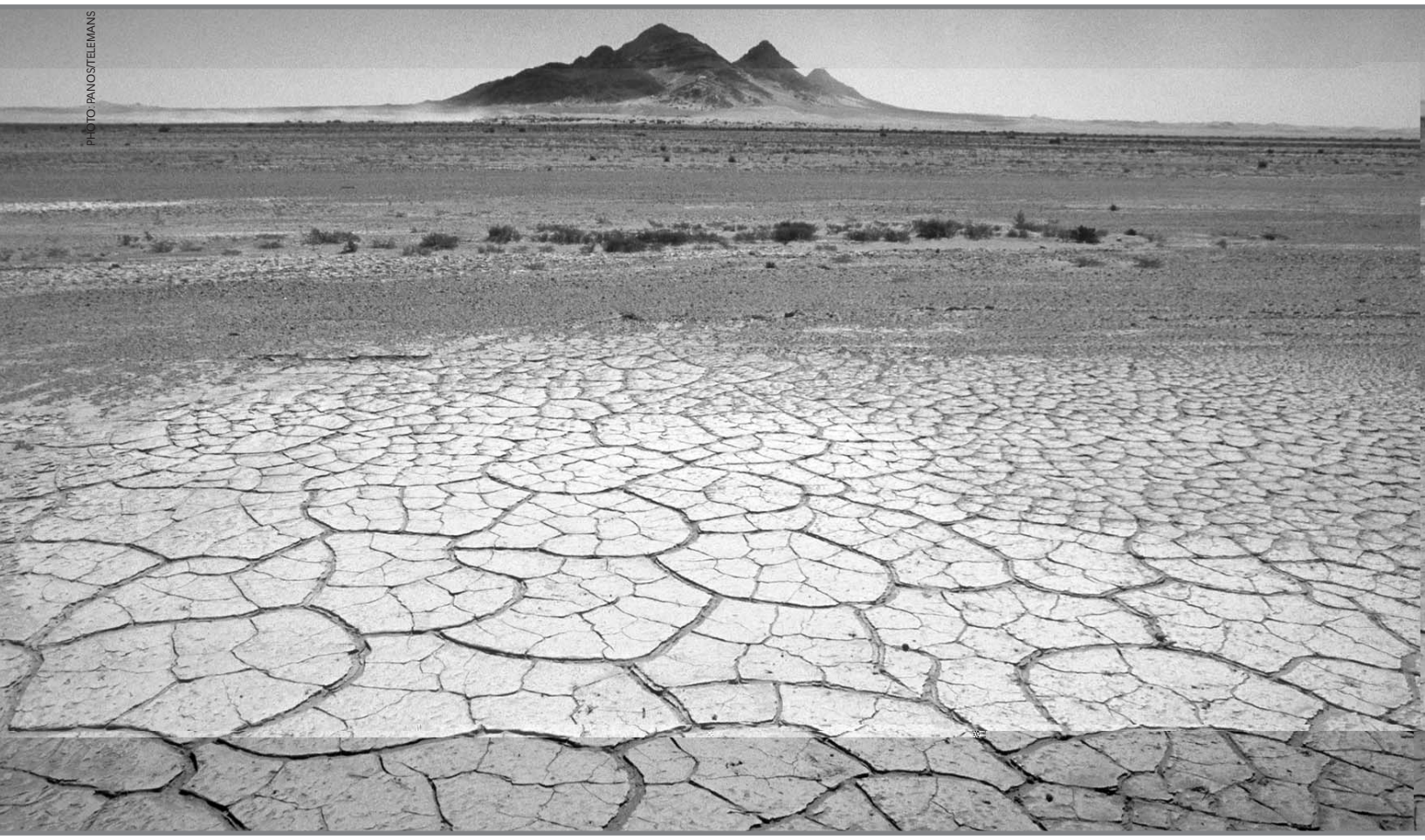

PHOTO: PANOS/TELEMANS

Land is a very strategic socio-economic asset, particularly in poor societies where wealth and survival are measured by control of, and access to, land.

People have fought over land since the beginning of recorded history. Population growth and environmental stresses have exacerbated the perception of land as a dwindling resource, tightening the connection between land and violent conflict. Land is often a significant factor in widespread violence and is also a critical element in peace-building and economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations.

THE CONTEXT

Why is land so important? Land is a unique, valuable, and immovable resource of limited quantity. Land is not only the most basic aspect of subsistence for many people around the world, it can also contain valuable structures and natural resources on (or beneath) it. Land is therefore a very strategic socio-economic asset, particularly in poor societies where wealth and survival are measured by control of, and access to, land.

Land is a central element in the varied and complex social relations of production and reproduction within which conflict between individuals and groups are bred. As a result, conflict over land often combines strong economic and emotional

values (OECD 2004). When symbolically or emotionally important land or property is at issue, chances of conflict and violence increase significantly. It should also be kept in mind that competition over access to land is often, at its core, about power, both socio-economic and political.

Conflict entrepreneurs - individuals or groups who benefit in material or political terms from violence - may endeavor to further their personal ambitions by manipulating the emotional or symbolic dimensions of land. An additional exacerbating factor, and entry point for conflict entrepreneurs, especially in developing countries, is that land often lacks adequate legal or institutional protections. Without those protections, land quickly becomes a valuable and symbolically powerful commodity easily subjected to manipulation and abuse.

Weak legal, institutional and traditional/customary protections also feed heavily into the gender dimension of the land-and-conflict picture. Conflict over land, particularly involving land access and rights, disproportionately and negatively impacts women. In conflict and post-conflict situations many men have either been killed or gone missing, causing a sharp rise in the number of women-headed households. Women who do not have formal rights to land and property are left without the means to create stable and sustainable livelihoods. This situation contributes to poverty and perpetuates a cycle of social and political inequality that provides fodder for future conflict (UNIFEM 1998). Although this toolkit does not explicitly address the deeper relationship between gender and conflict (for a more detailed analysis see USAID's forthcoming Gender and Conflict Toolkit), the reader should be aware of the sometimes subtle yet critical role of gender in many land-based conflicts.

In sum, the relationship between land and conflict is extraordinarily complex. When it comes to land issues, economics and politics frequently mingle with other influences like law, public administration, and culture. Therefore, as in other conflict dynamics, land is tied to a complex network of issues ranging from power relationships to economics and from symbolic attachments to systemic inequities. Addressing land issues effectively demands a broad, integrated, and inter-disciplinary approach.

LAND TENURE INSECURITY

Land tenure refers to rights of access and use of land. Violation of insufficiently protected land tenure rights can lead to conflict and violence. Conditions influencing tenure insecurity include rights that are:

- Overly limited in breadth and scope;
- Too short in duration to recoup investments;
- Conflicting, such as: claims that are grounded in formal state law versus informal or customary claims, or where overlapping rights were granted to parties under different legal regimes, or where overlapping and competitive rights have been granted to different parties for the same land; and
- Inadequate or unenforceable rights.

People with insecure tenure rights are often indiscriminately or forcibly removed from their land. In many countries, rural dwellers with weak tenure are pushed off their lands without fair compensation or due process. To move forward with state development plans in China, entire villages have been forcibly relocated without fair compensation (e.g., Three Gorges dam project). Tenure insecurity has been part of the dynamic of violence in many places including Uganda, Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Papua New Guinea, urban Peru, and Amazon River regions in Brazil and Colombia. Whenever forced evictions occur, violence is commonly used for both enforcement and defense. Known or suspected corruption also increases the likelihood of violence.

Tenure insecurity also arises in post-conflict situations where people have competing claims to the same plot of land. For instance, in East Timor, competing land claims resulted from distinct historical periods such as colonial era titles and titles issued during illegal occupations, as well as claims based on informal customary land use. Similarly, in Kosovo, overlapping land claims between ethnic Albanians and Serbians contributed to ethnic violence, forced displacement, and destruction of urban and rural property. Well designed post-conflict activities can help resolve these types of tenure insecurity.

Photo opposite page: Desert in the South of Algeria.

The relationship between land and conflict is extraordinarily complex. Addressing land issues effectively demands a broad, integrated, and inter-disciplinary approach.

Tenure insecurity can also be trans-boundary in nature and can become a regional issue. For example, at least a dozen boundary disputes resulted from the division of territory in Central Asia following the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Many of those disputes, some of which resulted in violent clashes, were over the best farm land in the Ferghana Valley. Regional dimensions of land and conflict are also evident in Africa, especially where boundaries are porous and groups or individuals can access and use land from both sides of a national border. Access to land is often a key factor in cross-border population movements. These movements can be destabilizing elements in already unstable situations (e.g., Côte d'Ivoire) and they can complicate matters by bringing to the fore delicate issues concerning land-related rights held by different categories of people, such as indigenous groups, displaced peoples and foreigners, migrants and descendants of migrants, and others.

COMPETING LAND CLAIMS AND USES

Some degree of conflict typically characterizes a situation involving competing claims to the ownership or use of the same piece of land. Whether claims are grounded in formally recognized rights or in customary use, circumstances involving groups of people, rather than individuals, significantly intensify the risk of larger-scale violent conflict.

Parties will compete over the same land use or for vastly different uses; for example, pastoralists versus farmers. Competition can also play out between distinct ethnic groups or communities or even between generational factions and socio-economic groups. In some cases, government involvement that supports (or is perceived to support) one side over another can significantly increase tensions (e.g., Rwanda and Burundi). In Uganda and Kenya, warring clans of pastoralists facing resource scarcity kill each other during cattle raids as they search for productive grazing land and reliable water sources. In Mozambique, land disputes between immigrant charcoal burners and local farmers and grazers have caused violence and property damage. In Mexico, members of agrarian communities fight one another as they assert their claims to both common and privately held land; they have also had violent conflicts with the government and private developers over claims to community land. In northern Iraq, disputes over urban property spilled over into disputes over agricultural land. Many of these disputes resulted in forced displacement, destruction of property and loss of life.

Government land appropriation and resettlement schemes are notorious for causing conflict and tension related to competition for land uses and claims. Frequently, a government appropriates land and forcibly moves people when it wants to use an area for an incompatible use such as a dam or natural resource development. People who were involuntarily resettled may react violently (e.g., Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nigeria). Competition and conflict can also occur when people are resettled into an area already held or occupied by others.

LAND-HOLDING INEQUITIES

The likelihood of violent conflict increases substantially when gross inequities characterize land-holding patterns, particularly when a large landless or land-poor population has limited livelihood opportunities. The stakes are even higher when a marginalized population literally depends on a small piece of land for subsistence and survival. Grievances over inequities, which are deeply rooted in a strong sense of injustice, also increase the probability of violence. Frustrations are usually directed toward those people who are seen as having an undeserved but profitable lock on landholdings, often going back generations. Land-holding inequities, combined with other drivers of violence, have been critical elements in many conflicts throughout history. Examples include the Mexican Revolution of 1912, the Spanish Civil War in 1936-1939, Chinese revolution that brought the Communists to power in 1949, Cuban revolution in 1959, Vietnam conflict that ended for the US in 1975, and the civil war in El Salvador in the 1980s. Land-holding inequities also represent an underlying factor in the violence that has occurred more recently in countries such as Zimbabwe, Brazil, Nepal, Guatemala, and Venezuela; and could potentially impact the situation in South Africa, Namibia and some parts of Central Asia (including Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan).

Women in paddy fields transplanting rice shoots brought to them by a farmer.

It is not uncommon to find individuals involved, such as conflict entrepreneurs, who manipulate a disgruntled population to achieve personal political or material gain (as in the cases of Rwanda and Burundi), or to achieve gains for a specific group or socio-economic class within an ethnic or political group. Violence may be expressed through targeted outbursts often associated with land occupations, as we have seen over the last several years in both Zimbabwe and Brazil. Violence may also be associated with an angry backlash against those demanding or taking land. For example, owners of large land holdings may forcibly resist change or attempt to return to earlier holding patterns in which they were the beneficiaries. Chile in the 1970s provides an example of violent retaliation partly driven by dispossessed large landholders.

DISPLACEMENT AND RETURN OF POPULATIONS

In many countries, government sponsored resettlement schemes have led to conflict among the "settled" as well as between the settled population and the original inhabitants. These types of conflict have occurred in Tanzania, Nigeria, Mozambique and Angola. In the cases of Mozambique and Angola, forced settlement schemes led to both the wars for independence and also contributed to the civil wars following independence.

Resettlement schemes and/or violent conflict can displace people from their homes and lands. Tension and violence often accompany the initial displacement and can also be part of the dynamic when displaced people return to their place of origin, especially when others have since taken up occupancy. The displacement can be intentional or can be an unintended consequence of broader dynamics such as war or natural disasters.

In Kosovo, an important part of the 1999 conflict dynamic involved the forced expulsion and displacement of more than one million ethnic Albanians. Upon their return, reprisals against the Serbs forced many Serbs to flee Kosovo. Tensions continue to fester between Serbs in Serbia and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo as Serbs threaten to take back their land and/or

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demand compensation for their losses. In the Indonesian case, the government policy of Javanese colonization has involved large-scale population resettlement from the main crowded island to other parts of the archipelago, resulting in numerous land seizures for the benefit of the settlers. Resettlement schemes in Indonesia have had major repercussions, including violence between indigenous groups and settlers that have driven several states, including Indonesian Papua, to the verge of civil war.

In East Timor (while under Indonesian occupation) and in Colombia, entire rural communities have been "strategically displaced" to facilitate control over their land for purposes related to armed conflict and illicit trade. In addition to difficulties related directly to the violence, displaced people also often suffer from human rights violations, famine, disease and other negative impacts associated with dislocation. The legacy of forced resettlement is also characterized by ongoing tense land disputes with continuing potential for violence.

In some instances, including the Mano River countries and Côte d'Ivoire, refugees and other involuntary migrants seek refuge in local communities rather than in refugee camps. The degree of integration between refugee/migrant and host populations is often shaped by the sustainability of the arrangements agreed regarding land access and use. Evidence from the field has shown that there are close linkages between conflict zones and zones of involuntary migration, making it a priority for development practitioners to be aware of the relationship between involuntary migration, land access and the spread of conflict zones.

POST-CONFLICT LAND ISSUES

As countries emerge from armed conflict, they face a number of land-related challenges associated with post-conflict reconstruction and peace consolidation. The importance of land issues to post-conflict development is often not recognized early enough, and, even when it is recognized, it is often politically or practically unfeasible to effectively address those issues in the immediate post-conflict period. Nevertheless, Disputes typically appear when other individuals or groups are found occupying the properties of a returning population (e.g., Rwanda and Burundi). In such cases, the returning population may be forced to occupy alternative properties that are not actually theirs, which can instigate another set of disputes and related secondary complications. Additionally, a range of other land-based disputes will almost inevitably come to the surface as the dust settles in the aftermath of conflict (e.g., Mozambique and Angola). Post-conflict settings often see dramatic shifts in political power, attempts to settle "old scores" and/or the establishment of new land laws; any of these can precipitate land disputes.

Some post-conflict settings, such as East Timor and Afghanistan, have involved dramatic periods of transitional governance. In these cases, land issues will have to be managed within a transitional context as the groundwork is laid for democratic elections. While no formula specifies how this must be done, it requires a careful balance of political sensitivity and substantive land expertise. Issues generally arise regarding land law and policy; governance and the management of natural resources (i.e., local power relations); land administration, including property registration, land titling, and cadastre; land use; and the establishment of the foundations for government land agencies.

The property registry system can also be a specific target of violence, carrying with it a number of special challenges. In the case of East Timor, land registry offices throughout the country were burned down; nearly all land titles were destroyed and land registry books were stolen. In Bosnia-Herzegovina many of the land registry books were also burned or stolen, while others were taken out of country, never to be retrieved. Property registration issues can be an obstacle to peace and, therefore, should receive more attention from policy makers and donors during the immediate post conflict period.

TRIGGERING EVENTS AND CONDUCIVE SETTINGS

Background conflict factors may not actually spill over into open violence unless sparked by triggering events. For example, massive violence and destruction of

property in East Timor was made possible in part because segments of the population had been strategically organized and appropriately armed in advance. An armed population frequently implies added risk that situations can turn violent. Extraordinary political events can also trigger conflict and violence by sending a shock wave through the political system. In Rwanda, the death of the president sparked the violence, destruction, and genocide that took place in 1994. Tenure insecurity and competing land claims exacerbated that conflict, making land conflicts an important piece of the dynamic in Rwanda.

Environmental disasters and follow-up crisis responses can also provide a context in which tensions can overflow into violence. For instance, environmental refugees displaced by loss of land often put added pressure on access to other lands.

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LESSONS LEARNED

PHOTO: PANOS/TELEMANS

Conflict assessments, including land tenure appraisal, are valuable tools for clarifying the real and potential linkages between land issues and violent conflict.

Many lessons are emerging as development practitioners pay greater attention to the relationships between land and violent conflict. While no single formula can explain how to plan successful programmatic interventions to address land and violent conflict, several important factors help ensure that programmatic thinking moves in the right direction. At a minimum, the starting point should always be to "do no harm."

FRAMING INTERVENTIONS BY SECTOR

Land issues are multidisciplinary, often cutting across traditional sectoral and thematic divisions. This can be problematic for the successful resolution of land conflicts, because interventions have often been narrowly framed in the context of specific thematic perspectives such as:

- Democracy and governance-resolving conflicts such as transitional justice, developing new legislation or policies under rule of law, strengthening relevant government land agencies or civil society organizations;

- Economic growth-tenure security and land rights as prerequisites for economic development, or as part of post-conflict economic reconstruction;

- Agriculture-improving agricultural productivity;

- Environment resolving conflicts over natural resources and/or supporting sustainable use of natural resources; or

- Cross-sectoral activity-special objectives related to conflict management or peacebuilding.

Land-related interventions require careful internal and intra-institutional coordination to avoid slowdowns or unproductive delays. On the positive side, the cross-sectoral aspect of land issues sometimes allows for piecemeal selection of how to frame interventions in the most strategic way for a given context. For example, would a host government be more responsive to land interventions targeted toward economic growth, or would an activity that focuses on environment, natural resource management, or increased agricultural productivity garner the most support? Choosing the best way to frame interventions requires understanding of a country's land issues and how they connect to conflict. In that regard, conflict assessments, including land tenure appraisal, are valuable tools for clarifying the real and potential linkages between land issues and violent conflict.

2 IMPROVING LAND ACCESS

Today, a "menu" of approaches helps facilitate broader access to land and engenders greater equality in economic opportunity. In the past, land was typically taken from large landholders and redistributed to the "land-needy" by way of expropriation, usually with compensation or channeled through land funds. Increasingly, market-mediated and community-managed efforts are being explored, including land rental market facilitation. While state-managed and expropriation-based reforms are not commonly used today, this model is at the root of thriving and equitable land-holding patterns in a few countries, including Japan and Taiwan. Despite best intentions, however, history has shown that conflict can arise when large landholders incur uncompensated losses and/or a politicized and confrontational process of redistribution, without due process, results in negative economic consequences from the direct destruction of productive enterprise and a decline in security of rights. Experience has also shown that land reform approaches sustain peace only when they succeed in achieving broader access to land within an environment of improved productivity and income for new land-holders and more agricultural growth in general.

In market-based, community-managed models, land-poor communities receive support, such as credit, grants, and technical assistance, to identify and purchase land from established landowners. Market-assisted initiatives can be geographically focused and strategically crafted to target certain populations and/or conflict hotspots. Various countries have tried this approach in recent years, including South Africa, Brazil, Namibia, Kyrgyzstan, and some pilot experimentation in Uzbekistan. While criticized by some for being costly, similar critiques were made of state-managed, expropriation-based approaches in the past. Implementation approaches are being reviewed and refined to improve both the costs and benefits of these efforts.

Activating or improving land rental markets in ways that make property more accessible to new tenants might also be cost effective, as has happened in Moldova, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan. In Guatemala, land rental is being explored alongside a land fund that helps peasant groups purchase land. For this scheme to work, rental contracts must be sufficiently equitable and of long enough duration to motivate investment in and conservation of the rental property. The rights of the owner must also be secure. Rental markets can also facilitate the consolidation of fragmented parcels of land into larger, more economically viable units.

Another variation in approach to improving land access is the allocation of immediately available or accessible state-owned land, such as colonization schemes (e.g., Honduras in the 1970s). Public lands might be made available through a variety of sources:

- Public lands available for legal distribution, for example, via divestiture of state farms and cooperatives as has happened

Land-related interventions require careful internal and intra-institutional coordination to avoid slowdowns or unproductive delays

Photo opposite page: Livestock alongside the lower Omo river in Ethiopia before it goes into Lake Turkana.

in Africa (Mozambique) and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Moldova, Russia and parts of Central Asia). Additionally, a number of countries in Eastern Europe have "restituted" land back to former owners. In several cases in Eastern Europe and Eurasia limited access to productive resources was a contributing factor in local conflict, to which governments responded by making land available to citizens through divestiture and restitution;

- Land that falls under state control because it was illegally appropriated in the first place or because a debt is defaulted on;
- Privately titled land left dormant long enough to revert back to state control according to the national land legislation; or
- Land that becomes productive through publicly funded irrigation projects and is thus available for re-distribution.

3 INCREASING TENURE SECURITY

Tenure insecurity is generally addressed through tenure clarification, land titling and registration initiatives. Depending on the circumstances, initiatives that demarcate and record land tenure without going as far as granting formal titles can improve tenure security for customary or indigenous rights holders.

Nevertheless, land titling alone does not necessarily improve peoples' livelihoods, especially when other aspects of an enabling environment are weak. Social and economic impacts of titling initiatives increase significantly when credit, infrastructure, and technical assistance services are available. When institutions are weak, rights are unclear, or overlapping claims exist, land titling and registration efforts can ignite or provoke conflict. Therefore, approaches that incorporate dispute mitigation and consensus-building measures and that work to clarify rights by legal reform are needed.

4 IDENTIFYING AND RESOLVING COMPETING CLAIMS

Would-be interventionists must properly understand land claims and land-and-conflict situations before deciding among the various means of resolving disputes. A focused study can help clarify key issues such as competing claims or existing conflicts as well as potential options for resolution. It is important to keep in mind that there are nearly always multiple sides in a conflict situation, often with differing perspectives and wielding what they believe to be legitimate claims. Care must be taken to approach interventions with neutrality and not to "demonize" or "sympathize" with one party or another, risking a politicized process.

Conflicting claims commonly emerge over time as a result of contradictions, gaps, and uncertainties in a country's land law and policy regime. Appropriate legislative and policy reform is often required to prevent continued disputes. Competing claims that involve conflicting legal rights might require court proceedings to be effectively resolved, although there are exceptions (see the case of Kyrgyzstan cited below). The capacity of the courts for this task must be considered and interventions directed toward strengthening the courts might be required. In some contexts, specialized land courts have proven helpful to dispute resolution.

On the other hand, experience has also shown that many types of land disputes are best managed outside the courts. Limited court capacity to process land claims efficiently and transparently is a serious constraint in many places. Thus, alternative dispute resolution processes, especially mediation and arbitration, can be useful, while customary and community-based mechanisms for conflict resolution may be relevant in some cases. Property commissions or claims commissions may also be pertinent to certain post-conflict contexts.

5 ADDRESSING POST-CONFLICT LAND ISSUES

As countries emerge from armed conflict, they face multiple land-related challenges associated with post-conflict reconstruction and peace consolidation. Relevant land issues must be clearly understood and given appropriate priority because successful management of these issues can be critical to stabilization efforts. Information about land issues must be collected as

early as possible through reconnaissance missions, conflict assessments, or other appropriate studies.

Various conflict-resolution techniques, as described earlier, have potential relevance to post-conflict settings. Two non-judicial dispute resolution techniques, in particular, warrant special emphasis. First, property or claims commissions can play a key role in post-conflict situations where processes of reconciliation and property restitution need to be addressed in significant numbers. These commissions can facilitate dialogue and data collection while dealing with competing claims, resettlement, and compensation in the aftermath of conflicts involving large-scale population displacements. Promising cases, including Cyprus and to some extent Bosnia-Herzegovina, suggest that sustained donor intervention is a key factor for success. Efforts at facilitated repatriation, whereby the displaced are helped to return to their homes or to find new property, can be highly effective in preventing conflict and diminishing future tensions if the efforts are well coordinated and sufficiently funded. Many of these potential solutions need to be finessed and some will simply be "stop-gap" measures designed to reduce the potential for a resumption of hostilities while more lasting, long-term solutions are worked out. Second, local community-based and customary conflict-resolution mechanisms can offer effective and acceptable means of managing many kinds of land conflicts. Experience in East Timor and Kyrgyzstan showed that building on socially legitimate informal institutions was an effective way to manage a large number of post-conflict land disputes.

In post-conflict settings, investment in agricultural infrastructure, technical assistance, and the creation of market linkages can complement land policy approaches by creating and supporting new income-generating opportunities. Fostering agricultural productivity can prevent the outbreak of food crises and create employment as well as other economic opportunities.

6 USING COMPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES/ APPROACHES

Various other activities, including non-land-related interventions, can be, alone or combined with other interventions, useful in different contexts.

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Lack of accurate information about land rights and other land issues can fuel confusion and suspicion that can lead to conflict. Early public information and education campaigns about land-related issues can help to clarify issues and correct false assumptions. When the campaigns focus on law and land rights, mechanisms may be needed to ensure access to some kind of legal assistance for those who need it.

LEGAL ADVICE AND ORIENTATION

Lack of knowledge or understanding about the law and land rights (frequently a problem in poor communities) can also contribute to tension and conflict. Community-based legal assistance, advice, and orientation initiatives that work with local people and organizations can be effective in addressing these problems. The nature of the justice system in a given country will also influence project design. For example, educating people about their rights-on-paper in a system where they have no opportunity to defend their rights-in-practice will cause frustration. Linking legal advice and orientation to processes that will protect land rights or resolve land conflicts is extremely important and is often done in conjunction with public information and education campaigns.

JUSTICE INITIATIVES

Activities that focus primarily on strengthening the justice system and rule of law may have relevance to land issues, such as targeted institutional strengthening or capacity building to promote more efficient handling of land disputes. Initiatives and other support could focus on the formal justice system or on non-judicial conflict-resolution mechanisms.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND/OR LOCAL CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

A range of initiatives targeting local government and/or citizen involvement can positively influence land conflict issues. For

example, strengthening local institutions to improve transparency and accountability could affect how land issues are decided locally. Building the capacity of local communities or civil society organizations can help people participate more effectively in local decision-making and planning processes relevant to land.

CREATING ALTERNATIVE LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Approaches that develop relevant, appropriate and, preferably, sustainable job or livelihood opportunities can significantly diminish pressures related to land inequities. For example, investing in agricultural infrastructure can foster better agricultural productivity and production that will help create new livelihood and employment opportunities. Micro-finance initiatives that target the landless and land poor may also be useful. In post-conflict settings, targeting opportunities toward members of society who are most likely to be involved in violent conflict (e.g. demobilized war veterans and young males) may help prevent continued and future violence.

WANT TO KNOW MORE?

In **Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction (2003)**, Klaus Deininger provides readers with a comprehensive compilation of experiential and conceptual information on land policy and administration. The World Bank report finds that providing poor people secure tenure and facilitating land transactions can be key to a wide range of social and economic benefits, including improved governance, empowerment of women and other marginalized people, increased private investment, and more rapid economic growth and poverty reduction. Available at ***http://econ.worldbank.org/prr/land_policy/text-27809/***

Land, Violent Conflict, and Development (2004) focuses on the context-specific nature of land-related conflict. Authors Nicolas Pons-Vignon and Henri-Bernard Solignac Lecomte offer recommendations on tackling land issues in recipient countries more systematically while taking specific sensitivities and grievances into account. Available at: ***http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/29/50/29740608.pdf***

World Bank Land Thematic Group (2004) The collected papers and presentations from a two-day seminar for land and conflict experts focus on practical ways to utilize land as a tool for conflict management and prevention. ***http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/ardext.nsf/24ByDocName/LandMeetings***

Land Tenure Conflict Management (2004) presents the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) guidelines for managing conflict arising from land-tenure issues. This publication is part of the FAO's extensive Land Tenure Series, a diverse collection of knowledge on land tenure and reform. ***http://www.fao.org/sd/IN1_en.htm***

The **International Land Coalition** is a global alliance of intergovernmental, governmental, and civil-society organizations that works with the rural poor to increase secure access to natural resources, especially land, and to enable their direct participation in policy and decision-making processes that affect their livelihoods at local, national, regional, and international levels. ***http://www.landcoalition.org/***

CHECKLIST OF GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Context-Specific Interventions:
It is important to understand the complexities of the relationship between land and conflict, particularly with respect to socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics in a given country. Successful programmatic interventions from other countries can be informative and helpful in designing new program options, but can seldom be copied exactly from one context to another. The design of programmatic interventions must flow directly from local realities and dynamics.

☑ **Politically Strategic Interventions:**
Historically, land issues have been seen as technical or legal problems. However, the complexity and sensitivity of land issues demands well-designed programmatic interventions that can operate successfully within the relevant political and economic settings. Political buy-in from national and local government and other key stakeholders is essential. Accordingly, the processes relevant to programmatic interventions are often as important as the products. Moreover, the people/organization(s) chosen to lead an intervention can also be critical to gaining political and community buy-in.

☑ **Timing and Sequencing:**
First determine whether any urgent issues must be addressed immediately in order to prevent imminent violence and conflict; then identify medium and long-term needs. Often, short-term interventions can strategically address concrete problems while building the knowledge and political buy-in required for longer-term activities. Addressing structural and systemic land issues that can precipitate violence will often require long-term donor commitment. Be aware that terminating land interventions at an inappropriate moment can actually trigger conflict. Furthermore, reforms or interventions attempted out-of-sequence for a given activity may also have the unintended consequence of instigating violence.

Indicators of Conflict:
Are there signals that land-related tensions are growing? Crucial early warning indicators could include increases in illegal occupations or squatting; increases in the number of land and property disputes; crop or livestock thefts; increases in trespassing; increases in environmental degradation; individualized land use within what are otherwise common property resources; unwillingness or inability to invest in land and property; small-scale violence and property destruction; and increased inflammatory rhetoric within political discourse.

☑ **Level of Intervention:**
Are interventions needed at the national or local levels, or is some combination of both required? It is also important to assess on-going land programs in a given country in order to identify and consider any potential connections with new interventions.

☑ **Government Buy-in:**
Government buy-in is essential for programmatic interventions affecting law, policy, government agencies, and certain projects that are national in scope. Does the necessary political will exist? Can it be generated? Are there ways to take smaller steps initially to build confidence and buy-in, while laying the foundations for longer-term interventions?

☑ **Other Actors and Stakeholders:**
Who are the critical actors or stakeholders other than government? Ignoring key stakeholders on land issues runs the risk of blocking or undermining constructive developments in the future.

Gender:
Gender issues are often overlooked in the land and conflict dynamic. A key element in effective policy-making and planning is reliable, disaggregated data that can inform both situational analysis and the design of policies and programs. In that context, particular attention should be given to gender issues as they relate to land access and land-related livelihood options.

☑ **Local Capacities:**
Are local capacities sufficient for the kinds of interventions that are needed? Human resources, skills, and experience are often lacking in key areas such as alternative dispute resolution or mapping. Identify capacity limitations early before they become unexpected constraints.

☑ **Be Strategic, Creative, and Flexible:**
The tendency over the years has been to treat land as a technical issue that requires a technical solution or simple legal solution. Land-related initiatives have therefore been characterized by rigidity and a general lack of flexibility. The complex and politically sensitive nature of land conflict requires a strategic, creative and flexible approach to programmatic intervention.

☑ **Donor Coordination:**
In many countries, multiple donors support land-related interventions, making donor coordination extremely important. Close coordination with the national government is also essential. Establishment of a land-coordinating group or a land focal point has proven to be a useful mechanism in certain cases.

PROGRAM OPTIONS

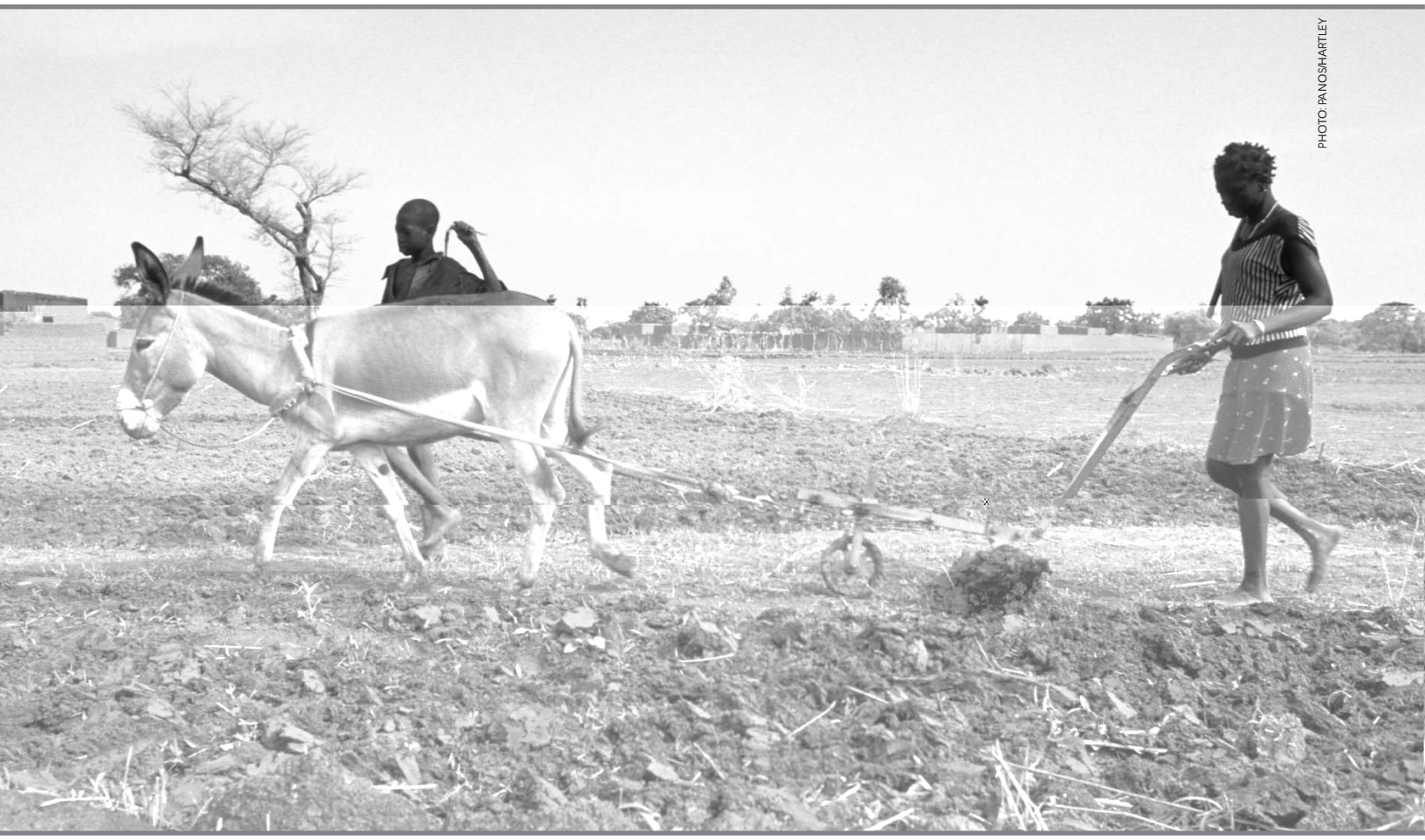


PHOTO: PANOS/HARTLEY

The following programs are examples of innovative attempts to address land and conflict issues directly or indirectly. The nexus between land and conflict is extraordinarily complex, and tools are still being developed to measure the impact of these programs. However, many have shown promise in addressing land holding inequities, tenure security, population displacement, and other contentious areas that can make land a significant factor in widespread violence.

1 ALLEVIATING INEQUITIES IN LAND HOLDINGS

- State Divestiture of Publicly Held Lands. State farm divestiture in Mozambique and divestiture and restitution in Ukraine, Moldova, and parts of Central Asia have alleviated land shortages and/or created new opportunities to hold land for those who previously had limited or no access to resources. ***www.wisc.edu/ltc/***

- Market-Assisted/Community-Driven Land Redistribution. Brazil's targeted and decentralized approach to land redistribution organized communities of landless or land-poor farmers and rural laborers to identify land (usually underused) and make a purchase from the landowner at or near market price based on a combination of loan and grant support. The beneficiary communities (not individuals or families) assumed responsibility for land selection, sale negotiation, purchase, and definition of ultimate land use and distribution, including common land, as well as the obligation for repaying the loan.
  econ.worldbank.org/files/15374_wps2040.pdf

- Support for Rural Land Tenure Security. In a land-transfer program following El Salvador's civil war, land was purchased and resold to beneficiaries, as defined by the peace accord (such as demobilized fighters), with land titles given to groups of families for expediency. Subsequently, an initiative was established to facilitate community decision-making and dispute resolution to determine which lands would be subdivided and which would remain communal tenure. Delineation of parcel boundaries, land titling, and registration were done interactively with community groups. Local NGOs were trained to facilitate the process. The program brought tenure security to almost 30,000 families resettled after the civil war.
  www.rlc.fao.org/prior/desrural/tenencia/pdf/salvador.pdf

2 INCREASING AND PROTECTING TENURE SECURITY

- Demarcation and Titling of Customary Common Property. In Angola, rural communities establish, demarcate, and title important common-property used for dwellings and crops as well as for common pursuits such as cattle grazing, in order to protect these customary holdings from government-issued land concessions, commercial interests, and other communities. Local officials and elders from the target and surrounding communities reach consensus about the land's boundaries, size, and use. The tract is mapped, titled, and registered with the local agriculture ministry, pending new land legislation, without national legal authorization. The newly registered maps and titles serve as formal notice to those who seek to encroach upon the land or usurp traditional land rights. The initiative is modeled on a similar program in Mozambique and is similar to approaches used with indigenous communities in Bolivia.
  www.oxfam.org.uk

- Titling in the land reform sector. After nearly a century of land redistribution, second-generation reform in Mexico in the early 1990s helped improve tenure security in the reform sector and allowed reform beneficiaries the choice to participate in markets. PROCEDE (Programa de Certificación de Derechos Ejidales y Titulación de Solares Urbanos), a program of certification of individual rights to farm plots, common land and urban lots within the communities, is almost 80 percent completed. Meanwhle, new institutions for conflict resolution were initiated to accompany PROCEDE. This Mexican approach to titling is a good example of successful resolution of conflicts through open itinerant tribunals, access to an ombudsman, community participation, transparency, required approval by neighbors prior to titling, and appeals rights. It also illustrates a flexible approach in a transitional period to accommodating different economic and cultural views on land tenure. Marking boundaries without full ownership was a very constructive first step in reducing conflictiveness. Moreover, based in community decisions-making, farmers can make the transition from social and communal ownership to private property and individual rights.
  www.pa.gob.mx

- Legal Assistance to Rural Citizens. Specially trained Kyrgyz lawyers, located within legal aid centers across the country, help rural citizens exercise new legal land tenure and transaction rights through the "Legal Assistance to Rural Citizens" (LARC) project. These lawyer advocates take land cases through administrative or judicial adjudication processes, winning most cases. They also provide public education and

Brazil's community-managed land reform program seems effective in targeting volatile areas that might be the most susceptible to violence:

- Beneficiaries are communities rather than individuals, providing a mechanism to stem potential collaborative violence.
- The beneficiaries select themselves, which offers a meaningful alternative to violence and an option to productively channel energy.
- The direct involvement of stakeholders generates a valuable sense of local "ownership" over the process.
- Land access is combined with support in developing a viable farm enterprise and in accessing local government services.

Photo opposite page:
A farmer in Burkina Faso.

legal consultation to government leaders and other Kyrgyz lawyers, including a monthly newsletter on land law matters. The project transparently defuses conflicts by obtaining formal rulings that establish legal precedents that will, in turn, assist other citizens in resolving disputes and exercising new legal land rights. Similar projects are now underway in Ukraine, and are being initiated in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. ***www.landreform.kg/en/***

- Legal Rights Advocacy through Community Empowerment. In three oblasts in the Kyrgyz Republic that experience frequent land conflicts, local leaders have been trained to help villagers protect and exercise land rights. Seven full-time local legal advisors/advocates were trained in the content and exercise of the country's relatively progressive land laws. They, in turn, trained and worked regularly with 176 local leaders from 66 villages. These local leaders then served as advocates on behalf of local land rights holders, assisting more than 4,000 citizens in one year to take action to resolve land conflicts with local officials and collective-farm bosses. ***www.rdiland.org***

3 IDENTIFYING AND RESOLVING CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO LAND

- Land Titling and Claim Adjudication through Community Paralegals. As a part of the "Sustainable Use of Biological Resources" (SUBIR) program in Ecuador, this effort facilitated resolution of many conflicting land use and ownership grievances. Local communities and indigenous organizations selected paralegals to become specialists in land rights, land use, natural resource management, and conflict management. The paralegals facilitate mediation and conflict resolution regarding the legal aspects of land rights and the process of land titling as well as educate communities about their rights. These people were chosen for the job because they already had legitimacy in the community and were familiar with the conflicts. ***www.care.org.ec/subir/***

- The Use of Community Radio to Prevent Conflict through Pubic Education. The multi-country "Community Radio Initiatives to Stop Conflict" program addresses competition over land resources. In Mali, community radio helped quell a dispute between cattle grazers and farmers. The community radio station produced public service announcements that reminded competing users about the area's traditional practice of cooperative land use and also urged farmers to post radio bulletins when harvesting was finished so that grazers would know they could cross the farmlands without trampling crops. This grassroots conflict prevention approach prompted groups to cooperate in their use of a limited and fragile resource. Journalism initiatives have also helped resolve competition over resources in Colombia, Afghanistan, and Liberia. ***www.neareast.org***

4 RESPONDING TO POPULATION DISPLACEMENT AND RETURN

- Ideas for Temporarily Housing Returning Populations. In East Timor, the international community did not adequately coordinate a situation in which more than 75 percent of the population was displaced from their land and homes. As people began to return and move about the country with little official restraint or direction, many began to occupy houses that were not their own. Violence resulted and an informal leasing market of non-owned properties quickly sprang up. Possible preventative options could have included a rapid but temporary diversion of refugees and internally displaced persons into transit housing; the use of state or officially controlled properties to locate these temporary housing centers; and the establishment of "tent cities" or other temporary structures to house the displaced people. ***www.reliefweb.int***

- Assistance to Returning Populations on Property Matters. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a property assistance program for internally displaced people and returnees counteracted harassment and security issues faced by minority populations as they attempted to return to their homes, which were often

PHOTO: PANOS/HORNER

Worker in a tea plantation.

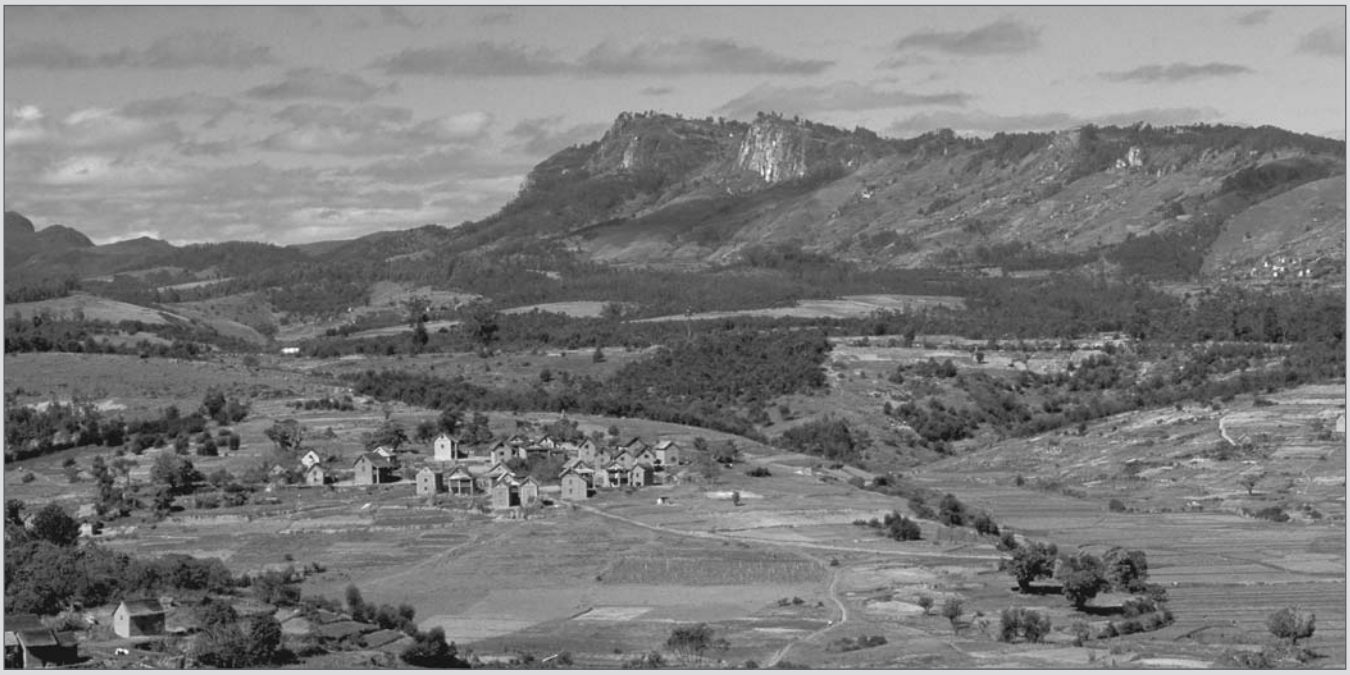
illegally occupied by others. A network of legal aid and information centers assisted with property claims and related restitution matters. The network also educated returnees about their rights and obligations, helped prepare claims, and helped push the claims through a confusing and slow restitution process. ***www.unhcr.ba***

5 POST-CONFLICT LAND ISSUES

- **Developing Land Law and Policy in a Post-Conflict Setting.** In East Timor the "Land Law Program" works through a three-way partnership between the implementer, government land agency, and a national university research institute. Using Timorese-specific information, work includes developing policy recommendations, helping draft legislation on land conflict resolution through mediation, linking local/traditional practices to the formal justice system, and technical and legal land registration. Mechanisms to promote foreign investment respect constitutional limitations regarding foreign ownership of land. ***www.usaideasttimor.net***

- **Building Dialogue around Land Conflicts and Land Policy.** The Program "Culture of Dialogue: Development of Resources for Peacebuilding" (OAS/PROPAZ) in Guatemala works to build government and civil society capacity to promote dialogue and the peaceful resolution of disputes. The program focused heavily on resolving land conflict issues, which are prevalent in Guatemala. To help create conditions and processes to enable a transition from confrontation toward a culture of greater dialogue, the program provided training in communication and conflict resolution skills, negotiation, mediation and conciliation to a variety of Guatemalan actors working on land issues at different levels of society, including government and peasant and indigenous groups. ***www.upd.oas.org***

In Bosnia and Herzegovina land claims were processed in part by a property commission. The property commission and claims process was implemented with the help of the Property Law Implementation Programme — a body created to implement the property provisions provided for in the Dayton Peace Accords.



The Rapid Appraisal Guide has been designed to assist development officers as they seek to understand which land issues are most relevant to violent conflict in a particular setting and what programmatic interventions may be of greatest relevance in each case.

This guide is meant to facilitate the development of improved terms of reference for assessments and activity designs. It is not meant to substitute for the latter and caution should be taken in terms of how this tool is employed. Cultural and political sensitivity are extremely important, especially if the guide is used in field interviews or focus groups, so as to minimize negative reactions and unintended provocations. The tool can also be used to help create a systematic understanding of written material on a particular case e.g., press, donor reports, research, etc.

The Guide assists by providing direction under two broad headings:

1) Filters to Understand the Information Collected: The questions below, under the heading "Basic Questions', focus on macro-level issues and are intended to help the user "see the forest through the trees." These questions are particularly useful to sort through and understand systematically the results of a literature review, field interviews and/or focus group discussions.

2) Detailed Questions about Land Issues Pertinent to Violent Conflict: A series of detailed questions that might be asked in an assessment to assess the role that land issues play in a conflict setting. These questions are organized around: 1) the categories of persons from whom responses will be needed to gain a robust understanding of the situation, and; 2) key land issues relevant to violent conflict.

The combination of micro and macro thinking should help ensure that the final analysis is strategically and programmatically focused. These questions are largely influenced by a number of issues raised under the Programmatic Considerations contained in Part 2 of this toolkit. It must be emphasized that all of these questions are intended to provide general guidance and should be used as a starting point when preparing to collect information or when interpreting information on hand. Not all questions contained in this guide will be relevant to every situation and, very importantly, additional context-specific questions will need to be developed in order to properly understand the dynamic in a particular country.

I BASIC QUESTIONS

These questions should help the user focus on the 'big picture' by thinking programmatically about the detailed information collected. The questions should also be able to guide the design of a scope of work for more full assessments or for activity design, where applicable.

KNOWLEDGE OF LAND LAWS AND LAND RIGHTS:

- Are land holders clear about their land rights? Is there (some) confusion or competing notion of rights? Is there a common understanding which is contradicted or undermined by law or other rights holders?
- Do rights holders have documents to support their claims? What other types of evidence do they use or are considered acceptable to prove claims?

GOVERNANCE AND LEGAL ISSUES:

- Are the main governmental and quasi-governmental institutions relevant to land and property issues doing an adequate job? Are specific institutions particularly weak? If yes, in what areas? Are specific services regarding land issues needed but not available (i.e., are specific institutional roles not provided)?
- Is the law and policy regime regarding land and property matters adequate? Do important gaps or other weaknesses exist in terms of legislation and/or policy (on paper)? Is the relevant legislation and/or policy being applied in practice?
- Is there adequate institutional capacity to manage or resolve land disputes? What types of conflict resolution mechanisms need to be strengthened (e.g., the courts, alternative dispute resolution processes)?
- Is corruption involved?

OPERATIONAL ISSUES:

- Are the human capacities regarding land and property issues adequate or do they need to be strengthened? If so, in what areas do they need to be strengthened?
- Are there any particular processes or procedures relevant to land and property matters that are deemed weak, corrupt or that do not seem to exist?
- Are there particular processes and procedures relevant to land and property matters that exist but are not sufficiently accessible (i.e., because of cost, service availability, or access to information about the services available)?

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

- Does the government have the political will to address the relevant land and property issues?
- Are there other key stakeholders/actors who need to be supportive of programmatic interventions in order to make the interventions politically viable? (e.g., landowners, peasant farmer associations, etc.)
- Are there strategic ways to address certain dimensions of land and property issues that would be more politically acceptable than others?

OTHER SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS:

- What timeframe would be involved in addressing the issues (immediate/urgent, short, medium and long-term)? Can the issues be strategically targeted to affect the potential timeframe(s)?
- Are the main land issues rural, urban, or both?
- Is land considered a resource? Is it contested as a resource because of access to riparian resources, differences in soil fertility, or proximity to transportation and markets?
- What flash points or trigger events could most likely bring about violent conflict?
- What are the agency's comparative/strategic advantages and limitations (e.g., legitimacy, know-how, resources)?
- How can land issues be framed in order to avoid unproductive intra-institutional 'politics' that could slow things down? (i.e., are there ways to avoid arguments about whether land issues should be exclusively within the domain of democracy and governance (DG), economic growth (EG), environmental or financial markets, etc.)
- What level of intervention is required? Are interventions needed at the national level (national government agencies, law, policies, national projects), at the local level (geographic hotspots, community-based conflict management mechanisms), or is some combination of both required?

2 QUESTIONS ABOUT LAND ISSUES PERTINENT TO VIOLENT CONFLICT

BASED ON THE STATUS OF THE PERSON BEING INTERVIEWED

APPARENT LANDLESS PERSONS/LABORERS/ SQUATTERS

- Where do you and your family live and how long have you been there?
- Do you own or have the right to use land?
- If you lack land rights or access, how do you feel about your lack of land? Why do you think you don't have any land? What is your response to your situation? Do you expect it to get better or worse?
- If you are seeking land (in tenancy or ownership), do you think you will be able to get some land? Enough land? On what terms will you receive land? When do you expect to receive land? If not, why do you believe you will not receive/be able to purchase land?
- Are others also seeking land? Will they get the land? Why will they get it if you are not able to?
- Are there currently any disputes in the community regarding land? If so, how are the disputes being addressed?

TENANTS/SHARECROPPERS

- What is your tenancy or cropping relationship with the landowner?
- Does your tenancy or cropping arrangement feel secure or insecure? Does it feel fair? Have you ever been moved off of the land or had your land changed or substituted?
- Is anybody able to rent land on better terms than yours? Why?
- Have you made improvement to the land you occupy? If so, who paid for the improvements?
- Do you have the roads, clinics, schools, and other infrastructure you believe necessary to support your livelihood on the land? Do others have these things?
- Do others in the community who are in the same situation as you meet and discuss the way they feel about their land situation?

LANDOWNERS

- Do you have tenants or sharecroppers on your land? Is all of your land currently used by you and your tenants/sharecroppers (if any)?
- Do you believe that your tenants are satisfied or dissatisfied about their land tenure situation?
- Have your tenants/laborers approached you to discuss any difficulties, frustrations, or demands?
- Have you had any sabotage or property damage? Have you had any problems with fences, security, breaches of property boundaries, crop theft, or the like? If yes, describe the problems.
- Does the government support you in your concerns about or attempts to rid your land (or the vicinity) of squatters? If so, how?
- Would you consider selling some of your land to squatters or to others that need land? If yes, on what terms? If no, why not?

LOCAL OFFICIALS

- What are the principle institutions with responsibilities related to land and property issues? What is their general mandate? Do you believe that they doing an adequate job?
- Who are the primary land holders in this area?
- Are there informal developments in and around the edges of the cities? Who owns the land that these settlements are on? Are there ever attempts to clear these areas? If so, how has the local population reacted?
- Do people come to local government to resolve land disputes? Are land disputes ever resolved according to custom, including mediation by elders or other traditional leaders?
- Are there or have there been violent disputes over land in this country? Are the disputes between individuals or groups? Are there contentious but non-violent disputes over land?
- Have there been any recent changes in the law or government policies regarding land rights? Do you know the details? Are you asked (and able) to carry them out or to enforce them?
- Have there been any recent national/regional/local events that have impacted this community's land interests?
- How do you/the government plan to address any concerns/fears/anger that arise regarding the implementation of new land law/policy and/or recent events?

NGO REPRESENTATIVES

- What is the general welfare status of the community?
- What do you consider to be the most significant problems facing the local community? Does the community itself perceive the same problems as the most significant?
- How do members of the community interact, both within their own groups and with other groups? Are there organized meetings of any kind? What happens at the meetings?
- Do you encourage the community to do certain things or take certain actions? What are they?
- Does the community appear to feel positively or negatively about the future?
- What are the principle institutions with responsibilities related to land and property issues? What is their general mandate? Are they doing an adequate job? Explain.

BASED ON SUB-THEMES WITHIN LAND AND CONFLICT

Inequality of land holdings

- Do you own or have other access to land? If some land, how much?
- What kind of land do you have (house, house plot, house and garden plot, garden plot, small farm, other)?
- Is the amount and type of land that you have (or do not have) consistent with others in your community?
- What is your response to your situation?
- Do you believe you are entitled to land? Is so, on what terms do you think you should receive that land?
- Have any groups met and discussed land issues? If so, who? What do they discuss?
- Have any groups reached decisions regarding how to address land issues? If so, how?

TENURE INSECURITY

- What is nature of your land interest (full, formal ownership; customary ownership; leasehold; squatting; other)? Are you satisfied with the extent/nature of that interest?
- What is your evidence of ownership or other interest? If so, describe (title, certificate, community knowledge, demarcated boundaries, and investment in the land)?
- Do you believe your land interests and rights are enforceable against others (including the government)? If yes, why? If not, why not? Who might violate your interest?
- Are others in the same situation as you and do you think it would be useful to act collectively to protect your interests?
- Does anyone else (individuals or groups) have access to your land (e.g., easement, right to cross land, right to subsurface resources, right to use water resources, other)? If so, who?
- Do you know of any institutions or organizations designed to protect your interest? Who?
- Do you believe those institutions/organizations function fairly and independently and do you have access (physical, financial, class status, legal, other) to them?

COMPETING AND CONFLICTING LAND USES

- Are you free to use your land as you see fit? If not, why not? Describe the conflicts and restraints.
- Is your community free to use its common resources? If not, why not? Describe the conflicts and restraints.
- What is the impact of any restrictions on your land use? Have you or anyone in your community ever had a violent confrontation over the conflicts or restraints?
- Are there mechanisms, people, organizations, or institutions for hearing and resolving the conflicts? What are they? Formal? Informal? Would there be an agreement that satisfies both sides or would there be a winner and a loser?
- What/who governs your land use? Who should govern your land use? Why?

DISPLACEMENT/REFUGEES IN POST-CONFLICT SITUATIONS

To a community member (not displaced person):

- Are there displaced people from outside your community who are now within your community who are without homes?
- Are they of an identifiable ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, national, regional, or other classification?
- Are the numbers growing or decreasing? Do these displaced persons cause problems in the local community?
- Are there people now residing within your community that are not from the community? That is, displaced people or refugees that came here to live and that have found homes or shelter?
- How are they treated?
- Are they of an identifiable ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, national, regional, or other classification?
- Are the numbers growing or decreasing? Does this displaced group cause problems?
- How do you feel about the presence of this group?

To a displaced person/refugee:

- Where are you from and how did you get here?
- How many others are with you? Family members? Community members?
- How are you being treated here?
- If you prefer to be elsewhere, where do you want to go? How do you expect to get there? What resources do you need?
- Did you leave a home, house, land, or other assets in your previous location?
- Who is using it now? Do you have any information concerning those assets?
- Do you expect that you could return and reclaim it if you chose to do so?
- Do you/the members of the community have a common purpose or desire regarding housing and land? If so, what is it?
- Do you believe that your needs/the needs of your group will be addressed adequately in the future? Do you want help? Will you get help?

Symbolic power of land

- Is there land on which you believe you/your family/your community/your religious group/your fellow nationals have a right to live or otherwise maintain/preserve/protect?
- If so, why? Why is the land important to you?
- What land? Where is it? Who is on it now? Why are they on it? What is the nature of that right or interest?
- Are you/your communities doing anything to preserve, enforce, or reclaim that right?
- Do you have confidence that these methods will bring about the desired results?
- If you are unsuccessful, what will the consequences be to you/your community?

MONITORING & EVALUATION

Sudanese refugees on their way to Eastern Chad. The conflict in Darfur has its origins in competition over grazing and farming land.

The goal of this results framework is to provide indicators at the strategic objective (SO) and intermediate results (IR) levels that will allow teams to measure the impact of programs that address land and conflict. The framework, indicators and illustrative activities have been developed from several USAID programs and monitoring plans, with significant input from experts. The specific activities implemented to achieve the IR and SO results will vary by country context and conditions, thus indicators at that level are also expected to vary. The illustrative indicators contained in this results framework will be updated and revised as experience with them dictates. On page X, is an additional tool developed by the Land Resources management team at USAID. Both the framework and matrix are illustrative. We welcome your comments as part of this process. For further information on monitoring & evaluation please refer to the TIPS series and other documents on USAIDs' evaluation website *http://www.dec.org/partners/evalweb/*. Additional assistance may be sought through the Integrated Management for Results 2 (IMR-2) IQC mechanism, details found at *http://www.msiworldwide.com/gral/contracting.html*. If you have any questions about this framework, please contact Jaidev Singh or Elizabeth Martin in the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation.

USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE INDICATORS

GOAL: MITIGATE LAND-RELATED CONFLICT TO ENSURE MORE EQUITABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY

OBJECTIVE 1: ENHANCED LAND TENURE AND PROPERTY SECURITY

- increased level of investments for improvements to land and property
- secure land and property rights for men and women increased (# titles)
- % landless population

1.1 NECESSARY REFORMS ENACTED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE

- progress in policy, legal and regulatory reform on land tenure and property rights (benchmarks achieved)
- # specialized land courts established
- reform laws, which directly or through interpretation, limit access

1.1.1 Legal, political and regulatory frameworks assessed and adapted

- transparent and participatory assessments achieved (legal/policies/regulations)
- benchmarks achieved -land and property legal, policies and regulations (scale)

1.1.2 Capacity building to perform core functions in legal, regulatory and policy arenas

- % state bodies and institutions trained (administration, transparency, financial records, titling)
- % population expressing satisfaction on handling of claims/titles

1.1.3 Secure land and property rights for men and women increased

- cumulative # of land titles issued (men/women)
- cumulative # of property titles issued (men/women
- % land-poor/landless population expressing satisfaction with land tenure laws

1.2 FAIR AND TRANSPARENT ACCESS TO LAND FACILITATED

- evidence of decreased land speculation, land grabbing
- user/filing fees either absent, nominal or linked on ability to pay
- % communities receiving information on land purchase/sales/lease opportunities
- # outlets publishing land purchase/sales/lease opportunities

1.2.1 Efficient market transactions stimulated and increased (purchase/sale/lease)

- legislation enacted to lower the normative price of enterprise land
- cost (labor/time) to complete transactions
- # titles issued in a timely manner (ethnic/religious group, men, women)
- increase in credit available for individuals for land transactions

The illustrative indicators should be viewed as general models which must be adapted to a country's specific context.

Child cattle herder.

USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE INDICATORS

1.2.2 Approaches for market-assisted land redistribution

- state or collective lands/farms broken up and rural titles issued to individuals- # liquidated
- state or collective lands/farms broken up and rural titles issued to individuals- # titles
- private enterprises acquiring associated land

1.3 CUSTOMARY AND STATE ADJUDICATION/ARBITRATION SERVICES IMPROVED

- # of disputes originating out of customary law (compared to those originating out of state law)
- duration of administrative procedures (initiate case/claim, hearing, resolution)
- % barriers identified reduced

1.3.1 Judicial reform/rule of law addressed *(related to land and property security)*

- progress towards established milestones
- increased arbitration centers for commercial or land dispute resolution operational

1.3.2 Public awareness and defense of land and property rights increased (legal literacy)

- # of persons seeking legal assistance
- % population who now how to access the legal system re: land rights/property issues
- #/% citizens by key population category receiving information on land or legal rights

1.3.3 Increased adoption and use of legal/arbitration assistance in rural populations

- % population using locally-based legal assistance (within one half day travel) men/women
- # of cases using alternative dispute resolution (arbitration, customary law, tribunals, etc)

OBJECTIVE 2: IMPROVED LAND USE MANAGEMENT

- technologies, policies and practices that enhance the long-term conservation of natural resources developed and adopted (benchmarks achieved)
- increased incomes
- increased rational off-take of land resources (agricultural production, water, minerals, etc)

2.1 STRENGTHENED PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT REALIZED

- existence of a management information system (MIS)
- # of natural resource management (NRM) committees with community participation that are operational
- # of activities in which people or NGOs participate in targets NRM issues

- contracts and agreements signed which increase participation in sustainable resource management
- state of natural resources (soil erosion, water availability and quality, plant cover, etc)

2.2 ADOPTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

- # times demonstration plots are replicated without donor funding
- % population adopting better NRM practices increased
- % agriculture extension services who train/promote use of new technologies
- increased crop (specify) yields

2.3 DESIGNATED LANDS, FORESTS AND CONSERVATION AREAS MAXIMIZED AND PROTECTED

- protected areas management index (protection, management, financing and participation)
- environment/natural resources management policy index (environment, protected areas, wildlife, etc. --contextually designed)
- increased area of habitat effectively managed (ha)
- % annual deforestation in protected areas(ha)
- % nationally protected areas (> 1000 ha)
- increase in local institutions actively involved in resource protection

OBJECTIVE 3: IMPROVED ENABLING CONDITIONS FOR PEACE ESTABLISHED

- # of conflicts over natural resources, property, binding local agreements reduced
- % land/property disputes resolved without violence
- # new courts opened in urban/rural areas with concentrations of marginalized persons and/or resettled populations

3.1 CONFLICT PREVENTION MEASURES INCREASED

- # of peace-building and/or healing initiatives initiated and run by women
- # targeted communities reached by advocacy campaigns for peace
- Increased advocacy capacity of CSOs at community, district and national levels

3.1.1 Improved key stakeholders[1] ability to mitigate and resolve conflicts (land/property)

- % citizens who say they are satisfied with the (formal/informal) court's ability to resolve land/property disputes
- decreased cost to resolve disputes
- CSOs and NGOs able to effectively participate in dispute resolution (land property)

1. Government, institutions, CSOs/CBOs

USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE INDICATORS

3.1.2 Role of media in peace-making improved (peace journalism)

- % annual increase in articles/shows/spots covering land, property right and information about access to courts (targeted social marketing)
- increased debate evidenced in media
- reduction in media articles/spots/TV with inflammatory language

3.1.3 Increased personal and property security

- % population reporting acceptable level of perceived personal security (index)
- % resettled population who believe local government is addressing their security needs
- crime rates, including rape and incidents of crimes against property or land decreased
- sufficient # of safe havens available to threatened population

3.2 PRODUCTIVE RE-INTEGRATION OF DISPLACED POPULATIONS

- % resettled population with self-sustaining forms of employment
- % land allocated for resettled populations including suitability criteria for agriculture or other productive purpose
- % resettled female population receiving credit

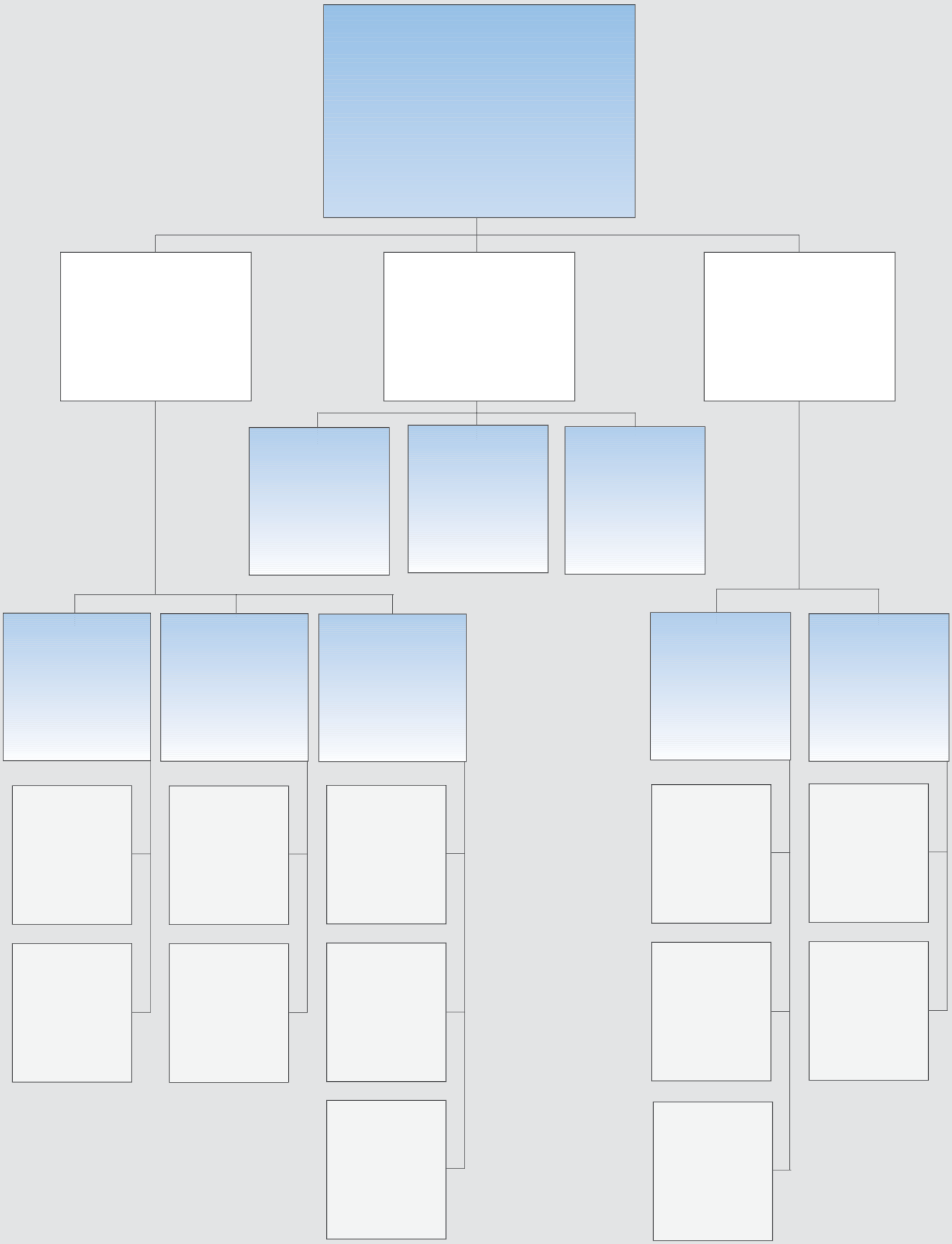
3.2.1 More accountable local management of services and resources

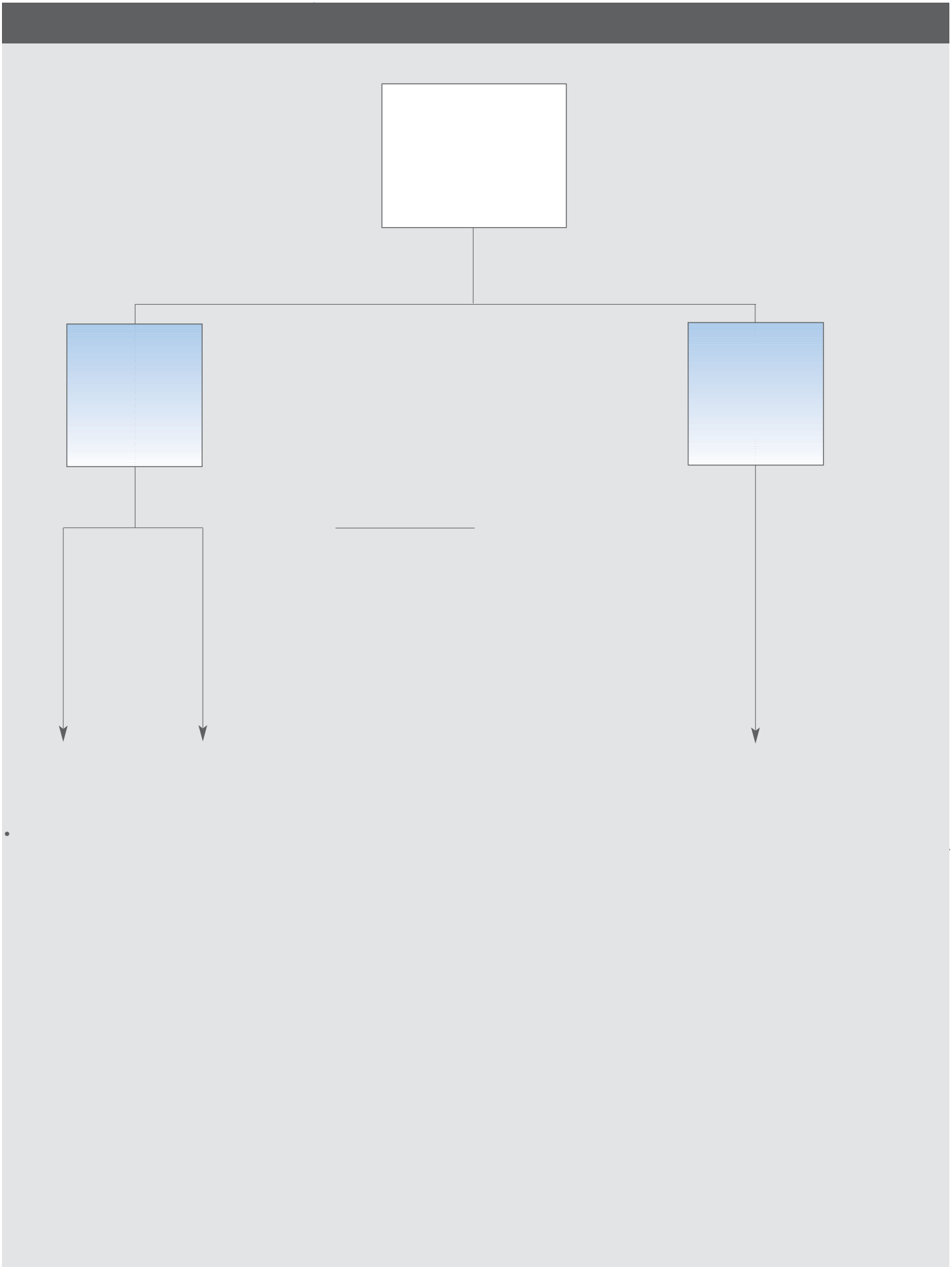
- # NRM committees that are operational
- proportion of local development committees that used established mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts between and within local organizations
- proportion of local institutions leaders that have knowledge of law and regulatory texts related to the national land tenure system - % male local leaders/female local leaders
- % cropland, pasture, and/or forest change

3.2.2 Fair and rehabilitative resettlement processes supported (land/property and/or records)

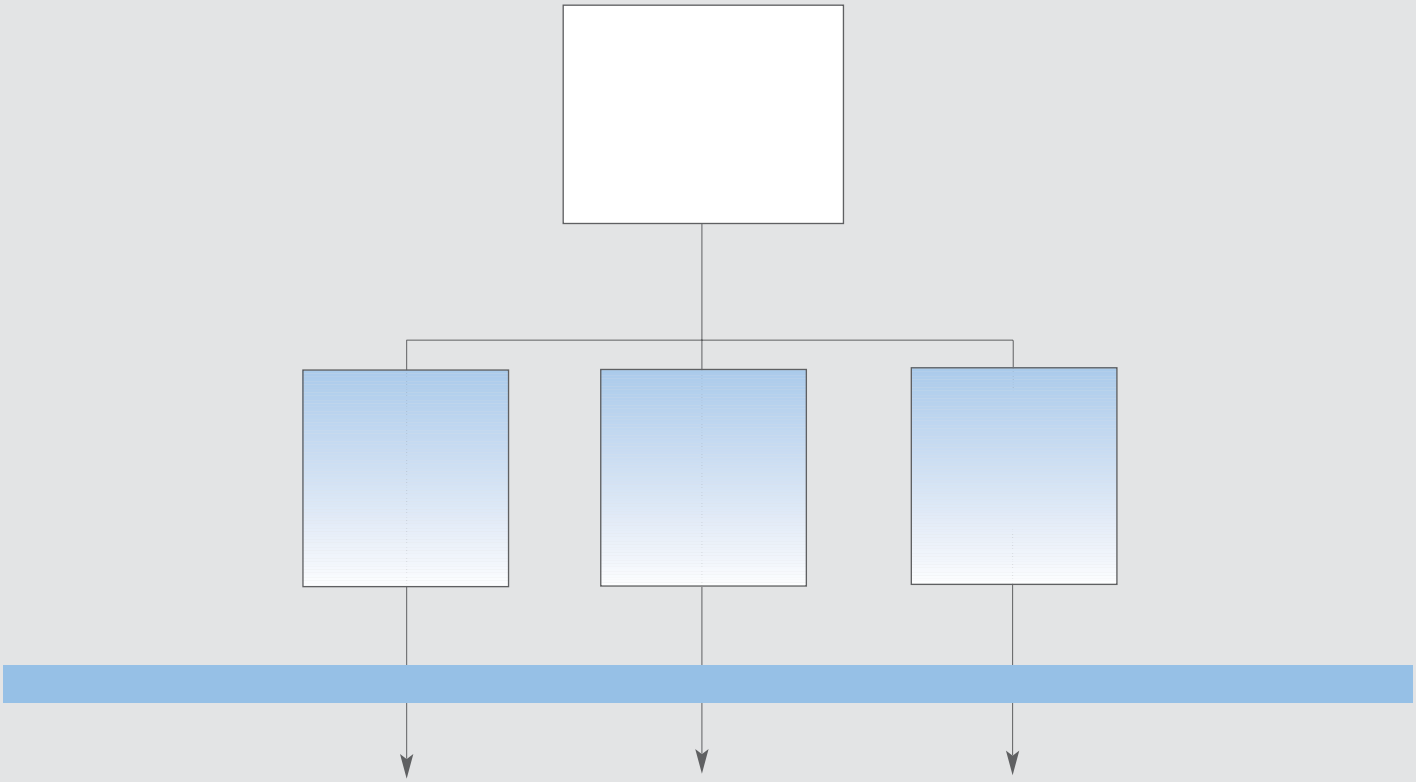
- % institutions developed/expanded to address returnees' needs
- community-generated activities involving resettled groups
- land administration effectively conducted (suitability assessment, survey, land inventories, demarcation, updated real estate registers)
- Also refer to 1.2.2 indicators

USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS FRAMEWORK





USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS FRAMEWORK



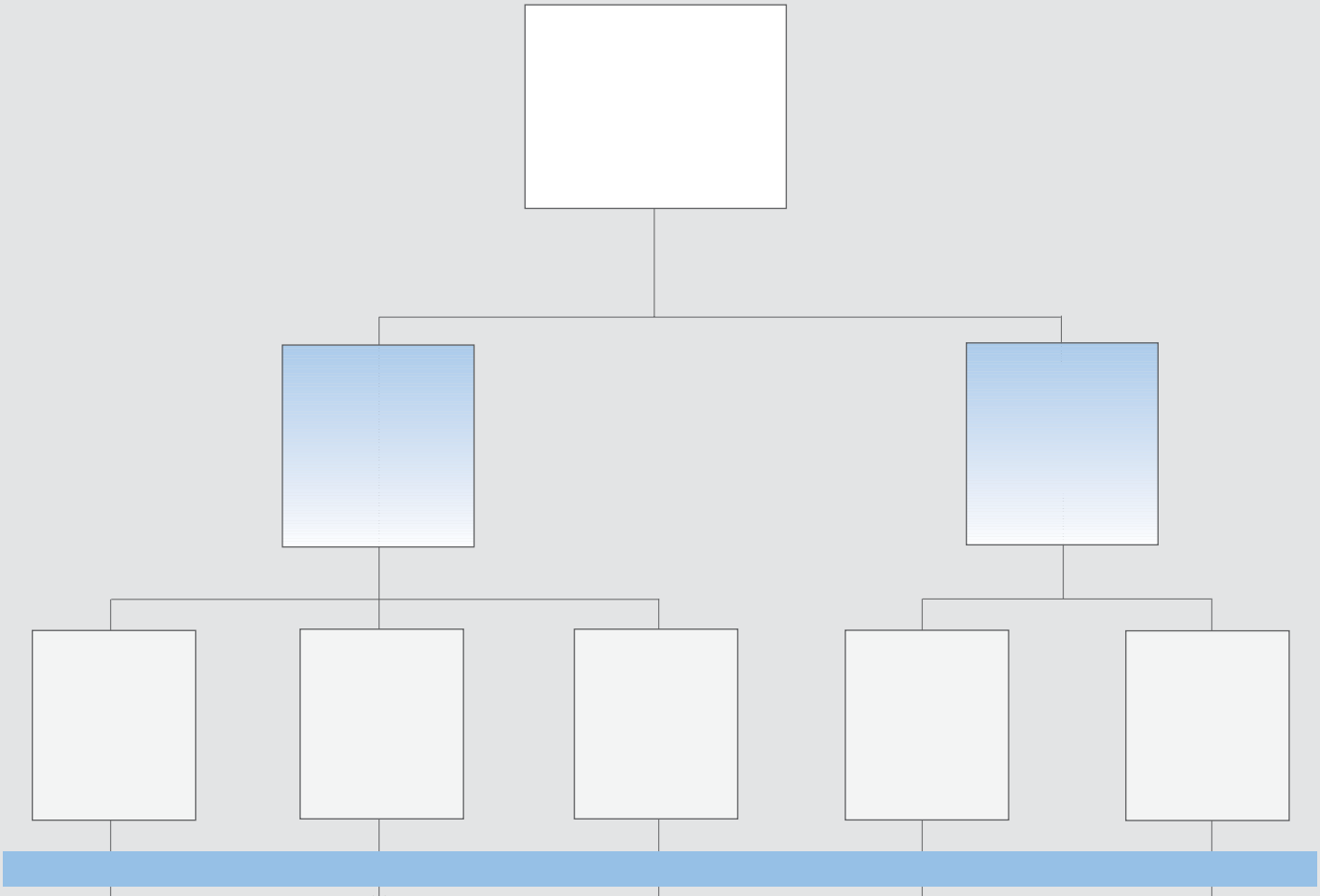
- TA to support customary tenure and farm restructuring
- TA for land valuation and taxation for property transfer
- Public awareness campaigns
- Mortgaging legislation
- assistance with fee structures
- TA with legal procedures for recording transactions
- Host and promote government roundtables on needs and constraints for the private sector
- Promote forums for government and civil society discussions with feedback loop to target groups (transparency of government intentions)
- TA to established participatory structures
- Promote community wells

- Behavior change-oriented training for NRM
- Fund natural resource activities/pilot studies for agricultural extension groups
- Promote natural resource management (NRM) plan, land use plan
- Support land reclamation and/or reforestation activities
- Develop land information systems, GIS
- NRM training around soil conservation, land reclamation, terracing, etc.
- Share best practices
- Promotion of longer term benefits (of NRM) campaigns

- Support monitoring of protected areas
- TA for local management to reduce commercial exploitation
- Support structures that limit access to protected areas and resources
- Assist governments with reclassification of land and, esp. degraded land and forested
- TA for agrarian reform
- Fund trials of shareholder agriculture or resource use schemes
- Share best practices of common -land holdings and management
- Land suitability assessments, inventories and/or surveys
- TA for land registration offices, cadastral registration, zoning

* Links to food security and natural resource management programs

USAID/CMM ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS FRAMEWORK



- and alternative dispute resolution, arbitration, reconciliation, conflict transformation
- TA for formal mediation
- Promote fair restitution
- Multi-party dialogue sessions
- Participation in government legislation
- Feedback sessions
- TA to community-based paralegals

- tion on rights, laws, regulations
- Peace journalism skills training
- Promote publishing of positive stories
- Awareness raising of peace benefits
- Dissemination of model materials
- Support platforms for marginalized voices in media
- Support platforms for education public about land, law and property rights and issues

- and customary courts
- Safe havens/houses
- Disarmament activities
- Police training
- Support both side arms reduction agreement
- Provide alternatives to 'power of the gun'
- Community watch
- Community policing

- suitability assessments; land demarcation, land certification; land registration; registry development, land agency development
- TA to local institutions, government to improve transparency
- Support activities that strengthen customary tenure
- TA for surveys, land inventory, cadastre
- Promote geographical information systems (GIS)
- Promote allocation of state lands
- Public awareness campaigns
- Credit opportunities targeted to land-poor/landless, women and/or marginalized groups

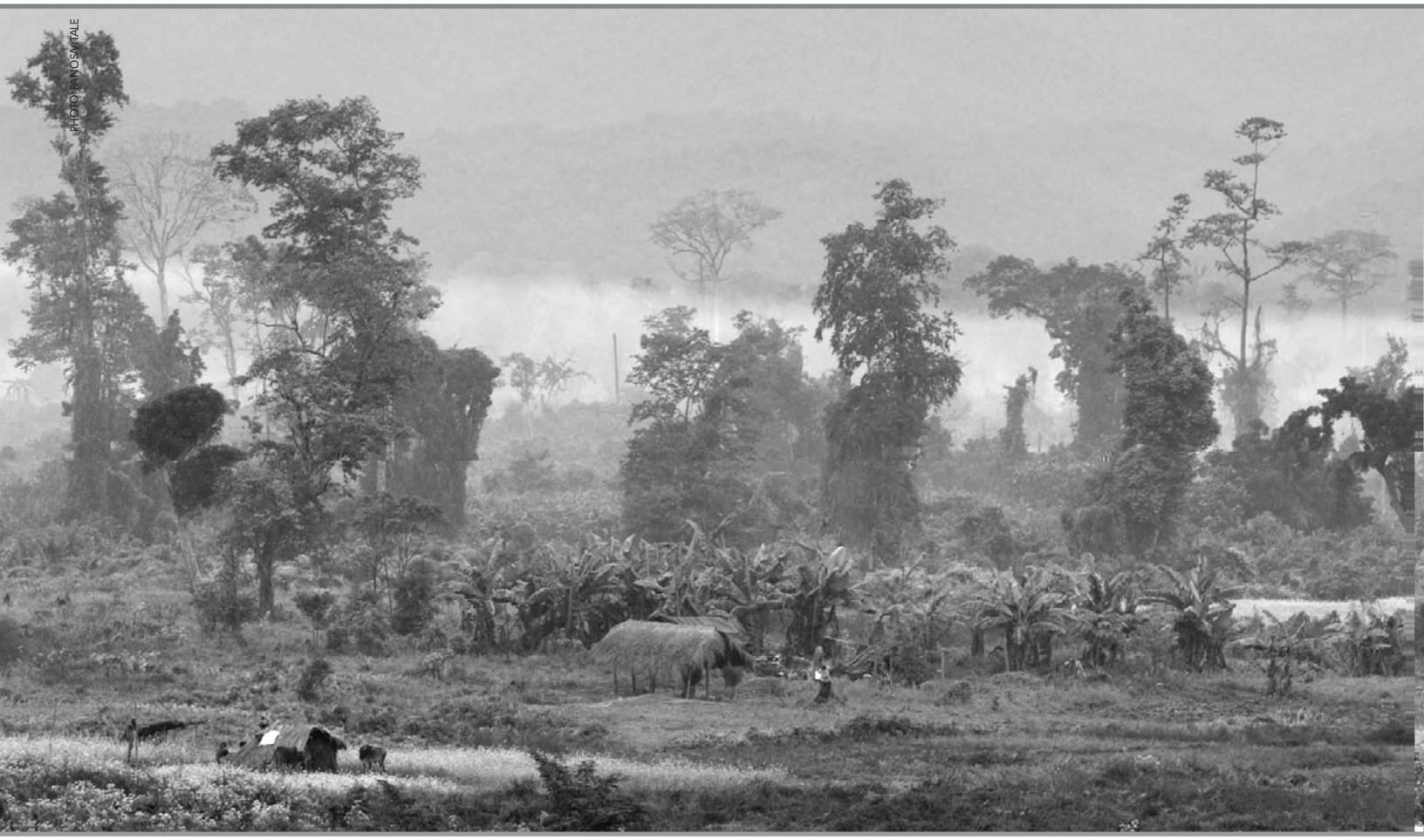
- compensation and restitution
- Legal mobile clinics
- Support activities to strengthen customary law
- Village tribunals
- Resettlement
- Support to local courts, tribunals
- Mobile legal clinics and/or information centers
- Provision of adequate temporary housing
- Support to alternative income generation activities

* Government, institutions, CSOs/CBOs

INTERSECTION OF LAND TENURE AND PROPERTY RIGHTS ISSUES WITH POLICY AND PROGRAM INTERVENTIONS

		ISSUES		
		Conflict/ Instability	Insecure Land and Property Rights	Landlessness/ Inequitable land Distribution (incl. IDPs and returning refugees)
A	Good Governance	• Election Reform • Restoration of rule of law • Reintegration of military • Strengthening Participation • Working on transparency	• Public awareness campaigns • Decentralization	• Resettlement of displaced peoples • Strengthening Community Governance • Land reform • Allocation of state land • Resettlement
B	Conflict or Dispute Resolution	• Reconciliation • Dispute resolution • Formal mediation • Arbitration • Reintegration • Restitution • Compensation • Related to unsustainable NRM: • Dispute resolution • Agriculture/ wildlife conflict • Access to protected area resources • Local management vs. Commercial exploitation	• Alternative dispute resolution • Arbitration • Land Court • Judiciary reform • Resolution of competitive claims	• Village tribunals • Local courts • Legal Mobile clinics • Public awareness campaigns • Building local capacity for dialogue/Enhancing public participation
C	Institutions and Legal and Regulatory Framework	• Civil Code • Constitutional reform • Establishment of Courts • Judicial reform • Law reform	• Land registration • Law review commissions • Law reform • Judicial reform • Magistrates • Establish notaries • Create property institutions • Public information campaigns	• Law reform • Strengthen customary tenure
D	Re-distribution	• Resettlement of soldiers • Resettlement of refugees		• Refugee settlement • Reallocation of state land • Resettlement • Privatization of state lands • Resolve competitive and overlapping claims • Land reform • Farm Restructuring
E	Land Administration	• Land demarcation • Land suitability assessments • Reconstruction of property • Reconstruction of records	• Adjudication • Land certification • Land registration • Restitution • Registry development • Land agency development	• Land information systems • Geographical information systems • Land suitability assessment • Land inventory • Survey • Land demarcation

RESOURCES



A remote area suffering from deforestation as the land is cleared for agriculture.

USAID CONTRACTING MECHANISMS FOR LAND AND CONFLICT PROGRAMMING

RAISE (RURAL AND AGRICULTURAL INCOMES WITH A SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT) IQC (EGAT/NRM AND EGAT/AG)

RAISE supports policy, economic development, and community action related to land and conflict issues (as well as support for agricultural and environmental issues). These include programs related to alleviating inequities in land holdings, improving land tenure security, institutional capacity building for land management, land privatization and market development, identifying and resolving land disputes, responding to population displacement and return, and post conflict land issues.

The Land Tenure Task Order under the RAISE IQC provides access to technical assistance on questions related to land tenure and property rights, land law reform, land conflicts, land access, and land and natural resource management issues. Missions have used the Task Order to

conduct assessments, host courses and roundtable discussions, and design and implement programs. For example, in Rwanda, the Mission is using the Task Order to help the Government of Rwanda develop a new land law; while in Ukraine and Mongolia, Missions have used technical assistance to review and develop land privatization programs. Missions in Angola and Burundi are assisting civil society to deal with post-conflict land reform issues.

RAISE Plus, the follow-up mechanism to RAISE, will be available spring 2005. Please visit the following websites for more information: ***http://inside.usaid.gov/EGAT/ off-nrm/raise/access_raise_iqc_a.htm; http://www.raise.org/***

Prime recipients: Associates in Rural Development, Inc. (ARD); Development Alternatives, Inc. (DAI); and, Chemonics International, Inc.

Contact: CTO: David Soroko (dsoroko@usaid.gov) or Co-Manager: Chris Kosnik, (ckosnik@usaid.gov). CTO (Land Tenure Task Order): Gregory Myers (gmyers@usaid.gov).

GREENCOM: ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION (EGAT/NRM)

Missions may use this mechanism to undertake assessments related to communication about land issues. For example, missions may access this mechanism to help develop communication strategies that promote prudent land use management. In addition, GreenCOM may be used to strengthen community capacity to addressing issues related to land management and conflict resolution. ***http://www.greencom.org/***

Prime recipient: Academy for Educational Development (AED)

Subcontractor: Chemonics International Inc

Contact: Roberta Hilbruner (rhilbruner@usaid.gov)

US GOVERNMENT AND DONOR CONTACTS

This list provides names and contact information for U.S. Government agencies and international donor organizations with expertise relevant to land and violent conflict. For recommendations concerning individual experts, USAID partners, and non-governmental organizations, please contact Jaidev Singh in the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation.

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