



International
Institute for
Environment and
Development

GATEKEEPER SERIES

132

**WHO BENEFITS
FROM LAND TITLING?
LESSONS FROM
BOLIVIA AND LAOS**

Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel
2007

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As households in the developing world become more feminised through the breakdown of marriages, the impact of civil war and HIV/AIDS, secure access to land by women is crucial. Such land offers a safe place to raise families and forms the base for diversified livelihood strategies.

The last three decades have seen an unprecedented effort to give land users legal land ownership in the developing world. This effort on the part of government and donor agencies is largely in response to economic studies which suggest that secure property rights are a key precondition for development. In theory, property holders can access markets more easily and are better able to invest, resulting in higher incomes for both rural and urban families.

However, property formalisation is not seen as a panacea by everyone. Many assert that often there is no need for formalisation of rights, many national governments are not capable of providing the infrastructure to enforce these legal property rights and privatisation and titling can lead to land-grabbing by the powerful. Research also shows that for the poorest households, often the main target of these programmes, titling and registration do not in fact give them greater access to credit, nor do they increase their ability to buy land or to invest in their properties.

There is also concern over the uneven impacts of formalisation programmes, especially their potentially negative impacts on women. The author illustrates this concern drawing on her research in Bolivia and Laos PDR, where despite legal and policy contexts which support equal access to titling for both men and women, women still face significant social, political and cultural constraints to acquiring rights to land.

The author suggests that legal measures are not sufficient. Programmes that recognise and/or formalise land rights need to take explicit steps and procedures to include women:

- Policy and programme development processes should involve civil society, and state agencies need to adopt equity as a societal objective
- Programmes are needed to raise awareness of current discriminatory practices, and legal literacy programmes will help to instruct both women and men in their rights
- Legal assistance is required for women and minorities to help them navigate government agencies and legal channels and to provide moral and financial support
- Land reform, resettlement and state leasehold programmes should carefully and aggressively review their policies and regulations as well as their guidelines, training, and procedures to ensure that gender is prioritised and that both women and men are involved at all levels
- Research should be increased into the longer-term impacts of these titling programmes on women.

THE GATEKEEPER SERIES of the Natural Resources Group at IIED is produced by the Sustainable Agriculture, Biodiversity and Livelihoods Programme. The Series aims to highlight key topics in the field of sustainable natural resource management. Each paper reviews a selected issue of contemporary importance and draws preliminary conclusions for development that are particularly relevant for policymakers, researchers and planners. References are provided to important sources and background material. The Series is published three times a year and is supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Rockefeller Foundation. The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s), and do not necessarily represent those of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), Sida, SDC, the Rockefeller Foundation, or any of their partners.

SUSANA LASTARRIA-CORNHIEL is Senior Scientist at the Urban and Regional Planning Department, and Affiliate of the Land Tenure Center, at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her principal research interests are land tenure systems, including women's rights to land. Currently, she is heading up a research effort on the intra-household effects of microfinance programmes in rural areas of Malawi, Kyrgyzstan, and Andhra Pradesh in India. Dr Lastarria-Cornhiel can be contacted at: slastarr@wisc.edu.

WHO BENEFITS FROM LAND TITLING? LESSONS FROM BOLIVIA AND LAOS

Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s there has been a wave of titling and property registration programmes as governments and donor agencies promote the privatisation of public and customary land, and the legal formalisation of land rights throughout the developing world. This has spawned an unprecedented effort to draw up a legal document and map for every parcel of land. Formalisation has been promoted for a number of reasons: titling, it is said, not only protects a person's access to and control of land, but also helps them get access to credit, agricultural resources and services. Legal formalisation of land rights has thus been advanced (mostly by a diverse set of economists such as Feder *et al.*, 1988; de Soto, 2000, and Deininger, 2003) as the best mechanism for securing landholders' property rights. Other positive development effects are expected to include improved access to factor markets and increased investment, resulting in higher incomes for both rural and urban families.

However, not everyone sees property formalisation as a magic bullet. There are two different areas of concern. The first surrounds the fundamental need for, and effectiveness of, titling—the contention is that in many areas there is no need for formalisation of rights, and that many national governments, in any case, are not capable of providing the infrastructure to enforce these legal property rights. Researchers point out the land-grabbing by elites, authorities and the well-connected that occurs when privatisation and titling programmes are implemented, as well as the many out-dated titling and registration records housed in government offices. Land records that are not updated do not have much value for securing current land rights. And quite a few studies have shown that low-income households and smallholder families, for whose sake these programmes were developed, are not able to access the benefits that justified the costs of titling and registration: they do not have greater access to credit, are not more able to buy land, and are not more likely to invest in their properties.¹

1. See for example Kingwill *et al.*, 2006.

The second concern is the uneven impacts of formalisation programmes, especially their potentially negative impacts on women. I explore this concern in this paper and suggest some key steps which can help ensure that women benefit more equally from property formalisation.²

WOMEN AND LAND RIGHTS

Although rural income in many countries has become less dependent on agriculture, land continues to be a crucial resource for the survival and reproduction of rural populations. And as rural households become more feminised because of the breakdown of marriages, civil war and HIV/AIDS, land as a secure place to raise families and as a base for diversified livelihood strategies becomes more important for women. These cultural and social values attached to land are important considerations when designing programmes around land such as formalisation of rights.

For many of the historically disadvantaged population groups, land rights are not primarily marketable assets but rather a secure foundation for sheltering and nurturing their families and making a living. In addition to tenure security for women, research suggests that property ownership increases a woman's bargaining power within the household and her status as a citizen in the community (Meizen-Dick *et al.*, 1997).

Because land and property rights are such a basic societal right, their importance for the welfare of individuals and groups is far-reaching. Exclusion from property rights is not only an indicator of exclusion from other societal rights and benefits, but contributes, both materially and culturally, to a pattern of exclusion and secondary status. Democratic governance is based on social equity and empowerment for all community members—in other words, there must be no secondary citizens. The exclusion of population groups, such as women, from equal property rights is to deny them full citizenship status. As Herring (1999: 29) so nicely put it: "...it seems clear from everything we know about oppression, exclusion and opportunity that redressing gendered inequalities in much of the world must include reform of property relations."

That does not mean, nevertheless, that individual private property is always and everywhere the only mechanism for securing land rights—land rights and land

2. This paper is based on results from a study undertaken in Azerbaijan, Bolivia, Ghana, and Lao PDR by Renee Giovarelli, Elizabeth Katz, Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel and Susan Nichols during 2004-2005. The study was funded by the World Bank's Gender and Rural Development Thematic Group and the Land Policy Thematic Group. A synthesis of those country studies was published by the World Bank (2005).

tenure systems evolve as society evolves. Equitable access to land means that society's members have equitable opportunity to access land (be it through private property ownership, communal access, or corporate membership) and that gender, ethnicity, caste or any other ascribed attribute is not used to deny a person or group their land rights.

Why are women missing out in land formalisation programmes?

Numerous studies have shown that until recently titling programmes have targeted men as titleholders, leaving most women without legal property rights, even to the secondary access rights many hold under customary tenure. The implications for women are: (1) those who have access rights to their families' land but do not have title to that land may find themselves at risk of losing the land if their relationship to the titleholder (e.g., the husband) is broken; (2) women without title have little assurance that the land they are using will not be sold, leased, or mortgaged without their consent, or that they will benefit from these transactions.

This exclusion of women was due in part to how titling programmes were conceived: as purely technical and legal processes. In addition, titling experts and administrators have focused on problems of efficiency and technology—ignoring complex cultural norms and practices around land rights—and found it easier to title only the household head. Thus, certain groups (such as women) are disenfranchised of the rights they held under customary tenure or even under formal law. Where state or public land has been distributed to families, titling programmes have also disregarded the formal legal rights women have to that land as equal citizens. This practice reveals the other reason women have been left out of the titling process: patriarchal ideology that considers only men as property holders (Box 1).

There is a rising concern for gender equity among donor institutions promoting and funding titling and registration programmes. Advocates of extending legal land rights to women have promoted issuing joint title to couples for the land they hold and work as an alternative to titling only the household head.³ Thus, some titling programmes have recently incorporated the option of joint titles. In some programmes, joint title is legally mandated, particularly if the land being titled has been allocated by the state or if it was acquired by a couple during marriage.

3. Deere and Leon (2001) make this argument in their comprehensive study on women's rights to land in Latin America.

Box 1. Land rights and gender identity in traditional systems

Most customary land tenure systems reflect and re-create gendered cultural norms and practices. Patrilineal kinship, patrilocal marriage and residency patterns where women leave their own community to live in the husband's community, and patrilineal inheritance practices ensure that men maintain control over land and its resources and that women have only access rights through their relation to a man as daughter, wife, or sister. These norms and practices not only help define the land tenure system (how land rights are allocated and passed on), but also contribute to gender identification—part of male identity is control over land, part of female identity is exclusion from control over land and resources. When individual women attempt to claim legal land rights or groups of women struggle for recognition of women's rights to land, they are also confronting gendered structures and ideology, in this way threatening male identity and power.⁴

I now describe two titling programmes, in Bolivia and Lao PDR, which officially advocated women's equal land rights and wives' rights to landed property. I then go on to explore how women have fared in these programmes.

FORMALISATION OF LAND RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA AND LAOS

Bolivia and Lao PDR both began land titling programmes in the mid- to late-1990s. The two countries share many other characteristics, in spite of their many obvious differences. These two countries are both amongst the poorest in their region: 63% of Bolivia's population and 39% of Laos' population are below the national poverty line. Table 1 shows that while the per capita gross national product (GNP) for Bolivia is about three times that of Laos, when converted to per capita purchasing power parity (PPP), Bolivia's is only 44% higher than Laos'. Both countries are multi-ethnic, rural societies and a great proportion of households are dependent on access to cropland and pastures for their livelihood. Laos is highly agricultural: agriculture contributes to 49% of Laos' GDP while only to 15% of Bolivia's GDP. Recent labour force figures show that 77% of Laos' labour force and 37% of Bolivia's is in the agricultural sector. Women working in agriculture make up 81% of the female labour force in Laos and only 3% in Bolivia.⁵ A review of some other indicators shows higher illiteracy rates for women, low life expectancy, high fertility rates, and high maternal mortality ratios in both countries.

Both countries' constitutions recognise and reaffirm women's equal rights. Different national legislation in both countries (such as agrarian reform laws, land titling laws, property laws, family codes) also recognises equal access to land and prop-

⁴. Goebel (2005) describes how this dynamic has played out in Zimbabwe since the 1990s.

⁵. These official figures on Bolivia's female labour force do not reflect the level of women's unremunerated family labour invested in peasant farms.

Table 1: General Development Indicators for Bolivia and Lao PDR

Indicators	Bolivia	Lao PDR
GNP per capita (2000)	\$980	\$290
PPP per capita* (2002)	\$2,390	\$1,660
Population density (persons/sq. mile) (2002)	8	24
Rural population (% of total population) (1998-2003)	36%	79%
Poverty (% of population below national poverty line) (1998-2003)	63%	39%
Agriculture as % of GDP (2003)	15%	49%
Agricultural labour force (% of total labour force) (1997)	37%	77%
Female labour force (% total labour force)	38% (2000)	-----
...in agriculture (% of female labour force)	3% (2000)	81% (1990)
Female life expectancy (years) (2000)	64	55
Female adult illiteracy rate (2000)	21%	47%
Male adult illiteracy rate (2000)	8%	24%
Total fertility rate (births per woman) (2000)	3.9	5.0
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) (2000)	420	650
Sources: World Bank Data Profiles for Bolivia & Lao PDR (2005); World Bank GenderStats (2005)		

erty. One significant legal difference with regard to land rights and property is that Bolivia recognises private property and communal property (as well as public property), while Laos maintains that all land is state property and its citizens have permanent or temporary (short-term and long-term) use rights to land. These permanent use rights are similar to private property in the sense that holders of these rights control their land, are able to buy and sell use rights, mortgage them and otherwise use them as collateral, and may pass these rights to their heirs.

Both Bolivia and Laos have undergone land programmes in the last 50 years that involved the redistribution of land and the relocation of rural families. Bolivia initiated both a redistributive land reform programme and a land resettlement programme. In Laos, there were significant population movements, both within country and out of country, as a result of the independence struggles and the war in Vietnam. After Laos gained independence in 1975, there was a short-lived experiment with agricultural production cooperatives. This was abandoned in the mid 1980s when state policy shifted towards individual production and individual land control. These land programmes were very different in each country, but the result in both countries has been that much land has never been legally titled or, where

titles do exist, they are outdated and do not reflect the current situation on the ground. This situation is seen by both governments and some donor agencies as a constraint to economic development and market transactions. As a result, government, with donor support, has initiated a land titling programme in each country to modernise the land administration system, to regularise land records, and provide secure title to landholders.

Land regularisation in Bolivia

Bolivia underwent a significant re-distributive land reform in the highlands during the 1950s and 60s, and promoted a land re-settlement programme in the lowlands which began in the 1960s and continued into the 1980s. A relatively small proportion of this land was titled to the new owners. In 1997, Bolivia began a national programme (*saneamiento*) to formally title and register land parcels that had been distributed through the land reform and resettlement programmes and to update the registration of already titled land.

Although Bolivia's formal legal system recognises equal land and property rights for both women and men, customary norms and practices show a strong bias against women owning land. Ownership documents were generally only in the husband's name and at the time of inheritance the land usually passes from father to sons (Salazar, 2004).

The 1953 agrarian reform law stated that all Bolivian farmers of 18 years and older, regardless of sex, were entitled to benefit from agrarian reform and land settlement programmes. However, in practice the only women who received land were female heads of household such as widows with small children. The Family Code of 1979 specifies that property acquired through grant or adjudication from the state (such as the land reform and land re-settlement programmes) forms part of the community property of the conjugal couple.⁶

The 1996 legislation that initiated the systematic land titling effort (Law 1715, Servicio Nacional de Reforma Agraria) explicitly recognises equal rights to land by women and men. Article 3, Paragraph V states that equity criteria will be applied in the distribution, administration, tenure, and use of land in favour of women, independent of their civil status. The last phrase is important since it does not require that a woman be a head of household or married in order to be eligible for

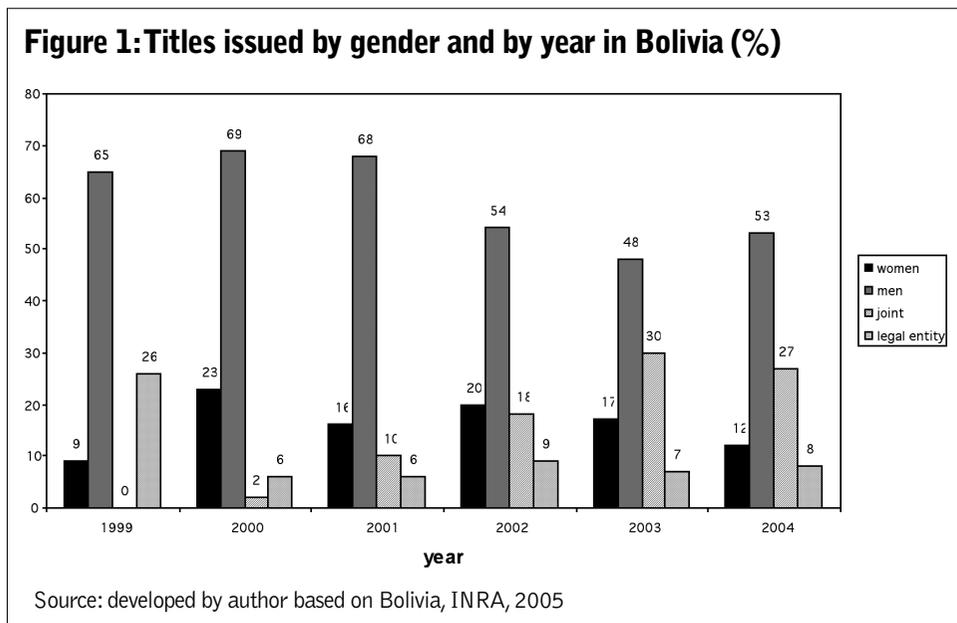
⁶. Article 111 (5) states: Community property includes that which is obtained by grant or adjudication from the state. (Author's translation).

land rights. However, the law does not enter into more detail on women's rights to land and the regulations did not include sufficient procedural guidelines to assure gender equity in the *saneamiento* process.

Thus, in spite of this gender-sensitive legislation, during the first few years of the *saneamiento* programme, the implementing agency, Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (INRA), did not take any measures to ensure (1) that women were made aware of their legal rights, (2) that women participated in the *saneamiento* process, or (3) that its personnel and the titling brigades received gender training in women's land rights. As *saneamiento* advanced, it was evident that very few women were being titled, either as individuals or as co-owners. Scholars and NGOs demanded that the titling process adopt gender objectives—they specifically pointed out that wives should be included on titles for household land. Consequently, in late 2001, INRA modified its procedures in order to include more women in the process and to grant land rights to more women. For example, using the Family Code article mentioned above for state land, INRA instructed its titling brigades that all land parcels being titled for the first time were to be titled to the couple, not only to the head of household. The new procedures included explicitly inviting women to the information campaigns that explained the titling process in the local language, modifying titling forms and activities to include both spouses, and explicitly encouraging women to have their name included on titles (Camacho Laguna, 2003).

Figure 1 shows the number of titles issued to individual men and women, as well as to couples and legally registered commercial farms between 1999 and 2004. The data clearly show that over this period, while the number of titles to individual women increased from a low of 9% in 1999 to a high of 23% in 2000, this increase has not been sustained. On the other hand, the number of joint titles has consistently increased, from nearly none in 1999 to 27-30% in the last few years. Nevertheless, individual men continue to receive the majority of the land titles.

If we examine the amount of land titled, the level of disparity is even greater. Figure 2 confirms that the amount of land being titled to men far exceeds the amount titled to women as individuals and to women in joint titles. If we disaggregate by type of farm, it appears that women are more likely to obtain title (individual and joint) to smaller parcels of land. Individual men have obtained the great majority of land titles for all land, homesteads, agricultural parcels, and corporate farms. While the number of individual and joint titles issued to women has increased over the years, it appears that they are mostly for homestead (*solar*) land and small farms.



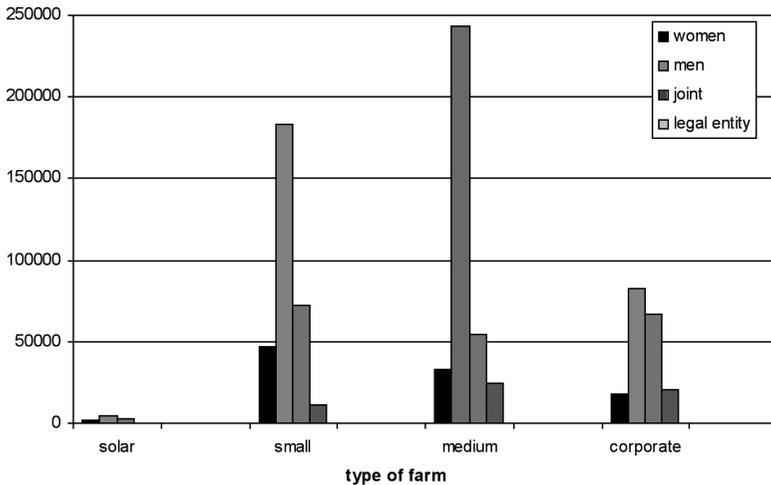
These figures demonstrate the continued discrimination facing women in the land titling process, despite the supportive legal and policy framework. Between 2000 and 2004 INRA headquarters gave repeated instructions to its departmental and field offices to include women in titling activities such as information meetings and to include women's names on adjudication documentation. These insistent instructions reveal the difficulties faced by titling brigades in carrying out the instructions. The Land Registry, for example, refused to register co-ownership titles (as community property) to consensual couples, insisting that only legally married couples should be recognised as legitimate spouses. As a result, titles to couples without an accompanying marriage certificate were being rejected by the Land Registry and titling brigades were therefore reluctant to issue such titles.⁷ Titling brigades were also experiencing resistance from male household heads and from community authorities to include women in the *saneamiento* process and on the land titles.

Land titles versus land use certificates in Lao PDR

Lao legislation is very similar to Bolivia's, in that it acknowledges the importance of gender equity in family, inheritance and property laws. Customary norms for land rights and gender are generally more equal than in Bolivia and are applied

7. Based on key informant interview with INRA staff and titling brigade teams.

**Figure 2: Land titled by gender and farm type in Bolivia
(total hectares 1999-2004)**



Source: developed by author based on Bolivia, INRA, 2005

principally through inheritance practices. Laos is a multi-ethnic country with mainly patrilineal traditions, and some small pockets of matrilineal groups. With the exception of some strongly patrilineal minority groups,⁸ in most patrilineal and matrilineal groups, both daughters and sons can inherit land and there are no cultural restrictions on women owning land. Inheritance practices are not rigid and parents usually decide which children will inherit what family property. The traditional practice is for the youngest daughter to remain in her parents' home after marriage to take care of them in their old age; she therefore inherits the family homestead—if the family has other parcels, these are distributed to the other children.

Traditional land tenure systems in Laos have been based on use rights to land and customary inheritance practices. These systems have varied according to ethnic group. Generally, however, village heads (called *Pho Ban* or *Nai Ban*) and administrative committees have been responsible for land use and forest management

8. In the strongly patrilineal ethnic groups, such as the Khumu and the Hmong living mostly in the midland and upland areas, men are the owners and administrators of land and land is transferred from one generation to another through sons when they marry and leave the house or when the parents become too old to work the land (Lao PDR, 2002).

and for mediating land disputes (Ireson-Doolittle, 1999; Seth, 1968). Most rural land continues to be controlled by community authorities and families. Traditionally, a mixture of swidden agriculture and paddy rice cultivation has been practised, and continues to be practised in many rural areas. Families control their home plot, where they live and cultivate a home garden. They also have control of any paddy land they may have developed or acquired. Communities control common property such as forests and pasture lands and allocate land for swidden agriculture. Urban land, on the other hand, tends to be privately managed and controlled.

A land titling system was established at the beginning of the 20th century through the creation of the Land Book in 1912. Titles and cadastral plans for mostly urban land were recorded in this book. This system fell into disuse and an informal process for recording the transaction of land rights was developed. This process became more widespread as a result of displaced populations during the war of independence and particularly after a substantial proportion of the urban population left the country after 1975. In rural areas, land records, beyond those by village authorities, were not kept (Seth, 1968).

Although by law all land is vested in the state, legal and secure land rights to private parties occupying land are recognised.⁹ Since the early 1990s, land policy for the legalisation of land rights to citizens has followed two different paths: one for rural land and another for urban land. In the rural areas, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry¹⁰ has been implementing a programme allocating state land to community organisations and individual users. This programme involves the delineation of community boundaries and the classification of community lands. The Ministry issues land use certificates to community members for agricultural and forest land, accompanied by rough survey plans. These land certificates are inheritable but cannot be sold or used as collateral—they can also be converted into permanent rights over time. It is estimated that by 2003 approximately half of the rural households and communities in Laos had been issued land certificates.

In urban areas, a different policy has been implemented. Here, individual land rights are common and private property is the norm. In 1995, a land titling programme was begun in urban and peri-urban areas for what is considered urban

9. The policy of state-owned land comes from at least the colonial era when all unoccupied as well as untitled land was the property of the state. Land records, beyond those kept by village authorities, were not kept for rural land (Seth, 1968).

10. With the support of the Swedish and German development agencies.

land—non-agricultural and non-forest land that has construction on it. These titles give occupants the right to pass on their use rights to heirs, the right to sell their use rights, and the right to use them as collateral for credit. Once urban and peri-urban areas have been titled, the government intends to title the most commercial agricultural land, such as lowland rice fields.

In spite of positive legal, political, and cultural conditions for recognition of women's rights in Laos, there have been problems in issuing land documents (land certificates and land titles) to women. This is the case particularly in rural areas where land use certificates are being issued, but was also the case during the first years of the titling programme in urban areas. A study undertaken in 1998 compared information on who had acquired land with whose name was on the land document. The results showed that the names on land documents did not always reflect the actual landholder: while more women inherited land than men, many more land use certificates and titles were issued only in the husbands' names (see Table 2). In addition, couples (husband and wife) had jointly acquired over half of the land parcels, yet only a small percentage of these received joint certificates and titles.

Table 2: Urban & rural land acquisition and documents in Laos

How land was acquired (n=4,255 land parcels)		Name on land use documents (n=4,255 land parcels)	
	Percentage		Percentage
From husband's family	18	Husband	58
From wife's family	30	Wife	16
As a couple	52	Couple	7
		Other name	7
		No documents	12
TOTAL	100		100

Source: GRID, 2000 (pg. 8).

Various reasons were put forward for these discrepancies:

- The certification or titling process: in most households, only the men participated in the information meetings and other certificate or titling activities. Therefore, women were not aware of the legal and economic significance of having their

names on land use documents and were not present when decisions were made about whose name would appear on the certificate or title (GRID, 2000).

- The design of form used to collect landholder information: the land allocation teams and the land adjudication forms asked for the name of the household head, traditionally the oldest man in the family. Consequently, the land certificate or land title was issued to that person with others in the household listed as dependents. In addition, no provision was made on these forms for joint ownership (Lao PDR, 2002).
- Patriarchal norms: men are the traditional head of the family and wives defer to husbands, particularly in public situations. Women may have felt that the husband's name, as head of the family, should be on land use certificates and titles (GRID, 2000).

As a result of this 1998 study, many of these problems were corrected as the land-use titling programme has developed and the Lao Women's Union has become an active participant in the systematic adjudication teams and organises information campaigns and educational material. They also hold meetings with the women when titling begins in a community. Later studies (see Table 3) show a much higher level of titled women (both as individuals and as joint owners). They also indicate that compared to the rural land certification programme, the urban titling programme is including more women and issuing more joint titles.

Table 3. Distribution of land titles & land use certificates in Laos (%)

Study & Year		Women	Men	Joint	Other	Total
Social Assessment (2002)	titles (urban)	34	24	38	3	100
	certificates (rural)	15	56	28	1	100
Baseline Socio-Economic (2003)	titles (urban)	28	20	41	11	100
	certificates (rural)	24	40	27	10	100

Sources: Burapha Development Consultants 2003; Lao PDR, Ministry of Finance, Department of Lands, 2003.

For example, a household survey was undertaken in 2002 in six provinces where the land titling programme had been implemented and in two provinces where no land titling had taken place. In the households with titled land, more women had titles than men and a substantial number of parcels (38%) were jointly titled to both wife and husband. The households in the untitled provinces had land use certificates issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Of the land parcels whose ownership could be determined, the majority (56%) had land use certificates issued to men; only 15% of the land use certificates were issued to women and 28% were joint certificates.

A study in 2003 also indicates that the land titling programme has been more successful than the land certification programme in recognising women's land rights. A comparison of households that received title and those that received another type of official document such as a land certificate reveals that a higher percentage of women received titles to land, either as individuals (28%) or jointly (41%) with their spouse. Since the land titling programme has focused on urban land, and other official land documents are more likely to be for rural land, some of the explanation for this gender disparity may be due to urban/rural and ethnic differences.

CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary history is witnessing the transition of customary communities, such as those in Bolivia and Laos, into market-based societies in most regions. The process is uneven and not always positive; nevertheless, rights to land are slowly but inexorably becoming linked to market forces. The wealth and power associated with land rights are accruing to those able to play the market game. During this transition, it appears that social equity and democratic governance do not develop at the same rate as market relations. The challenge for gender equity in the realm of property rights is ensuring that women have the same opportunity as men to acquire land rights during this transition period.

Most formal legislation is not biased with regard to property rights and gender. Yet women often face significant social, political and cultural constraints in acquiring land rights. Thus, legislation and public policy should not be simply gender neutral, but should recognise these constraints and take measures to remove them: simply declaring equal land rights does not erase gender bias. As these two case studies have shown, legal measures are not sufficient. Programmes that recognise and/or formalise land rights need to take explicit steps and procedures to include women.

Real and effective rights for women will take time as norms of social equity and democratic governance are assimilated by communities and societies, and social actors adopt values and practices not based on gender bias. This process can be facilitated through policy decisions and programmes that work with civil society, and through state agencies that adopt equity as a societal objective. Programmes that raise awareness of current discriminatory practices increase the level of consciousness on the issue within society. The raising of awareness together with legal literacy programmes for both women and men give community members the basis for knowing what their rights are. Legal assistance for those women (and minorities) who want to exercise their rights not only allows them to navigate government agencies and legal channels, but can also offer women moral and financial support.

In addition to titling and registration, other programmes that specifically deal with land rights such as land reform, resettlement and state leasehold should carefully and aggressively review their policies and regulations as well as their guidelines, training, and procedures to ensure that gender is integrated as an important objective and that women as well as men are involved at all levels of the programme. For these programmes to successfully integrate gender and eliminate gender bias, strong political will is essential.

And finally, in this paper I have only summarised the immediate outcomes of two titling programmes. There is a need to look at what the longer term impacts of these titling programmes are for women: for example, do they improve women's access to the credit market and increase their income? Do they give them more decision-making authority in the household? Do they increase their participation and leadership in community organisations?

REFERENCES

- Bolivia, Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (INRA). 2005. *Informacion Propiedad de la Tierra*. (data available at: <http://www.inra.gov.bo/porta1v2/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabindex=1&tabid=4&IdOpt=102>)
- Burapha Development Consultants. 2003. *Final Report of the Assessment of Six Served Provinces and Two Unserved Provinces of the Lao PDR Land Titling Project*. Vientiane: Burapha Development Consultants.
- Camacho Laguna, D. 2003. *Derecho de las mujeres a la tenencia legal de la tierra*. La Paz: INRA & COSUDE.
- de Soto, H. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the west and fails everywhere else*. New York: Basic Books.
- Deere, CD. and Leon, M. 2001. *Empowering Women: Land and property rights in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Deininger, K. 2003. *Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction*. Washington DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Feder, G., Ohchan, T., Chalamwong, Y. and C. Hongladaron. 1988. *Land Policies and Farm Productivity in Thailand*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- GRID. 2000. *Gender and Land Documents: How do society's perceptions of gender affect women?* Vientiane: Gender Resource Information & Development Center (GRID).
- Goebel, A. 2005. *Gender and Land Reform: The Zimbabwe experience*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Herring, RJ. 1999. *Political Conditions for Agrarian Reform and Poverty Alleviation* (IDS Discussion Paper 375). Paper presented at DFID Conference on 2001 World Development Report on Poverty (Birmingham, England), August.
- Ireson-Doolittle, C. 1999. Gender and changing property rights in Laos. In: Tinker, I. & Summerfield, G. (eds.) *Women's Rights to House and Land: China, Laos, Vietnam*. Boulder (Colorado, USA): Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Kingwill, R., Cousins, B., Cousins, T., Hornby, D., Royston, L., and W. Smit. 2006. Mysteries and myths: De Soto, property and poverty in South Africa. *Gatekeeper Series* 124. London: IIED.
- Lao PDR, Ministry of Finance, Department of Lands. 2002. *Existing Land Tenure and Forest Lands Study*. Vientiane: Ministry of Finance, Department of Land.
- Lao PDR, Ministry of Finance, Department of Lands. 2003. *Socio-Economic Baseline Study: Final Report*. Vientiane: Ministry of Finance, Department of Lands.
- Meizen-Dick, RS., Brown, LR., Feldstein, HS. and AR. Quisumbing. 1997. Gender, property rights, and natural resources. *World Development*, 25(8): 1303-1315.
- Salazar, R. 2004. *Tierra en la tierra: las mujeres ¿dónde están?* La Paz: Draft manuscript.

Seth, AN. 1968. *Land Problem in Laos*. Bangkok: FAO Regional Office for Asia and the Far East.

World Bank. 2005. *Country Data Profiles*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Bolivia data available at: <http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPProfile.asp?PTYPE=CP&CCODE=BOL;>

Lao PDR data available at: <http://devdata.worldbank.org/external/CPProfile.asp?PTYPE=CP&CCODE=LAO>

World Bank. 2005. *GenderStats*. Washington, DC: World Bank. (Country-level data available at: <http://devdata.worldbank.org/genderstats/>).

World Bank. 2005. *Gender Issues and Best Practices in Land Administration Projects: A Synthesis Report*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

SUBSCRIBING TO THE GATEKEEPER SERIES

To receive the Gatekeeper Series regularly, individuals and organisations can take out a subscription. Subscribers receive nine Gatekeeper papers a year. Subscriptions are free. For more details or to subscribe contact: IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1H 0DD, UK. Email gatekeeper@iied.org Tel: +44 020 7388 2117; Fax +44 020 7388 2826, or complete the online order form at <http://www.iied.org/>

OTHER IIED PUBLICATIONS

For information about IIED's other publications, contact: EarthPrint Limited, Orders Department, P.O. Box 119, Stevenage, Hertfordshire SG1 4TP, UK
 Fax: +44 1438 748844
 mail to: orders@earthprint.co.uk
 There is a searchable IIED bookshop database on: <http://www.iied.org/bookshop/index.html>

1. **Pesticide Hazards in the Third World: New Evidence from the Philippines.** 1987. J.A. McCracken and G.R. Conway.
2. **Cash Crops, Food Crops and Agricultural Sustainability.** 1987. E.B. Barbier.
3. **Trees as Savings and Security for the Rural Poor.** 1992. Robert Chambers, Czech Conroy and Melissa Leach. (1st edition, 1988)
- 4-12 **Out of Print**
13. **Crop-Livestock Interactions for Sustainable Agriculture.** 1989. Wolfgang Bayer and Ann Waters-Bayer.
14. **Perspectives in Soil Erosion in Africa: Whose Problem?** 1989. M. Fones-Sondell.
- 15-16. **Out of Print**
17. **Development Assistance and the Environment: Translating Intentions into Practice.** 1989. Marianne Wenning.
18. **Energy for Livelihoods: Putting People Back into Africa's Woodfuel Crisis.** 1989. Robin Mearns and Gerald Leach.
19. **Crop Variety Mixtures in Marginal Environments.** 1990. Janice Jiggins.
20. **Displaced Pastoralists and Transferred Wheat Technology in Tanzania.** 1990. Charles Lane and Jules N. Pretty.
21. **Teaching Threatens Sustainable Agriculture.** 1990. Raymond I. Ison.
22. **Microenvironments Unobserved.** 1990. Robert Chambers.
23. **Low Input Soil Restoration in Honduras: the Cantarranas Farmer-to-Farmer Extension Programme.** 1990. Roland Bunch.
24. **Rural Common Property Resources: A Growing Crisis.** 1991. N.S. Jodha.
25. **Participatory Education and Grassroots Development: The Case of Rural Appalachia.** 1991. John Gaventa and Helen Lewis.
26. **Farmer Organisations in Ecuador: Contributions to Farmer First Research and Development.** 1991. A. Bebbington.
27. **Indigenous Soil and Water Conservation in Africa.** 1991. Reij. C.
28. **Tree Products in Agroecosystems: Economic and Policy Issues.** 1991. J.E.M. Arnold.
29. **Designing Integrated Pest Management for Sustainable and Productive Futures.** 1991. Michel P. Pimbert.
30. **Plants, Genes and People: Improving the Relevance of Plant Breeding.** 1991. Angélique Haugerud and Michael P. Collinson.
31. **Local Institutions and Participation for Sustainable Development.** 1992. Norman Uphoff.
32. **The Information Drain: Obstacles to Research in Africa.** 1992. Mamman Aminu Ibrahim.
33. **Local Agro-Processing with Sustainable Technology: Sunflowerseed Oil in Tanzania.** 1992. Eric Hyman.
34. **Indigenous Soil and Water Conservation in India's Semi-Arid Tropics.** 1992. John Kerr and N.K. Sanghi.
35. **Prioritizing Institutional Development: A New Role for NGO Centres for Study and Development.** 1992. Alan Fowler.
36. **Out of Print**
37. **Livestock, Nutrient Cycling and Sustainable Agriculture in the West African Sahel.** 1993. J.M. Powell and T.O. Williams.
38. **O.K., The Data's Lousy, But It's All We've Got (Being a Critique of Conventional Methods).** 1993. G. Gill.
39. **Homegarden Systems: Agricultural Characteristics and Challenges.** 1993. Inge D. Hoogerbrugge and Louise O. Fresco.
40. **Opportunities for Expanding Water Harvesting in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of the Teras of Kassala.** 1993. Johan A. Van Dijk and Mohamed Hassan Ahmed.

41. **Out of Print**
42. **Community First: Landcare in Australia.** 1994. Andrew Campbell.
43. **From Research to Innovation: Getting the Most from Interaction with NGOs in Farming Systems Research and Extension.** 1994. John Farrington and Anthony Bebbington.
44. **Will Farmer Participatory Research Survive in the International Agricultural Research Centres?** 1994. Sam Fujisaka.
45. **Population Growth and Environmental Recovery: Policy Lessons from Kenya.** 1994. Mary Tiffen, Michael Mortimore and Francis Gichuki.
46. **Two Steps Back, One Step Forward: Cuba's National Policy for Alternative Agriculture.** 1994. Peter Rosset and Medea Benjamin.
47. **The Role of Mobility Within the Risk Management Strategies of Pastoralists and Agro-Pastoralists.** 1994. Brent Swallow.
48. **Participatory Agricultural Extension: Experiences from West Africa.** 1995. Tom Osborn.
49. **Women and Water Resources: Continued Marginalisation and New Policies.** 1995. Francis Cleaver and Diane Elson.
50. **New Horizons: The Economic, Social and Environmental Impacts of Participatory Watershed Development.** 1995. Fiona Hinchcliffe, Irene Guijt, Jules N. Pretty and Parmesh Shah.
51. **Participatory Selection of Beans in Rwanda: Results, Methods and Institutional Issues.** 1995. Louise Sperling and Urs Scheidegger.
52. **Trees and Trade-offs: A Stakeholder Approach to Natural Resource Management.** 1995. Robin Grimble, Man-Kwun Chan, Julia Aglionby and Julian Quan.
53. **A Role for Common Property Institutions in Land Redistribution Programmes in South Africa.** 1995. Ben Cousins.
54. **Linking Women to the Main Canal: Gender and Irrigation Management.** 1995. Margreet Zwartveen.
55. **Soil Recuperation in Central America: Sustaining Innovation After Intervention.** 1995. Roland Bunch and Gabinò López.
56. **Through the Roadblocks: IPM and Central American Smallholders.** 1996. Jeffery Bentley and Keith Andrews.
57. **The Conditions for Collective Action: Land Tenure and Farmers' Groups in the Rajasthan Canal Project.** 1996. Saurabh Sinha.
58. **Networking for Sustainable Agriculture: Lessons from Animal Traction Development.** 1996. Paul Starkey.
59. **Intensification of Agriculture in Semi-Arid Areas: Lessons from the Kano Close-Settled Zone, Nigeria.** 1996. Frances Harris.
60. **Sustainable Agriculture: Impacts on Food Production and Food Security.** 1996. Jules Pretty, John Thompson and Fiona Hinchcliffe.
61. **Subsidies in Watershed Development Projects in India: Distortions and Opportunities.** 1996. John M. Kerr, N.K. Sanghi and G. Sriramappa.
62. **Multi-level Participatory Planning for Water Resources Development in Sri Lanka.** 1996. K. Jinapala, Jeffrey D. Brewer, R. Sakthivadivel.
63. **Hitting a Moving Target: Endogenous Development in Marginal European Areas.** 1996. Gaston G.A. Remmers.
64. **Poverty, Pluralism and Extension Practice.** 1996. Ian Christopolos.
65. **Conserving India's Agro-Biodiversity: Prospects and Policy Implications.** 1997. Ashish Kothari.
66. **Understanding Farmers' Communication Networks: Combining PRA With Agricultural Knowledge Systems Analysis.** 1997. Ricardo Ramirez.
67. **Markets and Modernisation: New Directions for Latin American Peasant Agriculture.** 1997. Julio A. Berdegué and Germán Escobar.
68. **Challenging 'Community' Definitions in Sustainable Management: The case of wild mushroom harvesting in the USA.** 1997. Rebecca McLain and Eric Jones.
69. **Process, Property and Patrons: Land Reform In Upland Thai Catchments.** 1997. Roger Attwater.
70. **Building Linkages for Livelihood Security in Chivi, Zimbabwe.** 1997. Simon Croxton and Kudakwashe Murwira.
71. **Propelling Change from the Bottom-Up: Institutional Reform in Zimbabwe.** 1997. J. Hagmann, E. Chuma, M. Connolly and K. Murwira.
72. **Gender is not a Sensitive Issue: Institutionalising a Gender-Oriented Participatory Approach in Siavonga, Zambia.** 1997. Christiane Frischmuth.

- 73. A Hidden Threat to Food Production: Air Pollution and Agriculture in the Developing World.** 1997. F. Marshall, Mike Ashmore and Fiona Hinchcliffe.
- 74. Policy Research and the Policy Process: Do the Twain ever Meet?** 1998. James L. Garrett and Yassir Islam.
- 75. Lessons for the Large-Scale Application of Process Approaches from Sri Lanka.** 1998. Richard Bond.
- 76. Malthus Revisited: People, Population and the Village Commons in Colombia.** 1998. Juan Camilo Cardenas.
- 77. Bridging the Divide: Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies.** 1998. Cecilia Tacoli.
- 78. Beyond the Farmer Field School: IPM and Empowerment in Indonesia.** 1998. Peter A. C. Ooi.
- 79. The Rocky Road Towards Sustainable Livelihoods: Land Reform in Free State, South Africa.** 1998. James Carnegie, Mathilda Roos, Mncedisi Madolo, Challa Moahloli and Joanne Abbot.
- 80. Community-based Conservation: Experiences from Zanzibar.** 1998. Andrew Williams, Thabit S. Masoud and Wahira J. Othman.
- 81. Participatory Watershed Research and Management: Where the Shadow Falls.** 1998. Robert E. Rhoades.
- 82. Thirty Cabbages: Greening the Agricultural 'Life Science' Industry.** 1998. William T. Vorley.
- 83. Dimensions of Participation in Evaluation: Experiences from Zimbabwe and the Sudan.** 1999. Joanne Harmmeijer, Ann Waters-Bayer and Wolfgang Bayer.
- 84. Mad Cows and Bad Berries.** 1999. David Waltner-Toews.
- 85. Sharing the Last Drop: Water Scarcity, Irrigation and Gendered Poverty Eradication.** 1999. Barbara van Koppen.
- 86. IPM and the Citrus Industry in South Africa.** 1999. Penny Urquhart.
- 87. Making Water Management Everybody's Business: Water Harvesting and Rural Development in India.** 1999. Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain.
- 88. Sustaining the Multiple Functions of Agricultural Biodiversity.** 1999. Michel Pimbert.
- 89. Demystifying Facilitation in Participatory Development.** 2000. Annemarie Groot and Marleen Maarleveld.
- 90. Woodlots, Woodfuel and Wildlife: Lessons from Queen Elizabeth National Park, Uganda.** 2000. Tom Blomley.
- 91. Borders, Rules and Governance: Mapping to catalyse changes in policy and management.** 2000. Janis B. Alcorn.
- 92. Women's Participation in Watershed Development in India.** 2000. Janet Seeley, Meenakshi Batra and Madhu Sarin.
- 93. A Study of Biopesticides and Biofertilisers in Haryana, India.** 2000. Ghayur Alam.
- 94. Poverty and Systems Research in the Drylands.** 2000. Michael Mortimore, Bill Adams and Frances Harris.
- 95. Forest Management and Democracy in East and Southern Africa: Lessons From Tanzania.** 2001. Liz Alden Wily.
- 96. Farmer Learning and the International Research Centres: Lessons from IRRI.** 2001. Stephen Morin, Florencia Palis, Karen McAllister, Aida Papag, and Melina Magsumbol.
- 97. Who Benefits From Participatory Watershed Development? Lessons From Gujarat, India.** 2001. Amita Shah.
- 98. Learning Our Way Ahead: Navigating Institutional Change and Agricultural Decentralisation.** 2001. Clive Lightfoot, Ricardo Ramirez, Annemarie Groot, Reg Noble, Carine Alders, Francis Shao, Dan Kisauzi and Isaac Bekalo.
- 99. Social Forestry versus Social Reality: Patronage and community-based forestry in Bangladesh.** 2001. Niaz Ahmed Khan.
- 100. Global Restructuring, Agri-Food Systems and Livelihoods.** 2001. Michel P. Pimbert, John Thompson and William T. Vorley with Tom Fox, Nazneen Kanji and Cecilia Tacoli.
- 101. Social Networks and the Dynamics of Soil and Water Conservation in the Sahel.** 2001. Valentina Mazzucato, David Niemeijer, Leo Stroosnijder and Niels Röling.
- 102. Measuring Farmers' Agroecological Resistance to Hurricane Mitch in Central America.** 2001. Eric Holt-Giménez.
- 103. Beyond Safe Use: Challenging the International Pesticide Industry's Hazard Reduction Strategy.** 2001. Douglas L. Murray and Peter L. Taylor.
- 104. Marketing Forest Environmental Services—Who Benefits?** 2002. Natasha Landell-Mills.

- 105. Food Security in the Context of Crisis and Conflict: Beyond Continuum Thinking.** 2002. Benedikt Korf and Eberhard Bauer.
- 106. Should Africa Protect Its Farmers to Revitalise Its Economy?** 2002. Niek Koning.
- 107. Creating Markets with the Poor: Selling Treadle Pumps in India** 2003. Frank van Steenberg.
- 108. Collaborative Forest Management in Kyrgyzstan: Moving from top-down to bottom-up decision-making.** 2003. Jane Carter, Brieke Steenhof, Esther Haldimann and Nurlan Akenshaev.
- 109. The Contradictions of Clean: Supermarket Ethical Trade and African Horticulture.** 2003. Susanne Freidberg.
- 110. Risking Change: Experimenting with Local Forest Management Committees in Jamaica.** 2003. Tighe Geoghegan & Noel Bennett.
- 111. Contract Farming in India: Impacts on women and child workers.** 2003. Sukhpal Singh.
- 112. The Major Importance of 'Minor' Resources: Women and Plant Biodiversity.** 2003. Patricia Howard.
- 113. Water For All: Improving Water Resource Governance in Southern Africa.** 2004. Emmanuel Manzungu.
- 114. Food Industrialisation and Food Power: Implications for food governance.** 2004. Tim Lang.
- 115. Biodiversity planning: Why and how should local opinions matter?** 2004. Sonja Vermeulen.
- 116. Laws, lore and log-jams: Critical issues in Indian forest conservation** 2005. Madhu Sarin.
- 117. Adapting to Climate Change in East Africa: A strategic approach** 2005. Victor A. Orindi and Laurel A. Murray.
- 118. Facing up to Climate Change in South Asia.** 2005. Mozaharul Alam and Laurel A. Murray.
- 119. State Policies and Land Use in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.** 2006. Golam Rasul.
- 120. Organic Cotton: A New Development Path for African Smallholders?** 2006. Simon Ferrigno, Saro G. Ratter, Peter Ton, Davo Simplicie Vodouhè, Stephanie Williamson and John Wilson.
- 121. The Market for Voluntary Carbon Offsets: A new tool for sustainable development?** 2005. Nadaa Taiyab.
- 122. Getting the Message Across: Promoting ecological agriculture in Bangladesh.** 2006. Dipankar Datta and Kamal Kar.
- 123. Climate Change and Development Links.** 2006. Saleemul Huq, Hannah Reid and Laurel A. Murray.
- 124. Mysteries and Myths: De Soto, property and poverty in South Africa.** 2006. Rosalie Kingwill, Ben Cousins, Tessa Cousins, Donna Hornby, Lauren Royston and Warren Smit.
- 125. Working Together: Forest-linked small and medium enterprise associations and collective action** 2006. Duncan Macquene, Sharmistha Bose, Septi Bukula, Cornelius Kazoora, Sharon Ousman, Noemi Porro and Horst Weyerhaeuser.
- 126. Seed diversity in the drylands: Women and farming in South India.** 2006. Carine Pionetti.
- 127. State-farmer partnerships for seed diversity in Mali.** 2006. Didier Bazile.
- 128. Mainstreaming participatory forestry within the local government reform process in Tanzania.** 2006. Tom Blomley.
- 129. Banishing the Biopirates: A new approach to protecting traditional knowledge.** 2006. Krystyna Swiderska.
- 130. A People's Plan for Biodiversity Conservation: Creative strategies that work (and some that don't).** 2006. Tejaswini Apte.
- 131. Legislators and Livestock: Pastoralist parliamentary groups in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.** 2007. John Morton, John K. Livingstone and Mohammed Mussa.
- 132. Who benefits from land titling? Lessons from Bolivia and Laos.** 2007. Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel.
- 133. Keeping CAMPFIRE Going: Political uncertainty and natural resource management in Zimbabwe.** 2007. Everisto Mapedza.

SUBMITTING PAPERS TO THE GATEKEEPER SERIES

We welcome contributions to the *Gatekeeper* Series from researchers and practitioners alike. The Series addresses issues of interest to policy makers relating to the broad area of sustainable agriculture and resource management. *Gatekeepers* aim to provide an informed briefing on key policy issues in a readable, digestible form for an institutional and individual readership largely comprising policy and decision-makers within aid agencies, national governments, NGOs and research institutes throughout the world. In addition to this primary audience, *Gatekeepers* are increasingly requested by educators in tertiary education institutions, particularly in the South, for use as course or seminar discussion material.

Submitted material must be of interest to a wide audience and may combine an examination of broad policy questions with the presentation of specific case studies. The paper should conclude with a discussion of the policy implications of the work presented.

Style

Gatekeepers must be short, easy to read and make simple, concise points.

- Use short sentences and paragraphs.
- Keep language simple.
- Use the active voice.
- Use a variety of presentation approaches (text, tables, boxes, figures/illustrations, bullet points).
- Length: maximum 5,000 words

Abstract

Authors should also include a brief summary of their paper—no longer than 450 words.

Editorial process

Please send two hard copies or an electronic version of your paper. Papers are reviewed by the editorial committee and comments sent back to authors. Authors may be requested to make changes to papers accepted for publication. Any subsequent editorial amendments will be undertaken in consultation with the author. Assistance with editing and language can be provided where appropriate. All illustrations and graphs, etc. should be supplied separately in their original format (e.g. as jpeg files) as well as being embedded within documents. This will allow us to modify the images where necessary and ensure good reproduction of the illustrations in print.

Papers or correspondence should be addressed to:

Gatekeeper Editor

Sustainable Agriculture, Biodiversity and Livelihoods Programme

IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street,

London WC1H 0DD,

UK

Tel: (+44 020) 7388 2117;

Fax: (+44 020) 7388 2826;

e-mail: gatekeeper@iied.org

The **Sustainable Agriculture, Biodiversity and Livelihoods (SABL) Programme** coordinates the editorial process for the Gatekeeper Series.

The Programme seeks to enhance and promote understanding of environmental sustainability and equity in agri-food systems and the use of biodiversity. It emphasises close collaboration and consultation with a wide range of organisations and takes a multidisciplinary approach. Collaborative research projects are aimed at identifying the constraints and potentials of the livelihood strategies of marginalized groups who are affected by ecological, economic and social change. These initiatives focus on the development and application of participatory approaches to research and development; resource conserving technologies and practices; collective approaches to resource management; the values of wild foods and biodiversity; rural-urban interactions; strengthening citizen voice and agency in policy processes, and policies and institutions that work for sustainable agriculture and biodiversity-based livelihoods.

SABL is part of the **Natural Resources Group** (NR Group) at IIED, which encompasses two other programmes: Drylands and Forestry and Land Use. The NR Group and its partners work to enable greater participation of marginalized groups and to promote more sustainable and equitable patterns of land and natural resource use. We build partnerships, capacity and wise decision-making for fair and sustainable use of natural resources. Our priority is the control and management of natural resources and other ecosystem services by the people who rely on them, and on the necessary changes needed at international and national level to make this happen.

ISSN 1357-9258



Design: Smith+Bell (andymss@aol.com)

Print: TARA, an enterprise of Development Alternatives Group
100% recycled paper handcrafted by tribal women in India

tara



International
Institute for
Environment and
Development

International Institute for Environment and Development
3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD

Tel: (+44 020) 7388 2117

Fax: (+44 020) 7388 2826

E-mail: sustag@iied.org

Website: <http://www.iied.org/>