Cover photo: Leaders of local partner organizations in Mindanao strengthen skills for strategic engagement with government actors and institutions. David Snyder for CRS.
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Foreword

Over the past 20 years, the development landscape has evolved rapidly. High-level forums on aid, and later development effectiveness reaffirmed national and local ownership as an essential condition of sustainable development. Efforts to secure and strengthen such ownership must span all three of society’s sectors: civil society, the private sector, and government. Since its inception 75 years ago, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) has developed and refined multiple strategies and approaches for doing so with civil society, and more recently the private sector. It is only in the last decade that CRS has begun to intentionally do so with government institutions and actors. Yet our experience engaging government stretches to our founding.

The Engaging Government Case Studies Series, Experiences and Lessons from Recent Cases’ shares learning from how CRS and partners have designed and implemented such strategies and approaches. It dives deeper into program application on the concepts of Engaging Government: A CRS Guide to Working for Social Change, with which it was co-developed by the colleagues noted in the acknowledgements of that resource.

Taken together, the case studies in this volume have been selected to promote more systematic government engagement for greater influence and impact. The introductory essay, co-written by Scott LeFevre, CRS Director for Health and Social Services, and Dr. David Cortright of the University of Notre Dame Keough School of Global Affairs’, draws out the promising practices and lessons from the case studies and grounds them in the latest academic research.

The result underscores the importance of focusing on the achievement of social change as the main purpose for all CRS programming, and the role of engaging government in doing so. Indeed, the new agency strategy seeks similar transformation by combining greater emphasis on operating at scale with building the architecture for multi-stakeholder, multi-sectorial platforms. The cases provide keen insights on how to envision, develop and manage such strategic programming, incorporating effective collaboration with and advocacy to government.

This volume is not, however, solely a presentation of astounding accomplishments. Instead, it is a tribute to the people who are concerned with, and committed to, justice for the poor and the marginalized. It is also an examination of the complexity of influencing structures and systems to achieve greater impact and more integral human development, which recognizes the essential unity of the social, political, economic and spiritual dimensions of life for individuals and their communities. Finally, it is an opportunity to garner lessons so we can seize such opportunities and improve the quality of our programming. We hope that donors and colleagues from other organizations will also find the cases helpful.

With best wishes,

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GOVERNANCE AND INTEGRAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Lessons from Scholarship, the Teachings of Pope Francis, and the Practical Experience of Catholic Relief Services

Governments and relief agencies such as Catholic Relief Services (CRS) have learned through decades of experience that good governance is directly linked to the prospects for development and human dignity. In recent years scholarly research has confirmed this lesson and has produced important social science evidence identifying the policies and pathways of governmental policy that are most likely to advance development and peace. This evidence can help to guide decision-makers and practitioners toward policies and processes that advance development and peace within society. They lend credibility to capacity strengthening programs and advocacy for gender equality and inclusive, accountable and participatory approaches to governance. This paper summarizes some of the supporting research, discusses its relation to the principles of Catholic social teaching and the recent pronouncements of Pope Francis, and shows how it is affirmed through practical experience of CRS in West Africa and beyond. Taken together, empirical evidence, moral teachings, and case studies confirm the importance of building more inclusive and accountable governance to advance human dignity and serve the common good.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON GOVERNANCE

This review of the intersect of theory, principles, and practice begins with an examination of current scholarship on governance issues. Governance refers generally to a system for making and implementing public decisions, while government is the performance of these tasks by state authorities. Research shows that governmental systems help to advance development and peace when they have sufficient capacity to provide necessary public goods and when they are inclusive, participatory and accountable.

Governance is sometimes considered synonymous with democracy, but the two concepts are distinct. Democracy is part of the equation, but so is state capacity. Political scientist Pippa Norris argues that democratic participation and inclusion must be combined with strong governmental capacity. In her “unified theory” of governance, peace and prosperity are most likely in governing systems that combine mature democracy with the institutional capacity to deliver public goods and services. Governance is ‘good’ when it provides quality institutions that guarantee the availability of public goods and services, and when it facilitates and encourages public participation in and use of those institutions.

The World Development Report 2011 (WDR) finds that “states with weak institutions run the greatest risk of the onset and recurrence of civil war and of extreme levels of criminal
CRS’ SMILE program in Nigeria is working together with local government to directly transform the lives of thousands of children and their communities. Laura Pohl for CRS.
They are also more likely to suffer high levels of poverty. When states have strong institutions, by contrast, they tend to have higher levels of economic development and experience fewer armed conflicts. Strong institutions are those with sufficient capacity to meet public needs and with qualities of inclusion and accountability. Measures of institutional capacity and quality show a direct correlation with development and peace.

The capacity of governing institutions is often understood as their ability to deliver public goods, a framework of analysis developed by global governance scholar Robert Rotberg. The very purpose of governance, he contends, is to supply “political goods.” He bundles these into five categories: 1) safety and security, 2) rule of law and transparency, 3) participation and respect for human rights, 4) economic opportunity, and 5) human development. The effectiveness of a governance system can be evaluated based on its ability to provide these goods. They are the deliverables of governance.

States that can provide security and the full range of public goods are better able to address destabilizing challenges. According to the WDR, “security, justice, and economic stresses are linked: approaches that try to solve them through military-only, justice-only, or development-only solutions will falter.”

Development and peacebuilding depend upon comprehensive approaches that address multiple factors simultaneously. Most important are efforts to help local communities establish governance systems that provide voice and opportunity for all relevant stakeholders and that have equitable institutional mechanisms for assuring accountability and the rule of law. As noted below, gender equality is an important element of such governance and is strongly associated with beneficial social and economic outcomes.

To promote stability and peace, governance systems must create an enabling environment for economic growth and prosperity. This encompasses protections for the rights of property, guarantees of entrepreneurship and innovation, prudent financial and banking systems, and a sound currency. Also necessary are critical elements of infrastructure, including effective roads, railways, airports and broadband Internet access. Equally important is the development of human capital. This includes the expansion of educational opportunities leading to greater literacy and numeracy, and access to adequate health services leading to reduced vulnerability to preventable disease and lower mortality rates.

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Nobel economist and philosopher Amartya Sen has pioneered the concept of “development as freedom”, which he characterizes as a process of social and political empowerment. Development means enabling individuals and communities to gain the assets and capabilities they need to improve their well-being. “Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities,” Sen argues. Policy debates “have overemphasized income poverty and income inequality, to the neglect of deprivations that relate to other variables, such as unemployment, ill health, lack of education, and social exclusion.” With adequate social access and opportunity, Sen argues, people will be able to shape their own destiny and develop their economic and social potential.

The following sub-sections address key principles, based on Catholic social teaching, which help build the practical case for more concrete action to strengthen governance in order to reduce potential for conflict and enable human development.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Governments with institutions that are able to deliver public goods and services benefit from higher levels of legitimacy and public trust. These are important for enhancing social cooperation, advancing economic development and maintaining peace and security. Legitimacy is the popular belief that political authority is properly constituted and has the right to make public decisions. Perceptions of legitimacy are strongly associated with relations of trust between state and society and networks of political and social integration. When states are effective at providing public goods and addressing social needs, they gain ‘performance legitimacy’ that enhances stability. These findings are born out in CRS’s practical experience, as discussed below.

The process of governance depends upon the relationship between state and society and the roles of the private sector, civil society including religious groups, self-organized social media networks, academic groups, and other key stakeholders. The meaning of governance goes beyond the role of the state, writes political scientist Mark Bevir, and has evolved to encompass “new processes of governing that are hybrid and multijurisdictional with plural stakeholders working together in networks.” International peacebuilding missions are often multi-stakeholder processes that engage governments, international agencies, the private sector, and local and transnational civil society networks. In some countries the development of natural resources involves not only extractive industries but the interests of governments and affected local communities as well.

Social cohesion is another important dimension of governance. Made popular through the work of public policy researcher Robert Putnam, the concept of social capital has two related components: “bridging” social capital, which is inclusive and tends to connect disparate groups, and “bonding” social capital, which builds social bonds within communities but may

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10 Sen, Development as Freedom, 108.
reinforce exclusive and homogeneous identities.\(^{15}\) Bridging social capital builds intergroup cohesion and linkages across ethnic or other identity divides and creates the foundation for development and peaceful governance.\(^{16}\)

In polarized and poorly governed communities, ethnically distinct communities bond mostly with their own kin and distrust the ‘other.’ Where social linkages are limited or nonexistent, the willingness to cooperate with other communities is minimal. By contrast, efforts to promote bridging forms of social capital enhance cooperation, improve governance and facilitate economic development and peace.

Ethnic conflict expert Ashutosh Varshney’s study of urban riots in Indian cities showed that urban communities with well-established interethnic associations were relatively calm, while cities that lacked formal interethnic relationships experienced serious Hindu-Muslim violence. According to his analysis, “the preexisting local networks of civic engagement between the two [ethnic] communities stand out as the single most important proximate explanation for the difference between peace and violence.” Varshney concludes, “a multiethnic society with few connections across ethnic boundaries is very vulnerable to ethnic disorders and violence.”\(^{17}\) Formal interethic associations, on the other hand, give communities the capacity to withstand disruptive incidents and socio-economic shocks.

**INCLUSION AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

The qualities of governance most strongly associated with successful development and peacebuilding are inclusion and accountability. The more inclusive and representative the system of decision making and implementation, the greater the likelihood of prosperity and peace. Research shows that consensus-based or power-sharing systems of governance lower the risk of armed conflict in deeply divided multiethnic societies.\(^ {18} \) Polarized political systems are prone to armed conflict, while those characterized by inclusiveness and shared decision making have a lower likelihood of civil war onset.\(^ {19} \)

Arend Lijphart has examined the different forms of power-sharing governance and observes that consensus-based systems generate “kinder, gentler” policy outcomes. They are more likely to facilitate social cooperation and generative inclusive development. He finds that proportional representation performs best in providing participation for all major stakeholders and reducing the risk of armed conflict.\(^ {20} \) Consensus-based systems are the antithesis of exclusion and marginalization. They have the best chance of enhancing development and preventing the onset and recurrence of armed conflict.

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Social scientists have long recognized that social exclusion and marginalization increase the risk of instability and armed conflict. Governance structures that unfairly privilege certain groups at the expense of others generate grievances that cause conflict and undermine development. Inequality matters greatly. Frances Stewart and her colleagues at Oxford University focus especially on ‘horizontal inequality,’ differences of power and wealth among subgroups within a society that are based on ethnic, religious, or linguistic identity, without regard for the subgroup’s social needs or capacities. Research shows that horizontal inequalities can be conflict-inducing, and that policies designed to ameliorate such inequalities can reduce the likelihood of conflict and improve the prospects for development.21 New studies on the comparative wealth and power of ethnic groups within a society confirm that the risk of conflict and instability is greatest when social identity groups are excluded from political power and when their relative wealth is far below that of other groups.22 Inclusive institutions are more likely to be accountable and responsive to public needs. They enhance accountability by ensuring that public decisions are implemented fairly according to agreed rules and procedures. As Sen emphasizes, accountable systems have greater legitimacy and are more likely to facilitate equitable economic development. Governance systems that have the qualities of inclusiveness and accountability are better able to create the conditions for prosperity and peace.

GENDER

The equitable participation of women is a key dimension of inclusion. Research shows that the empowerment of women enhances development outcomes and reduces the risk of armed violence. When women participate actively in public life governmental systems are more accountable and likely to serve public needs.23 Mary Caprioli’s studies show that when the percentage of women in government and the labor force is high, the risk of armed conflict is low.24 Gender equality is a key dimension of good governance and helps to enhance the prospects for development and peace.

Several studies show a direct relationship between female educational attainment and the prospects for peace within states. Low levels of female educational attainment are associated with poverty and the prevalence of intra-state violence.25 Increases in the enrollment of girls in schools at all levels reduce the risk of armed conflict. Educated women tend have more educated children who are less likely to become involved in armed conflict.26 Gender equity also has beneficial effects on economic growth rates and development. Researchers David Dollar and Roberta Gatti find that “female education is a good

investment that raises national income.” Gender equality and higher levels of economic development are mutually reinforcing. Nobel Laureate Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank have demonstrated the economic and social dividends that result from prioritizing the role of women in development.

Development economists confirm that gender equality helps to boost economic development. Studies of educational and employment data across the globe show that imbalances in the number of years of schooling for males and females are strongly associated with lower economic growth rates. Increasing the educational levels and labor participation rates of women enhances social development and improves economic growth rates.

Taken as a whole, social science scholarship strongly indicates the relevance of a focus on governance in international development practice. These research findings also validate the moral teaching of the Catholic Church and its emphasis on the dignity of the human person, the needs of marginalized populations, and the importance of working for development and peace. The next section explores this dimension in more detail.

POPE FRANCIS, CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND INTEGRAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The principles of Catholic social teaching (CST) and CRS’ Integral Human Development (IHD) framework have guided the organization’s strategy and programming for decades. These moral teachings correspond closely to the principles of good governance. The concept of Integral Human Development, for example, emphasizes the need to address all major elements of human need to enhance well-being. This approach finds validation in the ‘unified theory’ of Norris, discussed earlier, which demonstrates the need for multi-sectoral comprehensive approaches that combine support for democracy, development and peacebuilding.

These principles resonate strongly in the transformational moral teachings of Pope Francis. In his 2015 encyclical *Laudato Si*, Francis calls on every person to care for the *miserando*, the lowly who are “mired in desperate and degrading poverty, with no way out, while others … [are] vainly showing off their supposed superiority and leaving behind so much waste that, if it were the case everywhere, would destroy the planet.” (¶91)

Francis calls for developing economic institutions and social initiatives that give the poor regular access to basic resources. (¶109) This teaching corresponds with the good governance principles of inclusion and participation, and the emphasis of Sen and other scholars on the importance of ensuring access and assets to the poor. Concerns for social justice and the needs of the marginalized are a core value not only in Catholic social teaching but in the principles of Islam, Judaism and other faith traditions.

Francis links the crisis of the environment to the problem of inequality, fueled by weak governance, which he sees as a root condition of the problems we face. Social scientists have shown that greater social equality bring benefits not only for those who are

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marginalized but for the entire society. Inequalities rooted in asymmetries of power and wealth fuel greed and the exploitation of people and the environment. They cause harm not only for the powerless, but for society as a whole. As Francis wrote in his first encyclical Gaudium Evangelii, “Until exclusion and inequality in society and between peoples are reversed, it will be impossible to eliminate violence.”

In Laudato Si Francis calls us to take into account the fundamental rights of the poor and the underprivileged.

*We are faced not with two separate crises, one environmental and the other social, but rather with one complex crisis which is both social and environmental. Strategies for a solution demand an integrated approach to combating poverty, restoring dignity to the excluded, and at the same time protecting nature.* (¶139)

He reminds us that the common good is ‘the sum of those conditions of social life which allow social groups and their individual members relatively thorough and ready access to their own fulfillment.’ (¶156)

Pope Francis urges greater respect for the rights of peoples and cultures. He notes that “the development of a social group presupposes an historical process which takes place within a cultural context and demands the constant and active involvement of local people from within their proper culture.” The quality of life cannot be imposed from without, but “must be understood within the world of symbols and customs proper to each human group (¶144).”

Pope Francis’ comments build on the central themes of Catholic social teaching:

1. **Life and Dignity of the Human Person.** Human life is sacred, and human dignity is the foundation of a moral vision for society. The measure of every institution is whether it threatens or enhances the life and dignity of the human person.

2. **Call to Family, Community, and Participation.** How we organize our society in economics and politics, in law and policy directly affects human dignity and the capacity of individuals to grow in community. People have a right and a duty to participate, and to seek together the common good and well-being of all, especially the poor and vulnerable.

3. **Rights and Responsibilities.** Achieving human dignity depends upon protecting human rights and meeting our duties and responsibilities to one another, our families, and society.

4. **Option for the Poor and Vulnerable.** Whatever divisions exist in society, we must strive to place the needs of the poor and vulnerable first.

5. **The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers.** Economies and the structures of society and politics must serve the people, not the other way around. Workers have the right to organize and join unions, to land and property, and to economic initiative.

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6. **Solidarity.** We are one human family, and this must be reflected in the pursuit of justice and efforts to promote peace.

7. **Subsidiarity.** Wherever possible public matters should be handled at the local level, with authority decentralized so that it is more accountable to those who are affected by decisions.

8. **Care for God’s Creation.** We are called to the stewardship of all that God has created, especially human beings and the life of the planet.

CRS seeks to apply these principles in action, aiming to achieve human dignity and social well-being in the context of justice, peace and healthy environments. CRS promotes equitable socio-economic development so that all members of society may prosper and experience wholeness of life. It seeks to achieve these goals by supporting systems and structures of government that are inclusive and accountable and capable of meeting public needs.

If citizens are able to access services and influence public policy and decisions, they will be in a better position to respond to disruptions from man-made and natural disasters. This capacity to withstand shocks is sometimes referred to as “resilience,” which in development terms means the presence of social protections and governance structures that enable communities to withstand the impacts of sudden disruptive change, allowing them to “bounce back” after such hardship.32 A key approach in this framework is “engagement”: supporting people and communities to increase their capacity to advocate and claim rights and services. This comprehensive framework is applied in many important dimensions of people’s lives – e.g., livelihood/agriculture, health, finance, gender, rights and more – through programs to achieve positive social and economic outcomes and human well-being.

Below we examine lessons from recent CRS practice in West Africa and beyond and their relevance to principles of Catholic social teaching and the findings of social science research reviewed above.

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CRS EXPERIENCE IN WEST AFRICA

Through decades of experience, CRS and its partners have learned the importance of good governance to the prospects for development and human dignity. Implementing the IHD Framework and principles of Catholic social teaching means supporting governmental capacity to deliver public goods and focusing on structures and systems that are inclusive and accountable. Recent programming efforts in West Africa highlight how these approaches are being applied for good governance outcomes for the poor and vulnerable. Two major and related issues are profiled below: 1) the critical role of decentralization and local ownership, and 2) the challenges of land tenure and resource access. The findings are further detailed in the August 2014 study Governance at the Grassroots carried out for Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali.33

CRS has been working in West Africa since 1958, with the goal of improving the quality of life among the poor and most vulnerable. CRS’ West Africa Regional Office (CRS/ WARO) includes offices in Burkina Faso, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Sierra Leone, with outreach activities in Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau and Mauritania. The vision in the current strategic phase – through 2018 – is: “The communities we serve have increased incomes and reduced disease burdens, and live in conflict-free environments.” Malaria programming is highlighted for its scale nature – with more than 23 million beneficiaries in five countries. A central project strategy is strengthening critical areas of capacity – such as data collection/quality and procurement/supply-chain management – of government agencies, with the aim that one day they take over as Principal Recipient, per a shared vision between CRS and The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria.

DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL OWNERSHIP

One of the clearest opportunities for applying Catholic social teaching is in the mandate, law(s) and funding for decentralization from central government to local structures. This process is in line with the principle of subsidiarity - with decisions being made closer to those whose lives are affected – and strengthens CRS’s commitment to increasing the effectiveness of government in general. Pope Francis emphasizes the principle of subsidiarity in Laudato Si stating that “civil authorities have the right and duty to adopt clear and firm measures in support of small producers and differentiated production.” (¶129) The decentralization of public authority is an essential element of helping to make decision making and program implementation more accountable to those they are intended to serve.

The decentralization process has the potential to increase inclusiveness, participation and accountability by citizens and civil society institutions. When functions are transferred locally, it may become easier to identify systems, actors and relationships that have the most impact, and to better target capacity-strengthening interventions. Decentralization holds the potential to answer the call from Pope Francis for states to take full responsibility to “safeguard and promote the common good of society.”

As outlined in the *Governance at the Grassroots* study, decentralization processes often involve five elements: i) transfer of decision-making power and resources, ii) sufficient local social and political ownership, iii) adequate capacity and performance of local governments to manage new authority, resources and projects, iv) technical support to local institutions, and v) strong steering and coordination of the decentralization process. Legal and structural frameworks for decentralization policies have been established in each of the three countries studied: Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali. Each has established a government ministry of decentralization and local authorities at lower levels of government.

Ownership of these reforms is where good intentions meet hard realities. Decentralization implies a transfer of power and thus rarely happens in a smooth manner. The process depends on the degree of mutual commitment to the decentralization process. It requires judicial resources and institutional frameworks to implement reforms and transfer authority and resources equitably. Ownership of decentralization processes may be compromised by a lack of governmental capacity, corruption, poor communications, and differing expectations about the intended outcome. In the three countries studied the decentralization process was slower than anticipated.

A related factor complicating local ownership is the low level of civic consciousness and public participation. In West Africa levels of citizen participation are still low, especially among women and marginalized ethnic groups. As noted above, research shows that public participation enhances the qualities of inclusion and accountability that are important for good governance. Greater efforts are needed to increase public participation in decision-making and local governance. This is an imperative not only one of justice (as noted by Pope Francis) but also one of governmental effectiveness and accountability.

The challenges of implementing decentralization echo the findings of Norris cited above that government capacity— including bureaucratic coherence – is indispensable to effectiveness. Inadequate capacity to procure, manage and monitor resources at the sub-national level is a significant shortcoming in many of the countries where CRS works. Lack of skilled human resources is cited as one of the reasons for poor quality projects and services in West Africa. Other factors include: lack of financial resources, difficult working conditions in rural areas in particular, and the lack of electricity, quality education and access to medical centers. National governments must fund decentralization and other programs through tax revenues, but these are typically low in countries that have weak institutions and little accountability to or legitimacy with local populations. Many governments tend to rely on outside development funding or a combination of the two, but dependence on external financing reduces the incentive for governments to build institutions that are locally grounded.

The *Governance at the Grassroots* study identified some successful approaches to engaging governments through consensus-based forms of intervention: breaking problems down and designing manageable initiatives whose success can be measured. For example, improving local government capacity to support farmers of diverse communities to cultivate in an environmentally sustainable manner. Another example in conflict prevention and development emphasizes the value of consensus-based forms of decision making and social engagement.
The study observed a number of promising practices observed for engaging governments in the context of decentralization and local ownership in West Africa:

- Accompany processes at the local level to increase public awareness; support local groups to monitor decision-making processes and uses of resources; and build local government capacity through training, exchange visits, coaching and mentoring;  

- Strengthen local networks and provide capacity for local networks to monitor and provide technical support for local governance;

- Provide analysis and examination of project interventions through the lens of strengthening government action and service provision to citizens;

- Engage with elected governing bodies and local government commune agents responsible for planning, resource mobilization and promoting citizen participation.

All of these approaches are integrated into CRS' current resilience and food security programming in the region. For example, the Scaling Up Resilience project in northwestern Niger and southeastern Mali developed a specific governance component to support commune structures through capacity strengthening (accompaniment and training), financial support (leverage grants – part of capacity strengthening to manage resources), engagement of government officials, and strengthening the ties with civil society organizations. Government partners are showing particular enthusiasm as new opportunities arise to reinforce their structures so they can fulfill responsibilities per their fundamental mandate.

LAND AND RESOURCE ACCESS

A second and related aspect of supporting governance is securing the right for local populations to access, use and benefit from land. This issue is central to livelihoods in West Africa and in many regions where CRS works. An August 2014 study for CRS, Literature Review of Land Tenure in Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali, stresses the perspective that governments must facilitate and affirm such rights as a basic service to their citizens, especially the poorest and most marginalized among them. This is a concrete example of Pope Francis’ call for governments to take responsibility for ensuring the common good, and CST’s imperative for a preferential option for the poor, which Pope Francis emphasized in Laudato Si and throughout his speeches during his 2015 trip to the US.

Communities in the drylands of West Africa encounter acute challenges in accessing land. Women suffer disproportionately as a result of long-standing practices and legal restrictions in which they cannot inherit land and their access rights are limited. In the few cases where customary practice has allowed for women's access to land, increasing pressures on land are combining to erode this access. Pastoralists are often excluded from local decision-making bodies. When pastoralists are of a different ethnic or religious background than settler communities, the result can be ethnically based marginalization and grievances that are often associated with armed conflict, as the research above observes. Adverse environmental and social conditions for the pastoralists may leave them politically disadvantaged as new/adapted practices and codes are formulated by local

34 Ibid.
35 Oliver Hughes, Land Tenure in Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali: Context and Opportunities, August 2014 available on CRS’ website.
36 Laudato Si – specifically in clause 158, but emphasized throughout the encyclical.
government agencies for negotiating land use in the face of shifting climate conditions. This limited access is a direct cause of food insecurity among these groups.

While the aim of strengthening land tenure among marginalized groups may be clear, there are significant obstacles to making land tenure systems more inclusive of marginalized groups in the West African context. First are the noted challenges in achieving decentralization, which is often intended to strengthen land tenure. Added to this are the array of ‘governing’ laws and traditions which inform decisions at all levels: from customary practices that often differ significantly within a country, to national/statutory law, and even to Islamic or Sharia Law or English Common Law in some cases – with contradictions often arising from these competing legal frameworks. As CRS and other international organizations support strengthening land tenure among women and marginalized groups, it is important to understand how these dynamics play out locally, as one framework will likely dominate over others depending on ethnicity, the religious fabric of communities, tradition and other factors. That balance is often dynamic, shifting with political and economic events and environmental stresses. Climate change and extreme weather conditions such as drought and floods are adding urgency to the challenge of finding solutions to accessing land by vulnerable groups in these complex contexts. This lends reinforce the message of Pope Francis in *Laudato Si*, noted above, and the importance of seeing poverty and climate change as two dimensions of the same crisis that must be addressed.

Experience has shown that short-term efforts are not likely to show rapid results in improving land tenure. Rather, CRS is choosing to prioritize initiatives that focus on process-oriented interventions such as fostering local dialogue, exploring alternate conflict resolution mechanisms, developing local land use charters through participatory approaches, and engaging women and men in discussions on the gender dimensions of land ownership and access. These approaches – coupled with capacity strengthening of local decentralized institutions – could lay the groundwork for long-term transformations of land tenure realities for the Sahel’s communities. Building local participation and accountability in this manner can strengthen governance structures as well as state-society linkages.

In a program outside the region in Madagascar, CRS focused on building the land registration capacity of local institutions, while strengthening citizen participation in the process. The program included dialogues at multiple levels – including between the church hierarchy and government officials – and the involvement of citizens. In this instance the land-related dialogues helped to change attitudes, and decision-making became more just and equitable as a result. The improvements show signs of being sustained into the future.

Addressing land tenure issues is an essential part of the process of engaging governmental institutions to enhance development and human dignity. As with decentralization processes, these programs seek to build governance capacity and help the poor and marginalized meet basic livelihood needs. These examples reflect some of the findings of social science and embody the call of Pope Francis and Catholic social teachings for pathways toward beneficial outcomes for the marginalized and society as a whole. The implications are important not only for CRS but for the broader development community.

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The challenges of economic development, humanitarian relief, conflict prevention, and poverty reduction are interlinked. They depend for their solution on improving the qualities and capacities of governance, overcoming the marginalization of oppressed communities, and achieving greater equality within society, especially between women and men. These complex and interdependent missions are a call to enhance and protect human dignity, to address the needs of each person and of families and communities. This holistic approach is the basis for the concept of Integral Human Development, which recognizes the essential unity of the social, political, economic and spiritual dimensions of life for individuals and their communities. The principles of human dignity and integral development come to us from the teachings of the Catholic Church and the words and example of Pope Francis, but they are validated in the findings of social science research and in practices gleaned from extensive on-the-ground experiences of CRS and other development agencies. The lessons learned by practitioners and the evidence provided by researchers confirm the integral vision that emerges from our religious and spiritual commitments. They provide a firm foundation for our continued work to enhance development through a commitment to peacebuilding, good governance and gender equality.
Land Tenure and Peacebuilding in Madagascar

The majority of Madagascar’s 23.8 million people live in rural areas and work in the agricultural sector, focusing on livestock and producing food crops such as rice, maize, cassava and groundnuts. Agriculture provides almost 80 percent of Madagascar’s total exports and constitutes nearly one-third of its GDP. With such a strong dependency on the use of land for agricultural activities—both crop cultivation and grazing of livestock—conflicts surrounding land tenure are commonplace and can result in social, political and economic instability.

Rural populations generally have been barred from formally owning the land that they depend on for their survival. In traditional land systems throughout the country, rural populations have historically inherited land directly from their family. Although the Government of Madagascar started to introduce measures to improve land tenure security and provide opportunities to formalize land ownership starting in 2005, the new measures are often in conflict with customary land tenure systems, and many land rights issues remain unresolved. Madagascar urgently needs a land tenure system that is sensitive to the realities of the most vulnerable populations to help bring stability and justice to rural areas.

CRS has been working in Madagascar since 1962, focusing on agriculture, conservation, education, health, microfinance, and water and sanitation. It promotes good governance, transparency and social accountability in all of its programming. CRS projects are implemented by a variety of local partners, including Catholic dioceses; other Catholic Church structures (such as national and local Justice and Peace Commissions); national and local non-sectarian, non-profit organizations; and government structures. Nationwide, 45 percent of the Malagasy population identifies as Catholic, with 80 percent in the Fianarantsoa diocese, which has the highest proportion of Catholics in the country.

In southeastern Madagascar, as part of CRS Madagascar’s Justice and Peace Initiative, the dioceses of Fianarantsoa and Farafangana implemented the Lamina Land Tenure and Peacebuilding project (lamina means “tranquility” or “in peace” in Malagasy). Between January 2013 and December 2014, the Lamina project centered on five communes: four rural communes (Andrainjanto East, Andranovorivato, Alakamisy Ambohimaha, and Isorana) and one urban commune (Fianarantsoa). CRS extended the project for an additional three months and concluded it in March 2015.

The Lamina project aimed to strategically increase local populations’ access to land services in the intervention zone. Lamina focused on (1) building the capacity of land service agents by applying principles of good governance, (2) increasing the population’s use of government land services, and (3) improving the quality of the services through participatory community evaluations of services provided by key institutions in the region. The project also

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Vice President of the Court in Fianarantsoa during the distribution of the land title.
OMF-IPM Project Staff/CRS
worked directly with responsible parties in government to improve local communities’ access to land registry and title services, and service delivery by those in charge.

This case study analyzes the programmatic and operational factors of the Lamina project that contributed to the integration of peacebuilding practices into land registry services in rural Madagascar. It also seeks to identify key lessons from the project. During the course of the Lamina project, CRS local partners collected the data presented here through two rounds of surveys (June 2013 and November 2014). The surveys were carried out in each of the five communes. The June 2013 survey included 756 participants (586 men and 170 women), and the November 2014 survey involved 752 participants (600 men and 152 women). CRS hopes that this study fosters greater understanding of how the Lamina project brought about social change by integrating peacebuilding and good governance into the land ownership process in Madagascar.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

In 2005, in an effort to formalize land holdings and locate land services closer to rural communities, the Government of Madagascar introduced measures to improve land tenure security and provide opportunities to formalize land ownership. The new measures formed a new system for certification and land title acquisition process, the steps of which are presented in the table below. The government set up new land tenure offices at the commune level, designing this service to be decentralized and managed by the commune. The government’s goal was to assist individuals in certifying their access to land. This certification could then be used to obtain the land title, which was delivered by the Government Land Services Department (LSD), known locally as the Service du Domaine.

Table 1: Government’s New System for Certification and Land Acquisition Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOVERNMENT’S NEW SYSTEM FOR CERTIFICATION AND LAND TITLE ACQUISITION PROCESS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 The individual seeking formal land ownership writes a letter to the local mayor to express the desire to have his/her land evaluated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 The mayor sets a time frame to gather all of the submitted letters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 The mayor puts together a committee (including the village chief, neighbors, traditional leaders and Church leaders) to evaluate land claims.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Through the process of land recognition, the committee travels to the field to verify that the land belongs to the individual and confirms the findings with the local community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 After land recognition, the mayor compiles all land claims that were recognized by the local committee and posts this information at his office for 10 days to notify the public and seek community verification or feedback.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 After 10 days, the land tenure office produces a land certificate for the individual.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 The individual can then apply to the Government Land Services Department for a land title.</td>
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</table>
This system encountered problems because the LSD was hesitant to embrace the new process. In the previous land tenure system, the LSD was the sole entity responsible for managing services related to land, an arrangement reportedly rife with corruption.

The shift introduced by the new tenure system devolved management authority for land certification to the communal level, resulting in a conflict of interest and tension between the local authorities and the LSD. This shift created complications and obstacles for effective collaboration. Another problem the new system faced was the lack of sufficient financing for communal-level land services. Each commune had to recruit staff and mobilize resources, a large challenge for many communes that resulted in few functioning offices. The government had planned to strengthen the institutional capacity of the communes by applying tax revenues to maintain their operations, but most communes lacked the capacity to raise taxes and manage finances.

At the local level, responsibility for evaluating land claims rested with a land tenure committee composed of the mayor, the technical deputy of the mayor, the representative from the traditional leaders, and neighbors. The process resulted in discrepancies over overlapping land parcels that led to extensive conflict and tension between families, neighbors, and community groups. Disputed land claims could take up to five years to be resolved. Land tenure documents in rural areas needed the signature of the mayor at several times throughout the process. This process created opportunities for further corruption as well as strained relations between the LSD, the land tenure committee, and the rural communities. The situation left rural households with no options or resources for validating their land ownership.

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES**

The Lamina project focused on improving the capacity of local Malagasy populations to respond to these challenges by increasing access to quality land registry and management services. The two-year project aimed to improve service provision at all levels, integrate good governance, and increase awareness and use of the services by the local population. Within the justice and peacebuilding framework of CRS, the following theory of change guided the Lamina project:

*If local communities strengthen their capacity to support and evaluate government performance, then the quality of service will improve and the local population’s trust in land services will increase, leading to more land certificates and titles being granted and decreased tension and conflict between neighbors, families, and communities.*

CRS and its partners hoped that the project would enable members of the public to gain greater access to land registry services and that employees of the registry, guided by the principles of good governance, would provide a higher quality service.

The Lamina project utilized two main strategies during implementation. The first promoted the application of the principles of good governance—in particular transparency and citizen participation—in the land registry process and the management of local public affairs. The second strategy reinforced the engagement of citizens and registry staff in monitoring the use of decentralized technical services related to land tenure. The key activities related to the two strategies included the following:
• **Improving communication:** Rural community leaders and local priests recruited and trained key persons at each commune to act as liaisons between central offices and the local population. This greatly improved (1) the transmission of information to the local level as well as feedback to the diocesan level, (2) the mobilization of the local population to participate in awareness-raising activities, and (3) the submission of grievances to the judicial system.

• **Conducting participatory evaluations:** Lamina organized and conducted community evaluations at the local level on land-related services using the Community Score Card (CSC), a tool developed to gauge community perceptions of land services and communicate these views and specific recommendations to service agencies.

The Lamina team organized workshops on advocacy, transparency, good governance and citizen participation to improve the technical capacity of over 250 key leaders, including civil society leaders, government agents, priests, and field representatives. The trainings also reached village chiefs, mayors, Church leaders, traditional leaders and teachers. The curriculum focused on good governance and social accountability. These sessions generated an attitude shift and a new vision for key staff members, contributing to an increase in communication with the public.

After the training sessions, the Lamina team helped the partners link the principles of governance to land tenure issues. The project also introduced the CSC tool. Responsible parties within LSD were trained on the CSC and were encouraged to use it for measuring the quality of services they provided to local communities. The CSC was an integral part of the Lamina project. It created a mechanism that did not previously exist for people in rural communities to have a voice in the land tenure process.

A critical part of the CSC’s impact was its development and use in collaboration with the local population. The project team asked local populations which criteria should be used to assess land services. Commune by commune, the Lamina team and local diocesan representatives organized community gatherings in which they provided opportunities for local populations to assess what they wanted from land services. This led to the identification of the following criteria:

• Adherence to the time appointed by the service
• Information on land rights
• Information on land titling procedures and costs
• Application and adherence to the amount to be paid
• Duration of the procedure
• Respect for local structures in the process
• Local population’s trust in the structure
• Equal treatment of all individuals
• Motivation of the population to use the service
• Monitoring of corruption
The results of the CSC were shared with the responsible parties in LSD. CRS then organized a second round of community gatherings at the commune level to share CSC results with the local population. Initially, local partners and government staff were reluctant to use the CSC, but after additional training they came to understand its value as a means of increasing accountability and helping to identify priorities for improvement. The LSD’s acceptance of the CSC proved to be the key element that enabled the project’s implementation.

The LSD’s establishment of an action plan to improve the quality of services also proved to be important. The plan included a set of workshops, broadcasts and meetings to enhance public understanding and improve government services on land rights and land title acquisition. LSD also collaborated directly with Lamina on training activities.

In March 2013, LDS created a center for services and legal advice. Supported by diocesan staff, the center enabled the local population to access information on land issues and judicial procedures, and provided advice and information on citizen participation. It supported 649 people in 2013 and 2014. The center proved to be another crucial element in the project’s success.

Table 2: Activities that Contributed to Project Success

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ACTIVITIES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO PROJECT SUCCESS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with responsible parties for each of the public services concerned, including members of civil society and community representatives, to identify bottlenecks or obstacles that prevented the provision of quality services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Involving key public figures and grassroots authorities, including religious figures, to support the project’s implementation and increase its credibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>Including stakeholders who were not necessarily directly involved in land issues but who were broadly engaged in the community (e.g., anti-corruption agencies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conducting advocacy and awareness raising among LSD officials to encourage acceptance of the CSC as a tool for improving land services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrating local civil society organizations in the reflection on and realization of project activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorporating journalists in the implementation and advocacy elements of the project, including the reinforcement and transmission of key messages</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
PROJECT RESULTS

The project helped raise public awareness of land rights at all levels. At the individual level, members of the public became better informed of their rights and the availability of land registry services. Individuals also learned about the need to pursue proper documentation for land holdings. At the community level, the program improved the accountability of land registry agents as well as the lines of communication between officials and members of the public.

The increased transparency resulting from the project also positively affected gender relations, as more women made use of the improved services following training and awareness-raising activities. The communities gained increased confidence in the systems and a greater willingness to use the facilities.

Community evaluation sessions brought together 756 users of land services from five different communes. Through the CSC process, local communities observed that they were able to comment openly and freely on government services, often for the first time in their lives. The CSC showed that the local population’s level of satisfaction with the quality of land registry services increased during the project.

Through public awareness-raising activities and training for members of the Church, local governments, courts and civil society groups, the project generated the following outputs and outcomes:
• 876 title deeds delivered
• 400 percent increase in land certificates issued
• 5,296 people trained on land rights issues, procedures to acquire title deeds, and securing title deeds
• 649 people provided with support and legal counsel (157 in 2013, and 492 in 2014)
• Increased levels of satisfaction with the quality of land registry by local populations
• 48 instances of conflict addressed

Most importantly, civil society organizations, once they were mobilized, coordinated their efforts to address land rights issues and in the process contributed to the restoration of peace in the region.

The Lamina project achieved success due to its consistent engagement with all stakeholders with a single, well-articulated message: “You are the bearer of change.” This coordination ensured that all partners were equally engaged and focused on the major issues even if pursuing disparate tasks. Capacity building also contributed to the success of the program. The Lamina project not only trained individuals in the operational aspects of the CSC, but also provided insight into the usefulness of the tool and the overall goals of the project.

The creation of the center for support and legal counsel was an integral part of the project, as it created an open, free, accessible local space for individuals to seek resolution for their grievances. Local communities made extensive use of this space. The center enabled people to raise and resolve grievances in a safe, structured manner without resorting to violence.

Another significant factor in the program’s success was the inclusion of authorities at the grassroots level in the training process. Lamina took a holistic approach to this integration, incorporating leaders at every level of local government. The project also reached out to and engaged traditional leaders.

CRS applied the following principles at every stage of the project, which proved to be critical to its success:

• **Openness**: Lamina project’s focus on increasing transparency and good governance in land agencies led to more open lines of communication between all stakeholders.

• **Multi-sectoral engagement**: The project engaged all parties with direct and indirect involvement in the land sector. The involvement of local leaders was a key factor in the success of the project. It ensured the participation of the local population in the evaluations. In addition, the use of both radio and television, as well as the integration of journalists in the development of advocacy messages, significantly increased engagement and acceptance of the program.

• **Coordination and organization**: The project team brought together various agencies and individuals and helped participants provide timely responses to foreseen and unforeseen challenges.
• **Intensive training for local actors**: A thorough selection of key staff and training on sustainability, advocacy and implementation significantly contributed to Lamina project’s success.

• **Confidentiality, privacy and trust**: Given the sensitivity around land issues in Madagascar, the project team ensured that information was managed in a way that protected informants’ anonymity, particularly with the use of the CSC. The diocese fundamentally contributed to the success of the project because of the trusting relationships Church leaders had fostered with parishioners in the local population.

• **Intimate knowledge of the local community**: The project team gained an intimate knowledge of the community so they could understand local dynamics of land ownership and transmission, and respond adequately to challenges.

• **Flexibility**: The Lamina project team slightly altered the final implementation of the CSC from the original methodology, due to timing issues and low levels of literacy within the affected populations. This flexibility allowed the project team to capture necessary information without undue inconvenience or extensive resources.

• **Follow-up**: The project team remained in constant contact with advocacy groups and key community figures, offering them support in managing relationships.

**LESSONS LEARNED**

The Lamina project produced measurable impacts in addressing conflicts around land tenure in Madagascar. It led to improved delivery of public land services, stronger relationships and engagement between government and communities, and the strengthening of institutional capacities at the LSD. Stakeholders at all levels of the land tenure system gained important knowledge and insight.

Four key factors significantly contributed to the success of the Lamina project and could be applied to land tenure conflicts in other regions of the country or in similar contexts beyond Madagascar:

**ENGAGEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS**

CRS and partners embraced the principle of mutual respect in their interactions with the government. They worked to support the government’s system of improved land registry with regular communication and participation at all stages of project implementation. They also encouraged shared learning, including technical input from government personnel on land tenure, legal frameworks, and the training of land service agents by local Church representatives and partner agency staff.

This commitment to incorporating governmental experts increased the willingness of public officials to participate in and support the process. This model highlighted the importance of good governance principles in stakeholder and partner relationships and proved integral to the success of the project. It also avoided political and bureaucratic resistance, which could have impeded implementation. The Lamina project
demonstrated that engaging directly with governments can be an effective approach to promoting good governance.

The Church played a key role as the link between CRS and the government. The Archbishop joined CRS during key consultations with the government, and Church representatives maintained a strong accompaniment role for community and government stakeholders for all project activities. The Church’s deep understanding of local land dynamics was critical to the success of Lamina. Church officials also played a major role in community outreach and awareness raising related to the rights and responsibilities of registering land.

**COMMUNITY SCORE CARD**

The success of the CSC confirmed the value of good evaluation techniques. This tool served as an effective community evaluation mechanism that directly improved the provision of land services. It ensured that the project team and the communes held themselves accountable to the local population, the ultimate beneficiaries. By including LSD in the development of the CSC, the project increased the likelihood that public officials would embrace and use it as a learning tool. Given the sensitive nature of land tenure disputes, CRS and its partners also emphasized the importance of respect for confidentiality and privacy in CSC implementation.

Prior to using the tool, the project ran a simulation that allowed target communities to grow accustomed to it. In the future, projects could improve results by making accommodations for respondents who lack literacy and numeracy skills, which may be the majority of the population in some communities. CRS also advises using no more than 10 indicators in the tool, so that the survey is easier to use and understand.

**CIVIC EDUCATION AND GENDER**

Civic education, especially the holistic emphasis on the importance of land tenure and citizen participation, was a major part of the success of the project. CRS had to organize information sessions to educate target communities, particularly young people and women, who traditionally had been excluded from consideration of these matters. The project helped women become more active in using government land tenure services.

The project could have done more to address gender disparities within the land tenure system, by implementing advocacy efforts to generate citizen demands for changing Malagasy laws and customs. Genuine gender equality in this context would require ending traditional laws and customs that have kept levels of female land ownership historically low.

**SUSTAINABILITY**

The Lamina project reinforced the importance of supporting institutions that can carry on initiatives after the project is completed. CRS and its partners recognize that governments may sometimes lack the full capacity to address the complexity of
land tenure issues, and that it is necessary to help officials develop and sustain that responsibility after a project has ended. By bringing the Church and the government together in partnership, CRS strengthened the capacity, transparency and accountability of the LSD, improving its ability to uphold its long-term responsibility for land management. The creation of the support and legal counsel center was an additional measure that retained community advocacy and education initiatives beyond the conclusion of the project. The most important factors for sustaining the gains of the project were the quality of the relationships forged during the project and the continued ability of people across social and communal divides to work together in addressing land tenure challenges.

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At a torch parade in Zamboanga, people from Mindanao's three major groups—Muslim, indigenous, and Christian—march together for peace.
Laura Sheehen/CRS.
Peacebuilding – Strengthening Local Governance to Interrupt Protracted Violence in Mindanao, Philippines

SUMMARY
For decades, deeply rooted prejudices among local communities have been at the root of violence in Mindanao, the southern archipelago in the Philippines. Poor governance is a central driver of conflict among Christians, Muslims, and indigenous people – including authorities’ abuse of power, structural inequities, and marginalization of indigenous communities – with massive poverty as a compounding factor.1 CRS’s past peacebuilding work led to the design of the Peace and Governance in Mindanao (PGM) Project, which helped reduce violent conflict in 50 Mindanao barangays (villages) by improving government performance in local development planning, delivery of basic services, and conflict resolution while increasing civic participation in these areas. The relevance of this program and subsequent projects it inspired is daily evident as Mindanao continues to be shaken by new violence and the declaration of martial law in 2017.

Key Interventions
• PGM targeted improvements in local governance as a means to break cycles of violence and tackle underlying grievances within and among religiously and ethnically diverse communities.

• The focus on civil society and governmental partnerships across 50 communities created locally relevant plans and projects, plus fostered coordination on the national peace process.

Key Results and Lessons Learned
• PGM support helped improve local government unit performance in policymaking and local development plans resulting in 187 projects on education, livelihood, infrastructure, environmental, and health needs, most co-financed with local resources.

• Participants facilitated the resolution of 551 disputes through institutionalizing conflict resolution mechanisms at the local level, resulting in higher perceived levels of social cohesion and feelings of personal safety and security among women and men.

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1 Consultations included armed conflicts that affected other parts of the Philippines, not only the Mindanao conflict.
CHALLENGE

An estimated 120,000 people have died and millions more have been displaced amid armed conflict and deeply rooted prejudices among and within Mindanao’s communities of Christians, Muslims, and indigenous people. Government-led national consultations in the 1990s identified several root causes of armed conflicts in the country: poor governance; massive poverty; abuse of power by those in authority; structural inequities; and political, economic, social, and cultural marginalization of the Muslim and indigenous populations. Local inter- and intra-group conflicts, corruption, worsening poverty, poor governance, and unequal access to resources further fuel the complex conflict.

In many Mindanao communities, local political elites exert and seek to consolidate control over the local economy through, for example, diverting public funds for special initiatives that benefit them. These experiences frustrate community members, deepening distrust of government structures, and making people more willing to settle disputes through violence instead of civic processes. In particular, lack of genuine participation, plus inadequate and inequitable access to public goods (see box), have reduced livelihood security for minority and vulnerable groups. Discrimination against Muslims and indigenous people by Christian-owned businesses is frequent. CRS knows that the underlying causes of the conflict will continue if left unaddressed. While civil society and peace networks actively pressure local government units (LGU) to deliver services fairly, they also assume service delivery roles in areas where the government is weak or corruption undermines trust. Focused attention is needed not only to meet the basic needs of all community members, but also to increase community security and foster a shared culture of peace. The Peace and Governance in Mindanao (PGM) project set out to do just that.

Public goods: The Deliverables of Governance

- Peace and security
- Justice and the rule of law
- Service delivery and resource management
- Economic access and opportunity
- Human and civil rights
RESPONSE

PGM was a three-year initiative that strengthened local capacities in participatory governance and peacebuilding to improve governance and reduce violent conflict in Mindanao. The program included a comprehensive set of targeted interventions to enhance government performance in local development planning, delivery of basic services, and conflict resolution while increasing civic engagement and participation in these areas.

CRS implemented PGM in partnership with 13 community-based and nongovernmental organizations (CBO/NGO) across 50 communities in central and western Mindanao. Deliberately forming strong partnerships among diverse actors and across varied government structures facilitated work towards peace governance processes. These included community consultations, participatory planning, facilitated resolution of local conflicts, participation of community groups in locally mandated special governing bodies, and joint implementation of community projects in the barangay development plans.

The PGM project was anchored on two major theories of change:

1. For sustainable peace, individual-level transformation (personal and relational change) must be connected to institutional (structural) change.
2. Consistently and strategically broadened participation creates the enabling environment for peace efforts to thrive.

Widening the geography of the program and diversifying ethnic/religious participation engaged both “more people” and “key people,” who might have been like- or unlike-minded individuals. In this way the program facilitated new ways of seeing issues and working together on common challenges.²

KEY PARTNERSHIPS

The 13 local partner organizations worked to: strengthen the capacity and political will of barangay LGUs to implement local development planning processes; deliver basic services; and transform conflict through participatory community dialogues, transparent practices, and improved public service delivery. Concurrently, the project strengthened civil society participation (prioritizing involvement from members of marginalized groups) in these processes and structures, including through the engagement of key leaders essential for promoting peace and harnessing formal and informal conflict resolution practices (e.g., members of village-based conflict resolution structures, religious leaders, and elders).

PGM also assisted and strengthened the capacity of CBOs and three civil society peace networks to consolidate and advocate for local peace agendas in Mindanao in relation to the formal peace process. These networks went on to connect their grassroots peace agendas to the ongoing national peace process.

Since the 1970s, regions of Mindanao have been plagued with violence related to land disputes and political power. Thousands have lost family members, homes or livelihoods to the conflict. CRS funds programs like peace camps and workshops to bring people from opposing groups together. Laura Sheahen/CRS.

BUILDING CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

PGM also engaged public schools, madaris (community-based Islamic schools), and the Catholic Church. CRS and local partner organizations institutionalized peace education in school curricula for teachers and school administrators in 42 schools and 20 madaris, involving 565 public school and Islamic teachers and ustadzes (Arabic teachers) and 818 students. CRS also worked with 12 dioceses, engaging more than 500 bishops, priests, and Church workers to promote peacebuilding within various hierarchies, and to increase the commitment and skills of Catholics to dialogue with other groups.

RESULTS

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF REDUCED CONFLICT

CRS and local partners in Mindanao have demonstrated that the integration of peacebuilding and local governance can yield meaningful participation, improved relationships, and community safety and security. During PGM’s midterm review, communities observed decreases in violence since project implementation began, and attributed those decreases to project interventions. The end-of-project evaluation revealed that PGM efforts significantly reduced the sources and incidence of conflict among barangays, resulting in higher perceived levels of social cohesion.\(^3\) Community members

\(^3\) Final PGM Evaluation Report, page 25.
reported that PGM interventions improved interactions among community groups and that, as individuals, they grew to more deeply appreciate other groups in their community.

During the project’s endline survey, 92% of men and women respondents reported improved feelings of personal safety and security, and directly attributed them to PGM’s efforts to strengthen conflict resolution capacity among LGU officials and community leaders. 4

**IMPROVED LGU INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE**

Project activities increased satisfaction of community leaders and residents of the areas covered by the project with LGU decision making, from 78% (baseline) to 92% (endline). Community members reported appreciating that LGUs treated constituents fairly, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or status in the community. Moreover, residents highlighted successful LGU efforts to encourage local civic participation in community activities, decision-making processes, and project implementation. Local partner staff noted that PGM trainings helped to improve leadership skills and moral commitment of LGU officials, which, in turn, helped to galvanize community participation.

With PGM support, LGUs improved their performance in policy making and local development planning. LGU officials reported improved technical capacities in planning, budget preparation, project monitoring, local policymaking, and revenue generation. Rather than hiring an external technical person to write their local development plans without sufficient community engagement, the 47 LGUs that completed development plans (94%) led the process in their own barangays and had meaningful engagement of local residents. Through iterative processes of small-group and sectoral consultations, and village-level assemblies, communities identified and prioritized issues, and proposed solutions to address such concerns. Participating LGUs passed almost 500 resolutions and ordinances that addressed community priorities, such as local taxes, project implementation, conflict resolution, and peace and security.

Building ownership through this approach bolstered sustainability for the projects and planning process, specifically through:

- Involvement of the key sectors in the community, which then enhanced accountability of LGUs to implement the plans;
- Involvement and participation of key groups being institutionalized through their membership in the local special bodies; and
- Barangay development plans, facilitating the integration of ideas in the municipal development plans and helping LGUs to access resources for implementation.

As well, CRS and local partner organizations worked with LGUs to implement 187 peace and development projects named in local development plans. Projects ranged from community needs on education to livelihood, infrastructure to the environment, health and sanitation, and needed facilities and equipment for LGUs and communities. The projects

> “[Funding institutions] can easily identify what project to give us, plus they can be assured of social acceptability since it is the people themselves who identified the proposed projects. The people can never say that they’ve never been consulted. There’s no blaming in the end.”

—Mayor Amirh Musali, Columbio, Sultan Kudarat, Mindanao

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benefitted more than 32,000 households. In planning and implementing projects, LGUs practiced proper allocation of budgets and fund-pooling. A majority (73%) of projects were co-financed with funds from pooled resources from barangay, municipal and provincial government units, government line agencies, CSOs, and the community. Village-level officials in these communities mobilized more than US$1.4 million, of which PGM funding accounted for only 1.5% or US$22,000. Such diversified and non-project funding has been critical to maintaining and expanding positive changes since PGM closed.

As an important function of local governance in conflict-affected communities, PGM partners worked to institutionalize conflict resolution mechanisms by strengthening conflict resolution structures and facilitating the resolution of 551 actual disputes in 38 target villages in Central Mindanao. This is a 281% improvement from baseline. Local partners led conflict resolution skills workshops for members of locally-mandated structures called Lupong Tagapamayapa (LT). Mediation satisfied conflicting parties in the conflict resolution process, resulting in a significant decline in conflict.

MORE-INCLUSIVE CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Through PGM interventions, LGUs were more intentional about engaging formerly excluded groups—including women, youth, elderly, and ethnic minorities who were often discriminated against—in the local development planning process. This helped to build trust, confidence, and eventually strong relationships with marginalized community members in order to broaden their participation, ownership, and accountability. In one community, it was the first time Muslim religious leaders and ustadzes joined consultations to support the planning process. This milestone led to other collaborative activities and remarkable changes in their relationships with other members in the community, specifically the Christians and indigenous people.

To mainstream peacebuilding and governance in communities, PGM partners conducted Culture of Peace and other workshops focusing on the values of leadership, conflict resolution skills, conflict transformation, community peace organizing, the development of resolutions and legislation, and governance. In all, partners trained 5,086 participants through 271 trainings, including municipal and barangay officials, women and youth leaders, conflict resolution practitioners, village Peace & Order Council members, tribal leaders, school teachers, members of the military, and other community leaders.

The community capacity building efforts for peace governance led to active participation of 136 CBOs in planning consultations, peacebuilding trainings, and peace forums. With the local partner organizations, these

5 Typically, resolved cases involved the following: clan conflict; murder/ frustrated murder; marital conflict; land related conflict; household related/family dispute; non-payment of debts; theft/robbery, and other civil and/or criminal incidents.
6 Sections 399-422 found in Chapter 7 (Katarungang Pambaratayag) under Book III (Barangays) of the Local Government Code comprehensively describe the Lupong Tagapamayapa in its primary role to address disputes and conflicts in the barangay.
7 Findings during the Midterm review.

“I learned about the culture of peace from the PGM trainings and I came to accept our culture differences. Before, I was not accepted because of my religion (Christian) and they seem not to like me as a community leader. I feel discriminated (against). Through the PGM process, I mustered the effort to build relations with the people. I now understood how to use the tools. The PGM project instilled goodness by promoting good governance. I am a minority in the council but they give me due respect. They give me time to hold re-echo seminars.”
—Manuel Poblacion, Mayo, Columbio
grassroots organizations gained credibility with their respective LGUs, facilitating greater civil society participation in local governance processes, often as members of Local Special Bodies\(^8\) addressing education, health, development, and peace and security concerns.

**LESSONS LEARNED**

As in many parts of the world, poor governance is a major driver of conflict and inequity in the Philippines’ Mindanao region. PGM-led interventions made noteworthy progress in targeted areas, and key lessons emerged from CRS and partner experiences both implementing and evaluating the project.

**Integration of peacebuilding approaches into local governance enhanced governance outcomes.** The involvement of key LGU and community actors in peacebuilding trainings influenced individual outlooks and attitudes. It also prepared them for direct engagement, including roles as “peace connectors” hosting dialogues and mediating local disputes.

PGM integrated peacebuilding tools such as peace and conflict mapping into the local development planning process, ensuring that all plans considered local conflicts and divisions. The mapping also facilitated more open discussion among diverse community and LGU actors about persisting conflict issues, and their effects on local peace and development. Whereas barangay officials used to have to hold raffle drawings to encourage attendance in local assembly meetings, the existence of a development plan they participated in and which reflects their concerns about divisions has itself become a driver for more active community attendance and engagement. Likewise, the participatory peace and conflict mapping process identified relevant actors and proactively invited them into the project. Resulting community interventions, rooted in objective context and conflict analysis, helped establish appropriate development responses that felt realistic.

**Participatory processes strengthened personal and collective engagement of both LGU and community actors, and improved government performance.** Participatory implementation encouraged active involvement of local actors, creating a sense of ownership over project processes (notably local development plans) and over governance and decision making among LGU officials, CBOs, and community residents. It also facilitated greater interactions and collaboration among individual community members and groups, as well as between community members and LGUs, leading to greater mutual understanding and improved relations. Greater participation in local government processes and decision-making resulted in more policies, resolutions, and initiatives that respond to local priorities. Increased interactions between LGUs and community members and organizations also led to greater knowledge among the community about how government works and encouraged government transparency.\(^9\)

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\(^8\) Local Special Bodies include the Local School Board, Local Health Board, Local Development Council and Local Peace and Order Council which are mandated structures in the Local Government Code. These bodies are organized at the municipal, provincial and regional levels and involve the representation and participation of civil society organizations, NGOs and peoples organizations.

Program investment in community-identified projects jumpstarted broader local development plans. CRS and local partners catalyzed LGU commitment to fully implement the local development plan, breaking the cycles of unimplemented plans due to weak political will, corruption, and/or limited capacity of LGUs. The local development plan has become the instrument for the social marketing of these projects, with additional funding from community members to help complete some projects, such as through in-kind “counterpart” donations of coffee, rice, labor, and construction materials.

As well, since the projects were part of the mandated development plans, village level LGU leaders were able to mobilize resources from the municipal and provincial government budgets and from other government line agencies to support implementation. Some plans also catalyzed support for local initiatives from other non-government sources. For example, Barangay Barongis received 1.5 million pesos from the provincial government because it passed resolutions requesting funding assistance for several projects. Local partner staff reported it was easy for the community to access the funds because they knew how to craft barangay resolutions. Others related the process of a farmers’ organization in Dungguan lobbying the barangay to pass a resolution requesting fund access to procure farm facilities, which received an allotment from the local governor’s office.

Modeling of accountability and transparency is important to establish credibility in engaging government. CRS initially focused on strengthening CSO partners’ internal management and financial capacities so that they could model the kind of accountability and transparency they demanded from LGUs. This approach strengthened partners’ credibility as advocates for more participatory governance mechanisms while also helping to minimize their exposure to risk.

Figure 2: Lederach Strategic Triangle. The “Lederach Triangle”, named for peacebuilding scholar-practitioner John Paul Lederach, is one way to visualize the structure of society, relevance of governing structures and interactions within (“horizontal”) and among (“vertical”) levels.

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10 Figure adapted from Lederach, John Paul, Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, NY, 1995. Lederach, John Paul, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 1997.
BROADER APPLICATIONS

PGM demonstrated that the integration of peacebuilding principles and practices in local governance can result in transformative outcomes in terms of meaningful participation, improved relationships, and increased community safety and security. This reflects understanding of social cohesion and trust (horizontal and vertical; see Figure 1) as helping improve governance, especially in conflict-affected communities.

Scholarship and empirical evidence support that “governance systems help advance development and peace especially when they are inclusive, participatory and accountable.”\(^{11}\) CRS’ practical work in and beyond Mindanao also shows that improved governance can reduce the likelihood of local violence and broader conflict.

In Cambodia, CRS and partners promoted participation of marginalized groups in local governance by working to engage Khmer Islam CBOs in local democratic processes. The Increasing Dialogue for Empowerment and Action (IDEA) project (2010–2012) strengthened the ability of the CBOs to advocate directly to local officials and participate in government planning processes to address their needs.

In the Central African Republic, CRS and local trainers responded to the 2013 crisis by conducing social cohesion trainings bringing together more than 3,000 religious leaders, government officials, civil society leaders, and members of armed groups. The workshops resulted in the establishment of community social cohesion committees covering more than 70 villages. By targeting key leaders as an entry point for broader peacebuilding efforts, CRS was also able to help prepare participants for the Brazzaville Peace Forum (see box). Other trainees also facilitated local consultations in preparation for the National Dialogue process to support the country-level formal peace process.

The Brazzaville Forum in 2014, organized by the president, aimed to bring together different parties involved in the crisis in CAR to negotiate the peace process. On the invitation of CAR’s Minister of Reconciliation, who had previously spoken at a number of CRS social cohesion trainings, CRS facilitated a high-level social cohesion reflection for government representatives who attended the forum, including from the offices of the president and prime minister. CRS was also asked by the Minister of Reconciliation to provide social cohesion training to members of the transitional institutions. These are the government structures initiated in resolving CAR’s long-standing conflict that resurged in 2013, including the Parliament, the High Commission for Communication, The Human Rights Commission, and the Supreme Court. For each institution CRS designed training on bringing together representatives with relevant CSOs. These organizations also delegated two members to be trained as social cohesion trainers and continue to strengthen skills and attitudes for social cohesion in their respective institutions.

These are a few of many examples in which CRS—through 20 years of work at multiple levels of government and with strategic engagement of diverse partners—has demonstrated that the integration of peacebuilding approaches into local governance improves both the processes of governance for marginalized groups and measurable outcomes the government can continue to build on.

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Samra and her mother live in an apartment supported by CRS’ social housing project in Potocari. Fuad Foco for CRS.
Emergency response – institutionalizing investment in social housing to accelerate recovery after displacement in Bosnia-Herzegovina

SUMMARY
The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), also known as the Dayton Accords, put a formal end to the Bosnian War in 1995. It also began the arduous process of returning and resettling the over two million people displaced during the war. Over a decade later, as resettlement efforts stalled, CRS saw an opportunity to support those still in need of permanent housing solutions, as well as address a long-standing challenge of integrating ethnically and socially marginalized communities. The resulting approach, implemented in the Social Housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina program and subsequent advocacy and accompaniment work by CRS in BiH, significantly influenced the national government’s understanding of this key strategy in supporting a successful, sustainable return process, as well as the international development community’s use of this approach. In addition to influencing national policy and procedures at all levels of the BiH government, a report of the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) identified CRS’ social housing program as one of the best practices in the Western Balkans for Roma inclusion.

Key Interventions
• The program expanded CRS’ remit for post-war housing beyond construction, intensified partnership with government at all levels, and expanded the target population to include all vulnerable groups in eight areas of the country.

• It served as a proving ground for several innovations in social housing, including eligibility screening, socio-economic cards, rental rate schemes, and integration standards.

Key Results and Lessons Learned
• IDPs, refugees, Roma, and other marginalized groups were integrated and supported with the same social services aimed to increase sustainable returns and healthy communities.

• Continued collaboration with government of BiH ministries, municipalities, and other public sector actors for years after the program ended enshrined many of the program elements into policies and strategies for implementing the Dayton Accords.
CHALLENGE

In 2011, 16 years after the signing of the Dayton Accords, the return process in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) was considered successful by many standards. Of the 2.2 million citizens displaced during the war, 91% had successfully returned to the communities of origin or integrated into new communities. Over 320,000 housing units were reconstructed and repaired. And yet, the question needed to be asked why there were nearly 200,000 displaced persons and refugees still in need of durable housing solutions.\(^1\)

In particular, nearly 9,000 IDPs were in an extremely fragile situation, lacking dignified living conditions in the country’s 160 dilapidated collective centers, which for the most part were never designed for residential use.

These persons fell through the cracks of the Dayton Accords’ criteria because they were unable or chose not to take advantage of earlier housing reconstruction programs for a variety of reasons, including:

- Lack of de-mining certification at or near their property;
- Unrepaired electrical and water connections to their houses;
- Lack of basic community infrastructure, such as roads, schools, and houses of worship;
- Insufficient opportunities to secure employment or to re-establish sustainable livelihoods;
- Ineligibility of tenants who never owned property to participate in these programs;
- Inability to prove legal title to their property; and
- Unwillingness to return as a minority to a place of trauma, pain and suffering.

RESPONSE

The scale of the need required an approach taking a larger view than that of individual families. So, in 2007 CRS, with support from the Government of the Netherlands, refocused its strategy away from individual house reconstruction towards the introduction of a new social housing methodology. The Social Housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina program’s approach was to build the capacity of local government authorities to provide durable housing solutions for the remaining collective centers residents and other vulnerable displaced persons. This shift was motivated by the agency’s mandate to target its relief and development programming to the poorest and most marginalized. It also aligned well with the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees (MHRR) request to develop a national housing strategy, per a 2005 UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recommendation.

\(^1\) This case study is expanded from a 2015 internal CRS case study, “Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Impact of Government of Netherlands Investment on Social Housing”, and the 2011 CRS publication “Recommendations for Development of Non-profit/Social Housing in Bosnia and Herzegovina”.
Several components of CRS’ social housing strategy contributed to the success of this approach and partnership with government in BiH.

The establishment of a formal working group from the outset facilitated collaborative partnerships with local government officials, mostly at the municipal level. This cooperation resulted in over US$2 million in BiH government cash and in-kind co-financing for the social housing, while also building municipal capacity to assume management and maintenance responsibilities after tenants move in.

As well, CRS’s leadership in developing a “Book of the Rules” for the process provided objective criteria for all partners involved. The book clearly articulated the key principles of social housing and defined the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder as it related to ownership, management, maintenance, and tenancies. Official registration of this document in the local courts guaranteed that future politicians are unable to misuse or sell the units for at least 25 years.

The program also negotiated for the allocation of social housing units to be available at affordable rental rates that were non-profit and below-market. The introduction of this principle promoted dignity among tenants, reduced their dependency on the government, and generated the resources needed to manage and maintain the buildings.

Each family also received a socio-economic card to document, in a transparent manner, whether tenancy candidates meet the eligibility criteria. They have also served as a baseline against which future improvements in household income and standard of living have been compared. Those families who succeed in lifting themselves above the official poverty line have had their rents proportionally readjusted closer to the market rate.

Inclusion of a sustainable livelihood component for each qualifying family entering social housing has also helped them to cover monthly rent/utility payments and to rebuild household assets lost during the war. Livelihood options are informed by the socio-economic cards and tailored to fit the unique capacities, interests, and needs of each family. They included agricultural equipment to re-cultivate cropland, training/support to link up to raspberry, honey, and cucumber value chains, and subsidies to local companies to encourage the hiring of minority returnees.

Another critical dimension of the strategy was creating social linkages and networks between minority returnees and local government authorities, NGOs, and other stakeholders in the communities of return to accompany and facilitate their return and promote long-term stability. Such social support helped these families to address critical questions, such as: Where will my child go to school? How do I access health care with my new status and in my new community? What are my rights to access social support from the state due to age, disability, unemployment, or economic condition?

Likewise, the promotion of mixed-use developments allowed minority returnees, Roma, persons with disabilities, and other marginalized groups to integrate physically, economically, and socially with members of the majority community. In some circumstances, special provisions were made to attract professional and technical cadres,
such as Bosnian-language professors, judicial positions and engineers, for which there was unmet demand in the communities. In all developments, a specially-designed management information system and training in its use aided municipal departments responsible for tenancy selection, building management, and maintenance. The software has four complementary applications that: 1) compile key information and data on all social housing buildings; 2) track rent payment and arrears; 3) organize maintenance schedules; and 4) generate reports needed for municipal, entity, and state-level purposes.

In all aspects of the strategy, CRS focused on alignment with international standards, helping the BiH government to comply with any new requirements associated with possible accession into the European Union at some point in the future.

RESULTS

POLICY INFLUENCE

After initial efforts to establish legislation at the state level stalled as a result of a broader political stalemate, CRS decided to engage key officials at the municipal, canton (district), and entity levels, where there was a political will to develop and pass social housing strategies and legislation. Promising early results led the national BiH government in 2010 to include social housing as a preferred strategy in its Revised Strategy for the Implementation of Annex VII of the Dayton Peace Agreement.² In the following years, the MHRR incorporated social housing as a key strategy in two nationwide programs—the Regional Housing Programme (RHP) and the Council of Europe Development Bank loan initiative (CEB II), through which more than 2,900 social housing units were constructed in order to resettle refugees and successfully close down the country’s remaining collective centers once and for all. The MHRR also adopted CRS’ Social Housing Manual as the official guidance for all municipalities that were participating in these two programs. CRS’s initiative has thus significantly influenced the BiH government’s and the international development community’s understanding of how social housing can be a key strategy in supporting an effective, sustainable return process.

On the municipal level, in 2013, CRS succeeded in helping two cantons (BPK Goražde and Zeničko-dobojski) develop and pass the first ever social housing legislation in the country. Another five municipalities (Srebrenica, Prijedor, Gorazde, Mostar, and Banja Luka) later developed social housing strategies that provide a common framework for all current and new initiatives. Also in 2013, the MHRR incorporated social housing into the second phase of their initiative to support the return and integration of asylum seekers in 10 targeted municipalities and Brcko District. This milestone demonstrates that the BiH Government understands the value of social housing in helping municipalities to address the shelter and livelihoods needs of their most vulnerable citizens. The approach had the additional benefit of helping municipalities provide durable housing solutions for other vulnerable groups, including Roma, readmitted asylum seekers, persons with disabilities, and the elderly.³

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³ http://www.osce.org/odihr/115737?download=true
LEVERAGING SUCCESS FOR FURTHER FUNDING
As well, CRS convinced the Governments of the Netherlands, Switzerland, the U.S., Germany as well as UNCHR and various ministries of the BiH Government to provide financing in support of social housing. By the end of 2014, CRS had directly constructed 273 social housing units, providing safe, dignified living conditions for 762 displaced persons and returnees across nine municipalities around the country. Of these, 48 social housing units in Srebrenica supported the return of 192 displaced persons, notable for happening between 2008-14, a time when the return process had stalled. The majority of the returnees were working-age families and special efforts were made to identify and include returnees with specific technical/professional skills in the tenancy mix. This both helped to create socio-economic diversity and to fill in needed societal gaps in key areas like Bosnian-language professors, judicial positions, and engineers.

POSITIVE OUTCOMES FOR DIRECT BENEFICIARIES
For the families benefiting from social housing the results were significant.

*Increased stability:* 93% of families that signed tenancy contracts are still residing in their social housing units as long as six years later. Of the 7% that are no longer present, over half of them had a positive reason for leaving, e.g. marriage, voluntary emigration, and
securing employment in another town. Only 3% of social housing units were vacant. In a context where 62% of these families had previously been forced to relocate five or more times since the war, this increased stability is an important factor for contributing to the social and economic growth of their communities.

Targeted support: 22% of family members living in the social housing units were under 18 years of age, thus demonstrating the methodology’s effectiveness in attracting the type of young, working-age families needed to revitalize the social and economic conditions of war-affected communities. This result is particularly important in places like Srebrenica, which continues to suffer from a low rate of return.

LESSONS LEARNED
CRS’ experience in BiH offers important lessons for a range of programming in contexts recovering from major shocks, such as large-scale displacement. Critically, social housing must be complemented by economic and social initiatives with the assistance of local government and civil society organizations in order to ensure that minority return and integration is sustainable. And for such programs designed in post conflict situations integrating program and policy elements for social reconciliation are essential for short- and long-term success. This requires understanding and promoting political will among local governing structures.

On the operational side, social housing initiatives are successful when designed, implemented, and maintained in accordance with a common legal and policy framework. Three key principles are:

1. Ownership being clearly defined and enshrined in local government registers and backed by national policy structures.

2. Management and maintenance responsibilities are fully articulated and organized, with responsible entities fully trained in regulations and accountability processes.

3. Eligibility criteria, apartment allocation procedures, and affordable rent for tenants are well defined and communicated from the outset.

The BiH government learned first-hand the risks of omitting one or more of these key components from its own social housing projects, and focusing only on the building construction aspect. In 2013, a study was commissioned to assess the seven social housing buildings (151 units) that had been constructed between 2009-12 using resources from the BiH Return Fund. One key conclusion was that the failure to clearly define issues of ownership, management, maintenance, and tenancies from the outset has resulted in a confusing situation where no one is fulfilling those responsibilities. A second conclusion noted that the lack of legislation and a policy framework governing social housing at the entity, canton, and municipal levels prevents the government and tenants alike from fully realizing benefits. The study recommended that institutional frameworks be developed at the national and local levels, with all social housing buildings financed by the BiH Return Fund then introduced into these frameworks. Various branches of the BiH government have since requested CRS to help them implement each of these recommendations.

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Engaging Government Models to Reach Scale: Social Systems Strengthening for Vulnerable Children in Nigeria

SUMMARY
The HIV health epidemic has orphaned an estimated 17 million of children around the world, of which 90% are in sub-Saharan Africa. In many countries the disease is revealing a general lack of social welfare systems to identify and appropriately serve children who are vulnerable to various health, economic, or social factors. Family and community-members have led the response to provide for the needs of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) with little government support or regulation, putting significant stress on household and family resources, and no safety net to catch children who slip through the cracks. And some see the growing generation, uncared for, having the potential to undermine economic stability and overall security in fragile and conflict-affected states. In countries such as Nigeria, CRS sees a clear need for government to play a stronger role in identification of children and families affected and the services required, coordination of existing efforts and monitoring service quality to ensure improvements. This organizational systems strengthening focus was tested during the five-year (2013-18) SMILE program, Sustainable Mechanisms for Improving Livelihoods and Household Empowerment. The emphasis on government ownership, technical capacity of the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Welfare Department, and innovative public-private partnerships is directly transforming the lives of hundreds of thousands of children and their communities and influencing national policy to ensure the quality, efficiency, coverage, and access of the system for OVCs across Nigeria.

Key Interventions
- SMILE represented a significant shift in CRS-Nigeria’s approach, from service delivery to systems strengthening.
- The essential principle of SMILE is that it leverages local resources to ensure sustainability.

Key Results and Lessons Learned
- CRS built on a strong relationship with one government ministry, developed in an earlier project, including inviting their significant involvement during the design of the SMILE project, and supporting the ministry’s work in developing the national action plan and M&E system during the project.

CRS’ SMILE program in Nigeria worked with government partners to scale up capacity for national information systems in Nigeria. Photo by Laura Roh/CRS.
Key Results and Lessons Learned (continued)

- SMILE supported the ministry to overcome its resource challenges by mentoring government staff in developing state plans and costing such plans for inclusion in budgets, then facilitated the ministry to lead convening other ministries that have a role in ensuring child welfare.

- The program improved capacity for and experience with data-driven decision-making and the public transparency of the online portal, processes replicable for numerous other areas of work in Nigeria.

CHALLENGE

In Nigeria, there are 17.5 million orphans and vulnerable children, out of which HIV has orphaned 2.4 million. The national response, mandated to the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD) was informed by a Rapid Assessment, Analysis and Action Planning Process (RAAAPP) and the National OVC Conference in 2004. Donors and multilaterals, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), encouraged countries affected by HIV, to conduct these activities and develop National Plans of Action, which Nigeria started in 2006. The ministry also developed Guidelines and Standards of Practice for OVC, defining a minimum package of services.

Like many other countries affected by HIV, Nigeria’s vulnerable children were largely being cared for by extended family members and wider community structures. However, the growing demand strained families already living in resource poor environments. Most international and national organizations began responding to the situation of orphans and vulnerable children as part of their activities related to the response to the HIV epidemic. Several organizations were implementing programs to serve vulnerable children through their local partners consisting of direct delivery in six key service areas.

Despite the government plans and vast resources and efforts by donors and NGOS, service delivery was not reaching the large numbers of vulnerable children that required services. Coordination between implementing organizations and government social welfare staff was weak. The ministry was underfunded and largely unable to lead in planning or coordination, having little authority or technical capacity to catalyze the various actors in a collective effort to improve service quality and track vulnerable children and their progress. Prior to 2011, when a new NPA began, most programs only informed ministry staff of their activities, with only a few included them in trainings on care and support targeted at local NGOs.

RESPONSE

CRS has been implementing programs to serve vulnerable children in Nigeria since 2005. The first program focused on service delivery, reaching over 25,000 children through 11 local partners. Then in 2013 CRS launched the Sustainable Mechanisms for Improving Livelihoods and Household Empowerment (SMILE) project, representing a significant shift in approach, from service delivery to systems strengthening. The shift allows the program to meet the needs of considerably more children. While SMILE ensures ongoing service delivery to vulnerable children, the project’s main focus is on strengthening the capacity of government as well as civil society capacity in service of 500,000 children and their families at a scale many times what earlier projects could do through many partners.
An essential principle of SMILE is that it leverages local resources to ensure sustainability. Families take responsibility for their children, helped not by outsiders but by local organizations, government agencies and clinics, and members of the community who share their knowledge, skills and resources. CRS’ approach is to help strengthen this local network of support to be able to continue providing comprehensive services to greater numbers of OVCs long after the project is complete.

CRS partnered with ActionAid, which had success with a previous project working with State Action Committees Against AIDS (SACA) in Nigeria. Based on this experience, CRS seconded staff to each state office of the MWASD strengthening key systems within the ministry and playing an insider role in moving the project’s agenda forward. The project conducted organizational capacity assessments, created organizational development plans, and conducted training and on-the-job support in the areas of human resource management, planning, budgeting, coordination of civil society, monitoring, and information management.

SMILE depends on a strong relationship with MWASD, developed in its earlier project. It engaged the Ministry during project design and was involved in the ministry’s work in developing the national action plan and M&E system. Thus, a key objective of the SMILE project was to build upon the existing efforts of the Ministry in developing key systems and structures for strengthening service delivery to vulnerable children.

SOCIAL WELFARE WORKFORCE

During the design of SMILE, CRS conducted quick assessments of the state MWASD offices and identified significant gaps in human resources at the local government levels. Some local governments had no assigned staff and there was negligible presence of the ministry in the communities to support service delivery to vulnerable children. CRS addressed these gaps by partnering with the American International Health Alliance (AIHA) in a multi-month training and field practicum approach to strengthen the capacity of community volunteers and social welfare officers at local government level. Trainees spend two-weeks learning, then in six-month field practicums, and a final two-week training before certification as para-social workers. The program is delivered through qualified state level polytechnics and CRS and partners advocate with state governments to ensure integration of the para-social workers as part of the social welfare service delivery workforce.
PLANNING AND BUDGETING
SMILE worked with state-level MWASD teams to conduct rapid situation assessments on the needs of vulnerable children in each state that informed prioritizing locations and areas for service delivery. The project supported the Ministry to overcome its resource challenges by mentoring government staff in developing state plans and costing them for inclusion in budgets. The project team also supported the Ministry to conduct internal advocacy to justify the allocation of funds towards child welfare services.

COORDINATION
Through a multi-sector approach, SMILE has supported the Ministry in taking the lead to convene the other ministries that have a role in ensuring the welfare of the child. All five SMILE states have active, functional State Quality Improvement (QI) Teams as well as QI Teams in each of the 42 local governments now leading coordination of service delivery and quality monitoring based on set national standards. The integrated teams meet monthly creating a strong voice on key issues related to OVCs.

CHILD RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT
Since launching in 2013, SMILE supported the domestication of the national Child Rights Act. Once domesticated, the project strengthened and re-established Child Protection Networks in the states that led child rights advocacy and case management at different levels. Higher Level Committees, consisting of Permanent Secretaries and Directors, were also established as policy level structures in the states. Through that effort, SMILE is working with the MWASD to help train judges, assessors, and local police who work directly with those children within the state, educating them on how to protect kids from further damage as they go through the legal process.

DATA SYSTEMS AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT
Before SMILE, USAID had supported MWASD to develop and adopt the National OVC Management of Information System (NOMIS), designed to track the services children were receiving. SMILE supported the deployment of NOMIS software and provided technical support for its use to state-level MWASD.

RESULTS
SMILE has made substantial progress strengthening the government’s role and capacity in its first three and a half years of implementation. As the project re-assessed state MWASD (and their LGAs), there was measureable improvement in capacity.

The 2013 organizational capacity assessments established baseline data, followed by annual midline assessments of the state MWASD and the local government areas. Eight key systems domains were assessed: Staffing and Human Resource Management, Resource Mobilization and Financial

‘What SMILE has been able to do along with the government is to identify gaps in our capacity, like report writing and record keeping, and because of that we have seen many changes. We are now are now able to identify and address areas of need.”
- Abari N. Aboki, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development in Nassarawa State
Management, M&E and Knowledge Management, Governance, Procurement, Planning, Physical Infrastructure Management System, Multi-sectoral Coordination and Facilitation and Supervision and Oversight of Standards.

The midline organizational capacity assessment results from the state ministries shows that all five project states recorded progress across organizational systems and procedures. Significant improvement attributable to technical support by SMILE, was recorded across domains that were poorly rated at the baseline stage. The scores appreciated substantially due to the activities introduced by SMILE and executed by SMWSD to address the capacity gaps, with the most dramatic improvement showing in the planning domain. Despite this advancement, it should be noted that across almost all the domains in most states, there are still capacity gaps especially in Resource Mobilization and Financial Management, M&E and Knowledge Management Governance, Staffing and Human Resource Management and Physical Infrastructure Management System.²

Across the LGAs there was also significant improvement in the capacity of local councils to manage and implement OVC programs as illustrated in Figure 1 below. The LGAs average score increased from 21% to 34% in just the first assessment.

² Taken from draft SMILE midterm evaluation report. Publication expected September 2018

Figure 1: LGA Baseline-Midline Scores
The QI Team collaboration with other ministries has been critical to bolster the MWASD’s effectiveness by leveraging resources and political buy-in from other ministries. Examples of success in collaboration are reflected in the implementation of a child rights act and strengthening of child protection networks in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice. Another example is the increase in birth registration in collaboration with the National Population Commission.

**LESSONS LEARNED**

In spite of the noticeable improvement at the local offices of the MWASD, assessments thus far show that VC programs were not a priority in most of the local governments as they lacked specific offices for child development or a budget line for vulnerable children activities (these were subsumed under social welfare and general assistance). There were also no articulated VC plans at the local level. Efforts are underway to continually build the capacity of the LGAs staff to respond adequately, using service standards and national guidelines to respond to vulnerable children issues in the local government.

The majority of these results are evident only in the SMILE states of operation and even among them, some states have demonstrated greater political will and capacity to adopt new measures and apply systems and processes that have been introduced by the project.
BROADER APPLICATIONS

The SMILE project learned from CRS’ global experience in strengthening social service systems. In Vietnam, CRS developed the network model at the provincial level with the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), which has been improving access to service delivery for children affected by HIV since 2008. After piloting and assessments, in 2014 MOLISA included the network model in the National Plan of Action (NPA) for children affected by HIV, requiring implementation by all provinces. Following this rapid uptake, provinces are now being trained, receiving technical guidelines and accompaniment. CRS is also working with MOLISA to develop a national set of indicators to measure the implementation of the NPA, with published guidance on data collection, training of hundreds of provincial and district social welfare staff (who train community staff), and the establishment of a database. CRS also developed social work training curriculum focusing on children in need (particularly those affected by HIV/AIDS). More than 3,000 social work students have used the curriculum. To date, nearly 3,000 children were served in all eight piloting provinces.

CRS is also paying close attention to the implementation details of SMILE for broader application, including to existing social service systems strengthening programs like in Vietnam, and to new initiatives. One example in Cameroon, the Key Interventions to Develop Systems and Services for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (KIDSS) project, with funding through 2019, is the result of a partnership with the Ministry of Public Health.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR ENGAGING GOVERNMENT IN SYSTEMS STRENGTHENING

Based on SMILE’s success thus far, lessons include:

• The need for CRS to invest in long-term relationship development and engagement with a key ministry so programming can build on proven results achieved through collaboration.

• The importance of inter-ministerial coordination and CRS’s role catalyzing and facilitating to promote integration and a holistic approach to household support and poverty alleviation. CRS sees lessons and impact of this approach beyond the health sector, with other engaging government case studies exploring relevance in agriculture, emergency programming, peacebuilding, and others.

• The utility of identifying key areas of institutional support, some of which will be common and others of which will be context specific. In Nigeria, this included human resources, data, planning, and budgeting.

• The limitations of political realities necessitates specific skills. In Nigeria, these included navigating and managing contradictory incentive structures and identifying political will as criteria of location choice.
Using Scientific Evidence to Link Private and Public Sectors in the Planning Process

OBSERVATIONS FROM COFFEE-SECTOR ENGAGEMENT IN NARIÑO, COLOMBIA

ABSTRACT

Coffee farming is an important source of income for an estimated 40,000 farming families in the Department of Nariño in southwestern Colombia. Nariño is widely recognized as one of the world’s leading origins of fine coffee, as measured by both the subjective preferences of leading specialty coffee companies and the objective standards of Nariño’s Denomination of Origin. Despite the commercial success of Nariño’s coffee in the marketplace, household-level data collected by CRS and CIAT suggest that most of Nariño’s coffee farmers likely live in poverty, and recent investments of public resources to help growers create and capture additional value have not achieved their poverty-reduction goals.

This case study describes how a participatory multi-stakeholder planning process in Nariño’s coffee sector in 2012-2013, facilitated by credible third parties, succeeded in both introducing results-based evidence into the decision-making process and aligning the interests of the public sector, private sector and civil society around a shared strategy to increase the sector’s competitiveness. That strategy formed the basis of both a new policy approach toward the coffee sector and significant new public investment in the coffee sector that involves key actors from the public, private and non-profit sectors.

The process documented here is worthy of careful consideration by policymakers and private-sector firms interested in channeling scarce public resources toward market-responsive poverty-reduction investments, development agencies seeking to contribute to lasting impact in the field and research institutes seeking high-leverage applications of scientific evidence.

CONTEXT

Agroecological conditions in the Department of Nariño, Colombia, are ideal for producing two high-value crops with stimulant properties: coca and coffee. Since 2007, Nariño has been the leading coca-producing department in Colombia, and production has increased annually over each of the past three years despite the government’s commitment to eradication.1 Coca production, processing and transport in Nariño are both the cause and effect of the presence of armed actors in the department, both legal and illegal.

These include units of the Colombian Army, two guerrilla movements—the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia and the Ejército de Liberación Nacional—and bacrimes, short for bandas criminales, devoted to various illicit activities. Violence between and among these actors displaced more than 80,000 people in Nariño between 2008 and 2010. Many of those displaced fled from the low-lying areas on Nariño’s Pacific Coast where coca thrives to communities at higher elevations in Nariño’s Andean region where some of the world’s finest coffee is grown.

The coffee-growing municipalities of northern Nariño have been affected by violence both directly and indirectly: some have been the scene of violence that has displaced smallholder farmers while others have seen smallholders displaced by violence elsewhere arrive in search of a new start. All of this occurs in the context of widespread poverty: in 2012, coffee growers in Nariño had a 53% probability of falling below the national poverty line, and farmed, on average, less than one hectare of coffee. To complicate matters even further, market conditions are uncertain, climatic conditions are progressively changing and risk factors will potentially increase in coming decades.

Against this backdrop, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) introduced the Borderlands Coffee Project in Nariño in 2011 with support from the Howard G. Buffett Foundation and in partnership with the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) and a range of local institutions. The project is working to facilitate inclusive value chains that unlock coffee’s potential as a licit strategy to increase family incomes, reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for smallholder coffee farmers in Nariño.

Borderlands is a five-year initiative (2011-2016). It is coordinated by CRS and implemented by three local partners in Nariño: Fundación Carcafé, a non-profit organization related to the Colombian coffee exporter Carcafé, the Pastoral Social of the Catholic Diocese of Ipiales (Cáritas Ipiales) and the Pastoral Social of the Catholic Diocese of Pasto (Cáritas Pasto). The project serves 1,600 smallholder coffee-growing families in eight municipalities.

Its overall goal of increasing household incomes is anchored by efforts to expand smallholder access to high-value segments of the coffee market and consolidate inclusive coffee value chains. The project also invests in efforts to diversify farm production, smooth income streams, and improve the adaptive capacity of households confronting climate change. Finally, the project features a multi-faceted collaboration with CIAT aimed at improving outcomes for project participants and generating results-based evidence that improves decision-making on the farm, in the policymaking process and in the industry. This “research for influence” collaboration between CIAT and CRS has delivered technical and scientific information to key regional actors in the public and private sectors to inform their decision-making in the coffee sector and facilitated a cross-sector planning process that achieved broad alignment among multiple actors on shared strategies to make Nariño’s coffee sector more competitive. The Government of Nariño not only adopted those strategies as public policy toward the coffee sector, but it also invested COP $13.538.084.954 (approximately US$4.5 million as of this writing) to support the implementation of those strategies to strengthen the coffee value chain and COP $1.7 trillion (approximately US$567 million as of this writing) in related projects including road infrastructure, irrigation, and food security.

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3 According to the reports made by the Departmental Coffee Growers Committees to the National Congress; see years 2009 to 2013 at www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/es/quienes_somos/publicaciones/
Key Messages

• Participatory processes and facilitated dialogue can improve policy and support the efficient use of scarce public resources for poverty reduction by introducing results-based evidence into the decision-making process. Platforms for cross-sector engagement, whether temporary or permanent, can be effective in achieving alignment between the public sector, private sector and civil society on sectoral plans.

• The development of policies and project interventions based on multidimensional analyses of production systems is essential for optimizing the impact of public and private investments. Such analysis permits efforts to optimize outcomes across multiple categories of impact (economic, environmental, social) and over time.

• Partnership between research institutes and development agencies rooted in an “intent to influence” hold the potential to help both be more effective: by contributing to public policies based on technical and scientific evidence, research institutes can leverage the public goods they create through their research for broad impact; by contributing to more inclusive public policies, development agencies whose projects may have limited numbers of direct participants can achieve “lower-intensity” impact at a much larger scale.

• Multi-stakeholder engagement in the development and adoption of sectoral plans was effective in this case due to the ability of the facilitation agents, the perception of their credibility among participants in the process, their status as disinterested actors and their ability to support and inform decision-making through the provision of results-based evidence. The swift adoption of the measures recommended by participants in this process, and public financing to implement those measures, was due to the existence of an enabling environment in Nariño open to cross-sector collaboration and results-based evidence.

• The most effective interventions in the coffee sector will be customized for different growers based on farmer typology and the agroecological, economic and social variables of different geographies. Of particular importance in developing differentiated interventions are rigorous baseline surveys, careful value-chain analyses and qualified technical assessments of the suitability of specific communities for the production of coffee in general and high-quality coffee in particular.

• New types of institutional organization and governance structures may be needed to develop strategies for adequately managing the risks and threats related to climatic variability and climate change, which will affect crop production in coffee-growing zones. It is important to note for policymaking purposes that these impacts will be geographically differentiated across communities based on environmental variables, production system and livelihood strategies; effective policies will be customized for different segments of the population. The reasons for which the Government of Nariño failed to include provisions for climate change adaptation in its coffee-sector investments despite funding all other aspects recommended by this process must be further analyzed. Preliminary analysis suggests it may be a function of misaligned time horizons, including the long time horizons of projected in changes in coffee suitability on one hand and the short time horizons of electoral and policymaking processes on the other.
Within the Borderlands project’s “research-for-influence” framework (Figure 1, column C), CRS and CIAT joined efforts with the Government of Nariño (GON) and diverse local institutions (Figure 1, column B) with the objective of developing a strategy to improve the competitiveness and inclusiveness of the department’s coffee chain. The process focused on improving incomes for smallholder coffee growers by taking advantage of the coffee chain’s latent potential and overcoming its limitations. Participating local institutions included: the Agency for Local Development in Nariño (ADEL); Fundación Carcafé, a non-profit organization related to the Colombian coffee exporter Carcafé; the National Coffee Growers Federation (FNC), which was represented by its Departmental Committee for Nariño; the Pastoral Social of the Catholic Diocese of Ipiales (Cáritas Ipiales); the Pastoral Social of the Catholic Diocese of Pasto (Cáritas Pasto); Suyusama, a rural development institute run by a Catholic religious order, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits; and farmer associations from different coffee-growing regions of Nariño.

For this project, CRS also created a private-sector advisory body called the Borderlands Advisory Council (Figure 1, column D), comprised of six U.S.-based specialty coffee companies that deliver best-in-class market-based advisory services to project staff, partners and participants while supporting its commercial objectives through the purchase of coffee from project participants. The activities of the Borderlands Advisory Council may also be considered part of the project’s influence over public policy and spending. The project brought members of the Advisory Council into direct contact with policymakers as part of their annual visits to origin, during which they were able to offer perspectives and issue recommendations on ways to more effectively foster the creation of a competitive and inclusive coffee sector. CIAT and CRS will analyze the Borderlands Advisory Council construct more thoroughly in a separate and forthcoming policy brief, including sections on lessons learned and recommendations.

Immediately prior to the start of the Borderlands project, GON had adopted as a matter of public policy the Agreement on Competitiveness of the Coffee Production Chain, embodied in public guideline no. 2 of 30 March 2011. The policy calls for the establishment of a Regulating Council, comprised of representatives of local institutions involved in the coffee sector and charged with advising the government on policies that would make the region’s coffee value chain more competitive. The Agreement calls explicitly for the participation of diverse actors from the region’s coffee sector. GON, in other words, had already created a general enabling environment for cross-sector collaboration processes by the time Borderlands began and called more specifically for such a process in the coffee sector (Figure 1, column A).

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4 A strategy for competitiveness comprises a group of activities planned and executed with the active participation of the diverse actors of a chain. The goal is to achieve common objectives, around which are articulated one or more business organizations and interest groups, with their focus broadened to the production chain. This strategy is executed across the short, medium, and long term; and, depending on the analyses of the production chain’s critical points, can be directed at development and research on production operations, postharvest handling and processing, marketing, and business organization. Thus, competitiveness is improved (Lundy et al. 2004), available at https://cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/53983/Diseno_estrategias_aumentar_competitividad_cadenas_productivas.pdf.
TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO SECTORAL PLANNING

CIAT and CRS used three separate tools and processes to support decision-making in the development of these public policies. First, the collection of detailed household-level data through a rigorous baseline survey of smallholder coffee growers included both farmers participating in the Borderlands project and non-participants.

Second, the facilitation of a participatory value chain analysis involved key actors from the public, private and nonprofit sectors. This process assessed the current state of the coffee sector in Nariño, identified key constraints and opportunities, and advanced recommendations to make the sector more competitive and inclusive. The key results of the baseline survey were shared as part of the participatory coffee sector planning process, and contributed significantly to a clear and shared understanding of the current situation of coffee growers in Nariño.

Third, the generation of up-to-date analysis of potential climate change impacts on the agriculture sector supported decision-making on the farm and in the policy process.
THE HOUSEHOLD-LEVEL BASELINE SURVEY

Colombia’s coffee institutions report that 39,423 families in the Department of Nariño is currently work 56,000 coffee farms covering about 39,000 ha. These findings suggest an average area of 0.7 ha per coffee farm, meaning that most coffee growers in this region are smallholders.

The Borderlands baseline survey was designed to complement these department-level data and deliver more precise figures for the eight municipalities in which the project is being implemented: Buesaco, Chachagüi, El Tambo, La Florida, La Unión, Linares, Samaniego and Taminango. According to the National Coffee Census of 2012, the total population of coffee growers in those eight municipalities was 14,414. Of these, 1,597 were project participants at the time the baseline was designed.

Interviews were conducted with 510 farmers for the baseline survey. Of these, 228 were participants in the Borderlands project and 282 were non-participants. The 110-question interview was divided into the following thematic sections: geographic location, family composition, connectivity, level of poverty, food security, farm characterization, non-coffee-based income and production, services, access to capital, coffee production system, coffee sales, and division of labor. The data collected represented baseline values for key performance indicators the project is tracking to measure its own progress, as well as data being mined in connection with the project’s research agenda.

The baseline survey led to the identification of three distinct types of farmers growing coffee based on their principal livelihood strategies. These were categorized as: (1) off-farm income-earners: rural-dwelling families that derive most of their income from off-farm activities, including non-agricultural activities; (2) diversified farmers whose income is generated through a range of agricultural activities including coffee-growing; and (3) coffee specialists whose income comes primarily from coffee marketing.

The off-farm income group (32% of farmers) is made up of households whose main source of income comes from agricultural wages earned off the farm, including non-agricultural income, self-owned businesses, public transfers, and remittances. For off-farm income households, 85% of income comes from non-coffee sources, making them less vulnerable to the income impacts of loss of coffee suitability due to climate change. This group has the smallest average farm size at 1.66 ha and the lowest income of the three groups.

The diversified coffee farmer group (51%) comprises households where most of the income comes from livestock production, agriculture, and coffee. Diversified coffee farmers derive 45% of their income from coffee and have a 53% chance of falling below the national poverty line. Farmers in this group are also the most exposed to climate change, with a 27% decline in the climatic suitability for coffee.

The coffee specialist group (17%) corresponds to households whose income derives mostly from coffee, with more than 65% of land devoted to the crop and more than 10 years of experience in coffee growing, and possessing their own wet-processing

equipment (Vellema et al. 2015). The coffee specialist group has a 45% probability of falling below the national poverty line\(^6\) (Table 1). Coffee specialists are more exposed to fluctuations in the international price of coffee than that of the other farmer types since they depend on coffee for 74% of their income, on average. However, this group also has the opportunity to take advantage of the farm’s total area for climate adaptation as it possesses the largest average farm size at 2.32 ha.

The high rates of probability that farmers in each group fell below the poverty line (45%-52%) suggest that the region’s coffee sector is not effectively creating pathways out of poverty for smallholder farmers. Similarly disconcerting is the presence of food scarcity across all three groups. Baseline data collected on months of adequate household food provisioning (MAHFP) suggest very little difference on average across the three groups, with the highest average of months of food scarcity (2.05 for diversified farmers) differing relatively little from those of the other groups (2.02 for off-farm income and 1.85 for specialized coffee farmers).

See Table 1 for a summary of key data points for each of these three farmer types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FARMER TYPE</th>
<th>Off-farm income (32%)</th>
<th>Diversified farmers (51%)</th>
<th>Coffee Specialists (17%)</th>
<th>AVERAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Farm Size (ha)</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Area Planted with Coffee</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Production per Farm (kg CPS)</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average % of Income From:</td>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-coffee Sources</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOME + WELLBEING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Income from Coffee ($ COP)</td>
<td>1,504,312</td>
<td>5,554,757</td>
<td>11,800,000</td>
<td>5,322,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probability of Falling Below Poverty Line</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP)</td>
<td>9.98</td>
<td>9.95</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>9.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLIMATE CHANGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Farms Likely to Lose Suitability for Coffee Production</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Summary of key data points from Borderlands baseline survey, by farmer type. These findings were used by Nariño’s Mesa de Café as it worked from 2012-2013 to develop a competitiveness strategy for the region’s coffee sector and continues to inform policy in Nariño vis-à-vis the coffee sector.

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6 According to DANE, in 2013, the percentage of poverty in Colombia was 30.6% (www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/condiciones_vida/pobreza/cp_pobreza_13.pdf).
PARTICIPATORY VALUE CHAIN ANALYSES

In 2012, GON convened the Mesa de Café, a cross-sector working group charged with identifying and analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in the region’s coffee sector, and issuing concrete recommendations to make the sector more competitive. The Mesa de Café included delegates from: the Carcafé Foundation; Cáritas Ipiales; Cáritas Pasto; CRS; the Departmental Committee for Nariño of the National Coffee Growers Federation, GON, the Local Development Agency of Nariño (ADEL); Suyusama; and farmer organizations.

CIAT facilitated the work of the group using a methodology called Participatory Analysis of the Chain (Lundy et al. 2004) it had previously developed for multi-stakeholder processes. This process is summarized in Figure 1, column B. Through 10 separate multi-stakeholder meetings over a period of six months, and with support from CRS and Borderlands project partners, CIAT helped the Mesa de Café generate the inputs for what would become the Nariño Coffee Value Chain Competitiveness Strategy.

This process of participatory analysis involving multiple value-chain actors and other relevant stakeholders led to deep alignment among participants around the identification of five principal weaknesses of the Nariño coffee chain:

1. **Low productivity** due to deficient production infrastructure, weak farm-level business management, poor adaptability of existing research to conditions of Nariño, and lack of management of climatic risks;

2. **Inconsistent quality** due to deficient production processes, lack of standardized processing procedures, limited financial incentives for quality from buyers, and the farmers’ own confusion around what constitutes coffee quality;

3. **Limited market contacts** due to low segmentation of current coffee sales and a lack of information on existing and potential market channels;

4. **Inadequate road infrastructure** due to limited public resources and limited sectoral or citizen lobbying for appropriation of public resources for transportation infrastructure upgrades; and

5. **Weak farmer organizations** due to a lack of leadership skills, inadequate training and support schemes by local institutions and NGOs, outdated commercialization models, and little clarity as to what skills a competitive producer organization should have.

This process contributed to important outputs in the public policy process.

The Mesa de Café developed the Nariño Coffee Value Chain Competitiveness Strategy to address these five limitations on the efficiency and inclusion of the Nariño coffee sector. That strategy was presented to leaders in the public sector, the private sector, non-profit organizations and farmer associations, and embraced by GON as a blueprint for the development of the region’s coffee sector. It also informed the design and budget of Strengthening the value chain for high-quality coffee in the Department of Nariño (Figure 1, column A), a project that invests COP $13.538.084.954 (approximately US$4.5
million as of this writing) in public resources to operationalize the approach advanced by the Competitiveness Strategy. The collaborative work led by CIAT, specifically the cross-sector alignment on the measures proposed in the coffee sector competitiveness plan, contributed to the approval of the proposal. The project is being implemented by a consortium of local organizations in Nariño under the leadership of CRS, including ADEL, Cáritas Ipiales, Cáritas Pasto, Cornell University, FNC, GON, Suyusama and Universidad de Nariño.

Furthermore, the actors convened by the Mesa de Café contributed on the basis of the insights generated through this process to the development of a public policy approved by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADR) and the Presidency of the Republic. This document, known as CONPES 3811, was generated by the National Council for Economic and Social Policy (CONPES) for the development of the agriculture and livestock sector in Nariño, and includes investment in the coffee sector that builds on the technical and scientific evidence introduced into the process in Nariño through the CIAT-CRS partnership.

CONPES 3811 calls for investments over a five-year period of COP$1.7 trillion from the budget of the Government of Colombia, COP$108,000 million by the Government of Nariño, and more than COP$375,000 million from the federal government’s program for collecting and redistributing receipts from concessions in the energy sector. These resources will be invested in the creation of credit facilities for rural capitalization, road infrastructure, irrigation systems, and food security.

MODELING IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

CIAT researchers combined global climate models with digital elevation maps and crop models to generate models of climatic suitability for coffee, cassava, beans, maize, plantain, and sugarcane for the years 2020 and 2050. The five non-coffee crops were selected by the Mesa de Café because of their importance to local food security. The modeling was carried out under a “business-as-usual” scenario under which no greenhouse gas emissions mitigation measures are taken. This modeling was also undertaken for a scenario with no adaptation. Climatic suitability for a given crop was estimated by using an algorithm for modeling potential species distributions (MaxEnt), recorded with geographic coordinates that indicated sites carrying the crops (coordinate references taken from the project’s baseline) and environmental variables of the study area.

The model found that most farms had a level of climatic suitability of more than 50% for coffee by 2050 (Figure 2), which is positive in that it shows that the farms had more than a 50% favorability for coffee production in environmental terms. The modeling for 2050 showed that the potential area of climatic suitability for coffee would rise in altitude to as much as 2500 m above sea level (masl), with the appearance of new suitable zones through increases in temperatures.

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7 A climatic suitability model shows a suitability index (between 0 and 100) for a given crop under the specific climatic conditions of a given study site.
Despite the possible gains in high-elevation zones (>2100 masl), net loss of area for 2050 could be a little more than 50%, as observed in Figure 3. This would affect almost 25% of current coffee farms in the department. This is equivalent to about 10,000 of the more than 40,000 coffee growers who live in the area, according to the 2013 National Coffee Congress.

The group of diversified coffee farmers (Table 1) may suffer the highest loss of climatic suitability for coffee production with at 27% reduction. However, this group may also have the most capacity to respond when adapting to climate change because they possess the largest farms and are less exposed to coffee suitability reductions since roughly 50% of their incomes come from non-coffee-production activities. The coffee-specialist group may suffer the least loss of suitable area (at only 13%), compared with the other groups (Table 1). Increases in suitable cropping areas are also projected for the five crops grown in association (and important for food security in the coffee-growing region). Sugarcane
and maize would each gain an extra 20% or more in suitability, while cassava would gain 33% or more. Plantain and beans both maintain present suitability levels, with potential increases of less than 5% each (Figure 3).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC POLICIES FOR THE COFFEE SECTOR

The process described in this case is worthy of careful consideration among research institutes and development agencies, and may show a new way forward for collaboration to achieve influence at scale and contribute to improved, more inclusive public sector policies and spending priorities.

INTENT TO INFLUENCE: SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION FOR DECISION-SUPPORT

The process described above was part of an intentional effort by CIAT and CRS to support and influence decision-making on the farm, in the policymaking process and in the marketplace through the generation and delivery of results-based evidence to key coffee-sector stakeholders. The Borderlands Coffee Project’s “research-for-influence” agenda was designed to enlist technical and scientific evidence in the promotion of more inclusive practices and policies at each of the levels mentioned above. The project’s success in exerting influence over public policy and spending priorities for Nariño’s coffee sector amplified the project’s reach from the 1,600 smallholder farming families who participate in the project directly to affect the entire population of coffee growers in Nariño, who number around 40,000. At a time of dwindling investment in development programming, pairing field-based operations with “research-for-influence” partnerships could position development agencies to contribute to broad-based impact even at a time of declining investment in the sector.

A-B-C-D-E-F: ABLE, CREDIBLE, DISINTERESTED AND EVIDENCE-BASED FACILITATION

The success of the process described here was driven by the fact that its facilitation was perceived by key stakeholders as being: able: possessing the skills necessary to effectively facilitate constructive cross-sector engagement; credible: perceived as having expertise and substantive understanding of the content on which the process focused; disinterested: lacking any financial or vested institutional interest in any particular outcome besides a clear commitment to inclusion; and evidence-based: driven by technical and scientific findings generated through rigorous and participatory processes.

FARMER TYPOLOGIES: CUSTOMIZED APPROACHES FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF FARMERS

The Borderlands project team identified three discrete farmer typologies through the project’s baseline survey and analysis—specialized coffee farmers, diversified farmers who grow coffee and rural-dwellers who rely primarily on off-farm activities for income generation but also grow coffee. Each of these groups allocates resources—principally labor, time and resources—differently across a range of activities, with different levels of efficiency in each of those activities, including coffee farming. Public policies aiming at poverty reduction in the coffee sector should reflect the differences between farmer
types in their efforts to maximize net income of farmers in the coffee sector. Effective interventions will be adapted to the conditions of each farmer group.

CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION: SUITABILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

The Borderlands project team identified “winner” and “loser” crops—agricultural products that gain and lose suitability over time under likely climate change scenarios. Effective adaptation strategies for smallholder farmers currently growing coffee will take these crop-specific projections into account.

Staple crops including beans and plantain may continue to have the same degree of climatic suitability they currently do in coffee-growing regions, making continued cultivation of these high-nutrient crops viable in the study area.

Sugarcane may increase in suitability in the coffee-growing areas covered by the study, creating the possibility of an increase in the supply of products such as panela, a shelf-stable processed sweetener created from sugar cane through a light-industrial process. To fully capitalize on increased production of sugar cane, improvements to panela processing infrastructure and a comprehensive marketing strategy should be developed and directed primarily at consumers in Nariño and markets in neighboring departments.

Maize gain may more suitability in the coffee-growing region, and could help to smooth family income if it is planned for harvest or stored for sale during seasons when prices are more stable and products are better-remunerated. Cassava may also gain more suitability, improving access to this carbohydrate-rich food.

Studies involving simulations of climate change and rigorous soil mapping in zones that will suffer significant reductions of suitability for coffee can be crossed with information from studies of national and international markets to identify crops in the current coffee-growing region of southern Colombia that combine agronomic suitability and market opportunity.

In all scenarios involving changes in land-use patterns, careful consideration must be given to ecological impacts, especially in the case of transition away from shade-grown coffee to annual or short-cycle crops grown in full exposure to the sun, and in the case of any crops planted on steep hillsides. Soil degradation, soil erosion, loss of soil organic matter, loss of soil fertility, reduction of greenwater resources and sedimentation of bluewater resources are all likely negative effects of such transitions, especially in the absence of explicit soil and water conservation and management efforts.8

SMARTER AGRONOMIC EXTENSION AND PROGRAMMING: AGROECOLOGICAL SUITABILITY FOR QUALITY-BASED DIFFERENTIATION

Environmental or agroecological variables were shown to be critical determinants of the suitability of a particular farm for coffee production. They are also important determinants of a farm’s ability to produce coffee with the specific sensory or organoleptic attributes sought in high-value segments of the coffee market. The identification of distinct agroecological or environmental niches with different levels of suitability for quality-based differentiation and would position public-sector service providers for more “intelligent” approaches to agronomic extension and programming in the coffee sector.

8 The original and full version of this case study, including acknowledgements and further reading, can be found at http://coffeelands.crs.org/2012/09/302-the-water-footprint-of-your-coffee/