

RWANDA

SECTOR BUDGET SUPPORT FOR ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES
CRIS CODE: DCI-ENV/2009/021-553

AUGUST 2021

www.gcca.eu



List of Acronyms

AAP Annual Action Programme

AF Action Fiche
CC Climate Change

CRIS Common Relex Information System
DCI Development Cooperation Instrument

DFID Department for International Development (UK)

EDF European Development Fund

EDPRS Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy

ENV Environment European Union

EUD European Union Delegation

EUR Euro

FA Financing Agreement

FA/TAPS Financing Agreement / Technical and Administrative Provisions

GCCA Global Climate Change Alliance

GDP Gross Domestic Product

Geographical Information System

GoR Government of Rwanda

IREMBO Government to Citizen e-Service portal

LAS Land Adminstration System

Land Administration Information System

LTR(SP) Land Tenure Regularisation (Support Programme)

LTRP Land Tenure Regularisation Programme
LUCP Land Use Consolidation Programme

MINECOFIN Ministry of Finances and Economic Planning

MINIRENA Ministry of Natural Resources

MTR Mid-Term Review

M&E Monitoring and EvaluationNAO National Authorizing OfficeNGO Non-Governmental Organisation

OVerall Objective

PCG Premier Consulting Group

REDD Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation

REMA Rwanda Environment Management Authority
RLMUA Rwanda Land Management and Use Authority

RNRA Rwanda Natural Resources Authority

RWF Rwandan Franc SBS Sector Budget Support

SIDA Swedish International Development Agency

SO Specific Objective

SPENR Strategic Plan for Environment and Natural Resources

TA Technical Assistance / Technical Assistant

UK United Kingdom

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Agency for International Cooperation

USD American Dollar

VUP Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme

WB World Bank



I. Project Details and Outputs Delivered

PROJECT TITLE: Sector Budget Support (SBS) for Environment and Natural Resources "Global Climate

Change Alliance - GCCA"1

CRIS Code: DCI-ENV/2009/021-553

AAP Year: DATE OF COMPLETION: **DURATION:**

2009 48 months² starting with the 04/20124

signature of the Financing Agreement (FA)³ s

TOTAL PROJECT COST: 49,295,000 EUR

GCCA ALLOCATION: 4,555,000 EUR

The GCCA allocation was deposited (as budget support) in a multi-donor basket fund for the implementation of the Government's Land Tenure Regularisation (LTR) programme. DFID was the main donor and leading partner; the other partners that contributed were SIDA and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The GCCA allocation amounted to about 9% of the total programme cost and the Government of Rwanda (GoR) covered about 10% of the total cost.5

Disbursed in one fixed tranche of 2.3M EUR and one variable tranche of 2.255M EUR

AID MODALITY:

Direct non-targeted Sector Budget Support (SBS)

MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS:

- Financing Agreement with the Government of Rwanda (GoR)
- Centralised Management

The link with CC, and hence the rationale for GCCA support to the national LTR programme, was based on the assumption that the negative impacts of CC on agricultural productivity could be offset by increased investments in soil conservation and irrigation. However, without firm land rights, it was reckoned that farmers would be reluctant to make such investments. Security of tenure and land registration, on the other hand, would engender sustainable use of land as the holders would have an incentive to care for the land on which their rights are firmly protected. Furthermore, the certificates of title issued at registration would be accompanied by land use conditions that landholders were obliged to comply with. These conditions were critical, particularly in fragile areas such as wetlands and steep slopes.

The ongoing land reforms aimed to put in place an efficient, transparent and equitable system of land administration nationwide to improve land tenure security. The reforms would facilitate economic transformation both in rural and urban areas and contribute to economic development by enabling Rwandans to transfer their land assets and encourage change in land use to support development. They would also encourage good land use practices, sustainable natural resource management, contribute to land conflict management, and prepare the country for the impact of global climate change.

A 2009 study on the economics of CC in Rwanda found that CC will likely cost 1% of the GDP per year by 2030, taking toll on agricultural production, energy generation, water resource management and public health.

⁴ In practice, the operational implementation phase ran from 12/5/2010 to 04/04/2012

¹ The GCCA action was identified in 2009 and designed to support the implementation of the national Land Tenure Regularisation (LTR) programme. The LTR programme built on previous programmes that were initiated following the adoption of the National Land Policy in 2004 and of the Organic Land Law (2005) which set out new arrangements for land tenure and titling, for land administration and for guidance on land use and land development.

² With an operational implementation phase of 24 months and a closure phase of 24 months

³ The Financing Agreement was signed on 9 April 2010

⁵ The Development Partners' support to the Rwanda Natural Resources Authority commenced in the first quarter of 2010 and was scheduled to conclude in the first quarter of 2015.



GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE:

Nationwide in the 30 districts, 416 sectors and 2146 cells.

MAIN STAKEHOLDERS AND BENEFICIARIES:

- Contracting Authority: the Ministry of Finances and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN), acting as the National Authorizing Office (NAO)
- Implementing Agency: The agency in charge of the implementation of the Land Tenure Regularisation (LTR) programme was the Rwanda Natural Resources Authority (RNRA). RNRA was supported by a Technical Assistance (TA) team provided by a consortium consisting of HTSPE (UK) (lead), Premier Consulting Group (PCG) (Rwanda) and Matrix (Kenya).
- The implementation of the LTR programme was overseen by the Ministry of Natural Resources (MINIRENA), responsible for programme guidance as well as monitoring and evaluation. In this capacity, MINIRENA was the agency that prepared the sector performance reports prior to the joint sector reviews (proper to the budget support modality).
- The Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Infrastructure and the Ministry of Justice were key partners for issues related to land reform.
- Other key stakeholders were the decentralised institutions (at district, sector, cell and village levels);
 the international and bilateral development partners (DFID, USAID, UNDP...);
 the local network of civil society members NGOs and private sector on land issues.
- Final beneficiaries: the population of farmers that will get their land registered.

GCCA PRIORITY AREA(S):

Adaptation



MAIN SECTOR(S):

Land management

OVERALL OBJECTIVE:

To contribute to reducing the vulnerability of the rural population by providing incentives through the new (land) tenure system to protect their resource base, in particular against the effects of global climate change. (Action Fiche)

In addition, the FA/TAPS refer to the logframe of Rwanda's Strategic Plan for Environment and Natural Resources (SPENR), specifically to the section on land tenure reform. This SPENR for 2009-2013 was adopted in 2009 and in recognition of the fact that economic development would rely on a better use of natural resources. The overall objective of this sector strategy: Rwanda's natural resources are managed equitably and sustainably for socio-economic transformation.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE(S):

To contribute to the implementation of the GoR strategy for land reform, the "Strategic Road Map for Land Tenure Reform". This strategy aims to put in place a land tenure system that guarantees tenure security for all Rwandans and gives guidance to the necessary land reforms with a view to good management and rational use of national land resources. (Action Fiche)



In addition, the FA/TAPS refer to the logframe of Rwanda's Strategic Plan for Environment and Natural Resources (SPENR), specifically to the section on land tenure reform. The logframe outcome for the land tenure reform section was: *Equitable*, *sustainable* and *productive* management of land resources.

EXPECTED RESULTS:

Within the broader context of the Strategic Plan for Environment and Natural Resources (SPENR), the Land Tenure Reform programme targets <u>two main results</u>⁶:

- 1. Allowing all citizens to systematically bring land to registration.
- 2. Ensuring rational use of land and effective development as well as environmental protection. (Action Fiche and FA/TAPS)

The EU contribution in the form of sector budget support was to specifically allow the Government of Rwanda to scale up the following activities:

- Procurement of aerial ortho-photo base maps and distribution to districts;
- Recruitment and operationalisation of the Land Tenure Regularisation support team including outsourcing;
- Training for all levels;
- Land Tenure Regularisation field work and registration and titling in all districts with full development of districts plans and tenure arrangements.

Further to the above description of «Expected Results» from the FA/TAPS, also the conditions for budget support eligibility and release of budget tranches, specific to budget support programmes, provide an indication of expected results.

- General conditions:
 - Of the three general conditions, only the one relating to "satisfactory progress in the implementation of the sector policy (= the SPENR), and in particular the component related to Land Tenure Reform) including appropriate funding by GoR" is relevant for the present study on impact and sustainability of GCCA funding. The other general conditions are: satisfactory progress in the programme to improve public financial management; and satisfactory progress in the maintenance of a stability oriented macro-economic policy.
- The performance indicator for the disbursement of the variable tranche is: *Number of plots demarcated and adjudicated*⁷. Sources of verification: the National Land Centre and the Register of Land Titles.

OUTPUTS DELIVERED:

 10.3 million land parcels demarcated and adjudicated, with 81% being approved to title (by the end of December 2012)

- 8.4 million leases and freehold titles prepared, with over 5.7 million collected by land owners
- 23 (of 30) District Land Bureaux refurbished
- 30 District Land Bureaux equipped and carrying out systematic land registration

⁶ The GCCA project's purpose and expected results differ slightly from those formulated for the DFID-led Land Tenure Regularisation support programme, whose outcome is: "Rwandan Government enabled to issue registered titles to every landholder and to establish systems for maintenance of those titles to facilitate investment and secure women's rights. Its expected outputs are (1) All rightful landholders in Rwanda receive legally valid land title documents, and (2) Institutions and systems for all aspects of land management set out in the 2005 Organic Land Law are established, accommodated and equipped at all levels (national to sector level).

⁷ The performance indicator underlying the disbursement of the variable SBS tranche is taken from the SPENR 2009-2013, in particular from the component that relates to land tenure reform. Rationale: Demarcation and adjudication is the first step in the land registration process. It is followed by a period of appeal ranging from 1 to 3 months, and in case of serious disputes, the matter may be referred to the courts. Whereas the objective of the land tenure regularisation programme is to ultimately increase the percentage of area of privately owned land held under written title to 100%, the proposed indicator which captures the first stages of the process is more adequate given the short time frame of the budget support programme.

It is due to highlight that 'the number of land titles issued' was also one of the six indicators selected for Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) results matrix, along with the 'proportion of registered privately owned land having female owners or co-owners'.



- A standardised Land Administration System (LAS) developed
- Land Administration System Manual produced
- Land Administration Information System (LAIS) developed and operational
- Staff of 30 District Land Bureaux trained in LAS/LAIS, GIS, surveying, and land-related legislation
- A National Land Tenure Centre, including an Office for the Registration of Land Titles, established as the national agency for land registry and mapping
- Local residents trained as para-surveyors
- Aerial photographs produced for 96% of Rwanda's territory by the end of 2012
- National Land Use & Development Master Plan drafted





II. Analysis of impact

2.1. Impact expected as per logframe objectives and their indicators:

As most often the case with budget support programmes, the implementation of the GCCA funding to Rwanda was not steered by a full-fledged logical framework with an intervention logic and indicators for the achievement of objectives and expected results. Instead, its implementation – including the disbursement of funds – was based on the continued compliance with the general conditions determining the country's eligibility for budget support and on the achievement of selected performance indicators.

As indicated above in the section on "Expected Results", there is only one general condition that is relevant in the context of the I&S study and only one performance indicator was selected and agreed. The relevant general condition calls for satisfactory progress in the implementation of the SPENR - and in particular the component related to Land Tenure Reform - including appropriate funding by GoR. The performance indicator was "the number of plots demarcated and adjudicated", with a baseline of 30,000 and targets of 500,000 for 2009/10 and, for 2010/11, the actual number by the end of 2009/10 plus an additional 500,000. In other words, the performance indicator would be fully achieved if well over 1,000,000 parcels would have been demarcated and adjudicated. The performance indicator is very much output-based and not suitable to assess impacts in terms of CC adaptation/resilience benefits or improved land management.

Further, the AF describes objectives and expected results but without placing them in a proper intervention logic and without assigning indicators. The FA/TAPS adopts the same objectives and expected results but also refers in an appendix to the logical framework of the SPENR. Also this SPENR logframe only provides indicators and targets at output level, hence neither really suitable for impact assessment.

- Project OO: To contribute to reducing the vulnerability of the rural population by providing incentives through the new (land) tenure system to protect their resource base, in particular against the effects of global climate change.
- Project SO: To contribute to the implementation of the GoR strategy for land reform, the "Strategic Road Map for Land Tenure Reform". This strategy aims to put in place a land tenure system that guarantees tenure security for all Rwandans and gives guidance to the necessary land reforms with a view to good management and rational use of national land resources.
- SPENR OO: Rwanda's natural resources are managed equitably and sustainably for socio-economic transformation
- SPENR Outcome for the section on land tenure reform: Equitable, sustainable and productive management of land resources.

In the absence of suitable indicators and targets, we "deduce from the above elements and the context that the expected impact concerns: (1) increased land productivity through titled farmers' investments in irrigation and soil protection measures; (2) reduced vulnerability of the farmer population against the effects of CC through land tenure security and hence better land management as well as easier access to bank credits using land titles as collateral; (3) improved general land management at national level with positive effects on the country's socio-economic situation.

⁸ Based on the actual achievement of over 10 million plots demarcated and adjudicated, which is almost a tenfold of the initial target, the appropriateness of the selected performance criterion and target was questioned in the available M&E reports. The EUD however clarified that the exceptional performance was based on the mobilisation of more funds than expected for the land sub-sector which had allowed to increase capacities in terms of staff, TA and equipment.



2.2. Direct and indirect impact as reported in the available documents (desk phase):

From the global GCCA evaluation report, 2014:

- The evaluator has no evidence of an active use of the logical framework of the Strategic Plan for Environment and Natural Resources (SPENR) (2009-2013), or for the section on land tenure reform. The Joint Sector Review does not provide a systematic assessment of expected outputs, or a reporting on the key performance indicators. However, performance of the LTR support programme is actively monitored with DFID support using a specific logframe for Support to LTR in Rwanda. This logframe contains baseline values (2005) and clear milestones at impact and outcome levels, and is regularly updated with data reflecting progressive achievements. As this monitoring strongly focused on ensuring alignment of the LTR support programme with the Organic Land Law, the data that were recorded on programme achievements tended to focus on numbers of parcels registered and on customer satisfaction with the LTR process itself. No reliable data are recorded on the impact of LTR in Rwanda on livelihoods or on the environment. It is good to highlight though that an impact assessment (DFID/WB) is scheduled for 2014.
- The intervention is only indirectly linked to climate change; there is no focus on climate change related targets. According to the Financing Agreement, environmental protection was one of the expected results, but did not receive explicit attention during implementation of the project, where achievement of ambitious land registration targets was a top priority. Moreover, the sole indicator selected for disbursement (number of plots demarcated and adjudicated) refers to land tenure security only, even though the SPENR logical framework contained other indicators, such as '% annual increase in land secured against erosion' which relate to more sustainable land use, with expected climate change adaptation benefits.
- With 10 million plots demarcated and adjudicated by 2012, ten times the target was achieved, and funds were disbursed accordingly. This was a major achievement, with important expected benefits for the rural population in terms of a reduction of land disputes and increased access to loans (using title deeds as a mortgage), among others. Socio-economic impacts would require further study, but the action is considered to have an overall positive gender impact as it formalised female rights to land (co-)ownership for formally married women. The impact on land use is not very well documented or monitored but will be subject to an impact study scheduled for 2014. Though there are indications of an increased use of agricultural inputs (fertiliser, pesticides), this may not necessarily be attributed to increased land security. There is no evidence, to date, of an increased investment in soil or water conservation measures. Actual land use is an outcome of various processes, including the LTR, settlement policies and land use consolidation policies, the final outcome of which is as yet unclear. A positive impact of the LTR process on climate change adaptation is therefore still hypothetical.
- The LTR programme, supported by GCCA funds, does not have a clear climate change objective but does have a poverty reduction objective. Likely poverty reduction benefits, through socio-economic and environmental impacts of LTR, however, are still largely unknown. Some evidence is being gathered through studies: World Bank studies that focus on land and investment and USAID-funded studies⁹ that focus on socio-economic impacts.
- According to the Rwanda Land Tenure Regularisation Case Study, during which the performance and impact of LTR was discussed with government officials and civil society, it was generally considered that the impact on the lives and economic prospects of the poor has been favourable. In these general responses, while the programme was considered costly, ambitious and politically sensitive, it was clearly indicated that tenure security was in the interest of the majority of rural land right holders.

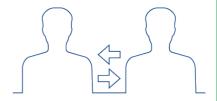
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⁹ Through USAID's Land Project.



The case study further indicated that there is also little information available about the impact of other national agricultural and land-related initiatives – of which there are several – and on the interrelationship with the impact of the LTRSP.

- Initial results from a WB impact study, conducted in 2011, suggested that the programme is leading to 'a significant increase in soil conservation investment', particularly pronounced in female-headed households. Results from the wider WB LTR Impact study in 2013, however, suggested that land-related investments (maintenance, tree planting) were not higher for registered (LTR) parcels; they were not likely to have more soil or water conservation structures either. This study from 2013 concludes that 'while results are encouraging, economic & empowerment effects are not yet visible' and impact monitoring needs to be done over a longer term. A new WB-lead impact study using the 2011 study as a baseline is foreseen for 2014.
- Otherwise, positive impacts assessed during the field visit¹⁰ are: (1) a significant decrease in number of land disputes; and (2) increased access to bank loans using title deeds as collateral. An observed example of investment made with these loans concerns the branching of the landowner's house to the electricity network. On the other hand, the respondents alleged they had not changed any of their agricultural or land management practices following the registration and titling. They confirmed an increased use of improved seeds and fertiliser, not so much as a result of their land title, but in response to the land consolidation policy, promoting (and subsidizing) the use of agricultural inputs.
- The programme has an overall positive impact on gender, primarily based on its recognition of female rights to (co-) ownership, at least for those with a formal marriage certificate. The WB-commissioned study on the short-term impacts of the LTR pilot phase found that it (a) improved access to land amongst legally married women; (b) prompted better gender-neutral recording of inheritance rights; and (c) led to increased investment (and maintenance) in soil conservation measures, particularly amongst female-headed households. The situation of non-formally married wives (or husbands) and multiple wives, without a legal marriage certificate, remains a challenge because they are not formally required to be included as cohabitants on the lease. Widows from non-formalised relationships were found to be at particular risk in traditional societies as the deceased husband's family would claim the land title.
- Capacities of community groups and workers were strengthened by recruiting and training para-surveyors from the villages where the programme operated. Strong involvement of local residents in the programme implementation contributed to building awareness and trust with the public in the LTR process, resulting in the near achievement of overall LTR programme output 1 (all rightful landholders in Rwanda receive legally valid land title documents).



- The GCCA funding has, however, not increased capacities with regard to climate change adaptation.
- The GCCA funding has contributed to the achievement of the overall objective of the overall LTR support programme, which is "to enable the Rwandan Government to issue a registered title to every landholder and to establish systems for maintenance of those titles to facilitate investment and secure women's rights". The maintenance component still needs further development and consolidation. However, there is no evidence that the action contributed to GCCA objectives; partly because it did not have a specific focus on more sustainable or 'climate-smart' land use, partly because the impact on land use was not systematically monitored.
- If more sustainable land use (or climate-smart agriculture) is to be achieved, an on-the-ground presence of extension teams working with farmers would be required. So far, however, sustainable or climate smart land-use seemed not to have been a high priority; the sectoral focus has rather been on agricultural intensification, based on an increased use of external inputs (fertilisers, pesticides). Little

¹⁰ The GCCA evaluation team visited the Musanze pilot area where the LTR process was initiated.



attention has been given to tree planting, water and soil conservation measures or the use of organic fertilisers.

- The evaluator is of the opinion that the National Land Use and Development Master Plan and the District Land Use Plans promoted in the Land Sub-Sector Strategic Plan 2013/14 2017/18 are unlikely to make an important contribution to improved land use. Current monitoring is limited to a verification on whether or not the actual land use is in line with the land use category proposed in the plans, with a sanctioning of identified irregularities.
- While comprehensive land use plans and adequate mapping, as foreseen in the Land Sub-Sector Strategic Plan, could contribute to the objective of sustainable and rational land use, they would need to be accompanied by stronger bottom-up (village-level) collaborative land use analysis and planning, in order to bring about effective improvements in land use.
- Though the EU/GCCA allocation to the overall LTR support programme was relatively small (9% of the total budget), it has helped to bridge a funding gap for the LTR initiative and, as such, contributed to make it a successful undertaking. However, the 'added value' of GCCA funding in terms of climate change response is limited as there was no specific focus on land use or climate change, beyond the programme's primary land registration target.

♦ From Neil Bird's report, evaluating the budget support modality for environment and CC projects, 2014:

For funding originating from the GCCA initiative, the link to climate change adaptation was rather indirect. Climate change was not a prominent consideration in the programme design and does not appear to have featured in the programme communication.

HIGHLIGHTED SUCCESS FACTORS:

- The success of this sector budget support programme may be attributed to it being a component of a large, multi-donor supported government-led reform programme. It was not an isolated EU action. The contribution of the EU financial support was to reduce the risk that the national programme might suffer from inadequate funding.
- The approach taken in the SBS programme was to identify an important economic sub-sector (land) in which a reform programme was underway, supported by national policy as well as legal backing. The provision of budget support would then help expedite the planned reforms. Political will and strong national ownership of the programme was therefore assured.
- Flexibility on the part of both government and donors, to account for changes in time, scale and targets.

2.3. Findings from the desk phase and specific issues that were further explored during the field phase:

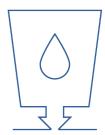
While key stakeholders duly monitored performance and progress at output levels, almost no indications on potential or generated impact were given in the available documents. In several places, however, the conduct of an impact study by the WB in 2014 was announced. The report of this impact study should be a highly relevant resource for the present GCCA Impact and Sustainability study.

From the above, it is also clear that the project objectives are not directly linked to climate change adaptation and/or mitigation ambitions. Still, an assessment of the impact of the project outcomes – basically increased land tenure security - on the vulnerability of the population to the negative effects of climate change was undertaken during the field visit. A distinction was made between the impact generated by initiatives focusing on increased agricultural productivity and the impact generated by the LTRSP focusing on land tenure security.



In the absence of a proper logical framework with clear impact indicators, the framework against which direct impact was assessed consisted of the following criteria / objectives:

- Increased investments of farmers in irrigation systems and in soil & water conservation measures following land tenure registration and license issuance.
- Increased land productivity (in terms of volumes produced and income generated) based on the above mentioned investments.
- Reduced vulnerability of the farmer population against the effects of CC through land tenure security and hence better land management as well as easier access to bank credits using land titles as collateral
- Improved general land management at national level with positive effects on the country's socio-economic situation.



2.4 Achievement of the logframe indicators at overall and specific objectives levels (direct impact):

PRELIMINARY REMARK

The assessments below consider the achievement of the indicators suggested above in the absence of formally assigned indicators as part of an intervention logic. The four impact indicators derive from the DFID logframe for the LTRP which was served by the GCCA+ funding albeit delivered through a different funding modality than other donors. The impact indicators did not integrate an explicit climate change component and were monitored annually from 2009-2017.

The assessments below focus on their likely *contribution* to the Project OO and SO. Other policies or interventions that are relevant to achieving intended impacts are discussed in subsequent sections.

INDICATOR	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT	EXPLANATORY NOTES
General disbursement condition: Satisfactory progress in the implementation of the SPENR - and in particular the component related to Land Tenure Reform - including appropriate funding by GoR No baseline, no target.	83%	On the aspect of 'appropriate funding by GoR', Durieux (2019) reports that the anticipated amount was £9,370,000; the actual contribution was £3,912,939 (42%). No reason for this lack of compliance could be identified in the literature or in interviews. Donor disbursements continued despite the shortfall. To assess the 'satisfactory progress', the following factors are considered: Progress in the process of systematic land registration by all citizens. This factor was measured by the proportion of private land under written title and a target of 70% was set. Durieux (2019) reported an achievement of 89%, hence exceeding the target. (>100%) Progress in the establishment of an effective land management system. This factor was measured by the volume of productive transactions related to



Performance indicator: The number of plots demarcated and adjudicated: Baseline: 30,000 Target: 800,000 for 2009/10	>100%	land. No baseline nor targets were set but due to the important volumes further described, this factor can be considered as fully achieved (100%). During the first nine months of 2018, loans outstanding were valued at 637 million RWF, equivalent to almost 12% of the GDP. Over the same period, property with an estimated value of 330 billion RWF was subject to transfer (equivalent to almost 5% of the GDP) and 3 billion RWF were generated through transaction fees. Cumulatively, the contribution is almost 1.1 billion USD, or one sixth of the GDP. Environmental impact, measured by the proportion of arable land that is protected against soil erosion. The target for 2013 (80%) was achieved for 91% (73% arable land protected); the target for 2018 (85%) was exceeded (87.3% arable land protected). However, while the proportion of arable land protected against soil erosion reached 87.3% in 2018, DFID's final evaluation of the LTRP found that over subsequent phases the proportion of cultivated parcels that were protected against soil erosion declined from 70.3% in 2010, to 68.2% in 2017. Therefore, we consider for this factor an achievement level of 90%. Assigning the same weight to all four parameters, the overall level of achievement by the end of the programme was 11,434,235 land parcels demarcated of which 9,545,996 (84.3%) with complete information. 71.3% or 8,070,142 parcels were demarcated and adjudicated (approved for title), and 7,164,230 titles were issued. According to the EUD, the exceptional performance was based on the mobilisation of more funds than expected for the land sub-sector which had allowed to increase capacities in terms of staff, TA and equipment. Other evaluations question the appropriateness of the chosen target (See Neil Bird Budget Support Study).
LTRP impact indicator 1:	100%	



Number of vulnerable households ¹¹ accessing credit and savings facilities ¹² : Baseline: 0 Target 88,500 in 2013		By the end of the programme, 155,386 households from the Ubudehe categories 2, 3 and 4 (see footnote11) had access to credit and savings facilities. Although this number exceeds the LTRP target, Ubudehe category 1 (targeted by the programme, together with category 2) is not represented and it is therefore equivocal as to whether the vulnerable households that were actually targeted, have also benefited.
LTRP impact indicator 2: The proportion of arable land that is managed against soil erosion Baseline: 40% in 2005 Target: 80% by 2013	90%	See explanatory notes above related to the general disbursement condition. (repetition) It must be mentioned that, in addition to soil conservation measures, there is evidence that other aspects of better land management were invested in.
LTRP impact indicator 3: Proportion of female population of who access land titles singly or jointly. Baseline: NA in 2009 Target: 30% by 2013	>100%	The LTRP was designed to give effect to Rwanda's Constitutional right to equality between all women and men in the area of land tenure and land administration. Between 2013 and 2017, the proportion of the female population with access to land titles fluctuated between 67 and 63% (Durieux, 2019)
LTRP impact indicator 4: Percentage of citizens who feel that they participate actively in local decision making Baseline: 65% in 2005 Target: 80% in 2013	>100%	In 2013, this percentage had reached 85%. By 2017, the number of citizens who felt they participated actively in local decision making had reached 93% (Durieux, 2019).

2.5. Achievement of the overall and specific objectives (direct impact, exceeding the scope of the indicators)

PROJECT OVERALL OBJECTIVE: To contribute to reducing the vulnerability of the rural population by providing incentives through the new (land) tenure system to protect their resource base, in particular, against the effects of global climate change.

Achievement: "3" (between 25% and 50%)

¹¹ In Rwanda, five socio-economic categories are used to classify vulnerable people who are known as Ubudehe. Categories 1 and 2 respectively are 'in abject poverty' and 'very poor'; categories 3, 4 and 5 respectively are 'poor', 'resource poor' and 'food poor'. Categories 1 and 2 comprise the people that are considered as "very poor and vulnerable" for the purposes of the LTR indicators.

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¹² The data aggregate savings and credit facilities.



PRELIMINARY NOTE

GCCA funding to Rwanda was delivered through Budget Support and was not steered by a fully-fledged logical framework. The GCCA budget support program did not in fact occur as an 'isolated EU action' but was an integrated element of the LTR programme (LTRP). The LTRP did not have a clear climate change objective even if the GCCA contribution purports to have one, a point made in the GCCA+ Global Evaluation in 2014. As noted in the previous section the LTRP includes two relevant impact level logframe indicators that support a finding that vulnerability had been reduced as a result of the incentives created in being able to collateralize loans the fruits of which are invested, by the rural population, in sustainable land management.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

There is no evidence of LTR programme outputs being linked to any reductions in the vulnerability of the poorest to the effects of climate change. There is however evidence that land titling created some potential for some of the rural poor to access credit from financial institutions. Some, though not all, chose to invest loans in improved land management. The physical or financial vulnerability of populations to increasing extreme weather events caused by climate change has not been measured.

PROJECT SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE: To contribute to the implementation of the GoR strategy for land reform, the "Strategic Road Map for Land Tenure Reform". This strategy aims to put in place a land tenure system that guarantees tenure security for all Rwandans and gives guidance to the necessary land reforms with a view to good management and rational use of national land resources.

Achievement: "1" (>75%)

PRELIMINARY NOTE

One way to consider the difference between the OO and the SO for this programme is to recognize OO impacts as those that are specific to, benefit, and can be exercised by individuals and/or households. SO impacts are rather those that occur at an institutional, systemic level and which concern access to, management and maintenance of, and sustainability of public goods and services.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The LTRP was a key vehicle through which the GoR sought to deliver the goal of the "Strategic Roadmap for Land Tenure Reform", being equitable, sustainable, and productive management of land and resources with benefits for all Rwandans. The establishment of the Rwanda Land Administration Information System (LAIS) under the management of the Rwanda Land Management and Use Authority means there is an institutional and technical infrastructure to administer land transactions, a system to organize, track and archive information, and good potential to manage and indeed monetize transactions and to contribute revenues to consolidated public budgets. The system and its architecture have performed well including by managing significant structural changes that have occurred throughout the programme lifetime, while delivering intangible benefits to citizens. These include better gender equity and social harmony. However urgent work is needed to ensure the financial sustainability of the system as an administrative platform, and as a productive input into economic growth for coming decades.

SPENR OVERALL OBJECTIVE: Rwanda's natural resources are managed equitably and sustainably for socio-economic transformation.



Achievement: "2" (between 50% and 75%)

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The LTRP is one of several programmes and initiatives for land-policy reforms that facilitated the delivery of government economic and social objectives set out in the SPENR including realising the constitutional right of all Rwandan's to own land, and improving the contribution of land to economic and environmental outcomes. The land sector employs about 86% of the Rwandan population, contributes 47% of Rwanda's GDP and produces around 80% of its export revenues (Fortune of Africa, 2019).

In terms of delivering the equitable and sustainable management of land to facilitate socio-economic transformation, the LTRP is a necessary, though not sufficient condition for achieving reduced poverty, improved livelihoods and improved crop productivity.

SPENR OUTCOME FOR THE SECTION ON LAND TENURE REFORM: Equitable, sustainable and productive management of land resources

Achievement: "2" (between 50 and 75%)

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Land contributes heavily to Rwanda's wellbeing. In 2009 more than 80% of Rwandans depended on agriculture, and produce such as coffee, tea and horticulture. Agriculture and tourism were among the main sources of foreign reserves (SPENR, 2009). Enabling registered land ownership across Rwanda's demographics has given effect to the constitutional right of all citizens to own legally land by systematically bringing it into registration. The ongoing monetization of land related services highlights the potential to capture added value in the form of transaction revenue flows, and a nascent market that encourages efficient and transparent transactions and future investment in the land sector.

Equitable management: 75%.

Data point to slightly different impacts, positive and negative. First, the LTRP aimed to issue a land title to every land holder and by 2013 89% of all privately held hand had been brought under written title, overachieving the 70% target. However since 2013 the proportion of privately held land under title has fallen and now hovers around 83%. Contributing factors to this negative trend include regressive impacts on the poor due to flat rate fee structures and land fragmentation on informal markets. Related to this, fees for services are set at relatively low flat rates with the aim of collecting revenue from all users to help make the system financially sustainable. The cost for registering the transfer of land is 30,000 RWF irrespective of use, location or plot-size. In reality, the fees are regressive and unaffordable for poor Ubudehe categories. There is evidence that up to half of all rural transfers are taking place informally and thus bypassing the land register (Baldwin 2019) – driving the decline in the proportion of private land held under written title. The fee structure is currently under review and the new land policy released in 2020 removed the 1 ha threshold for dealing with land.

Separately, the decentralisation of land services through the establishment of District Land Offices (DLO) in each of the thirty districts has brought registration services to the rural population, reducing the need to travel long distances. Complete digitalization of services accessible through district-wide one stop shop services will also increase the opportunity for all citizens to participate in the LTRP. Theoretically no citizen needs to travel for more than 12 kilometres to access a DLO though, in practice, Rwanda's rural and mountainous terrain and the lack of efficient transport and transportation routes can make this journey costly in terms of opportunity costs (lost time working the land), and difficult.



Sustainable management: 50%.

In this context sustainability refers to the ability of the land administration system to sustain itself without additional donor funds. Fees are levied for at least 17 services and transactions which are supported by data housed in the LAIS. Importantly, RMLUA is not the recipient of the bulk of these charges, which instead are collected by the portal manager. At current rates, the LAIS has the potential to collect revenues of around USD 3.5 million per year, which if cycled back to RMLUA which manages and administers the system, could contribute to complete cost recovery by 2025, and thereafter to upgrade and improve the system (Baldwin, 2019). However such a mechanism is not yet in place.

The suggested score of 50% recognizes both the potential to achieve long-term sustainability of the LAIS and the fact that while building blocks are in place, further steps to achieve long term financial sustainability are still needed. When the LTR programme was formally closed in March 2019, donors had contributed more than EUR 50 million toward building Africa's first fully digitalized property and land management system covering the whole country. As noted, the LAIS platform has already delivered significant public benefits, among them informally serving as a centralised data platform for a growing number of other public programmes including agricultural extension services and national capital accounting services. Free access to and use of data that are produced and maintained by RMLUA has not been taken into account in proposed resourcing or funding models and the Ministry of Finance does not seem to be keen to explore how costs could be more equally shared across sectors. At the time of the I&S field trip the programme had reached a 'funding cliff' and its immediate future was considered highly vulnerable. Many programme positions covered by donor funds had recently ceased including around 100 monitoring and evaluation staff positions. RMLUA officials and others repeatedly reinforced to the evaluator that a business plan was being finalized to ensure the programme could be maintained while covering its own costs.

Productive management: >50%.

Well-functioning land markets are important to facilitate the valuation, use and transfer of land as inputs into Rwanda's economic growth. RMLUA and the LAIS provide administrative and information management infrastructure to enable a formal land market to gain traction across the country (Baldwin, 2019b) with benefits accruing at different points of the value chain. Baldwin (2019a) quantified tangible benefits that have accrued since just 2018 – to ascertain the potential depth of the nascent land market and to assess its ability to generate direct revenues. Specifically, he quantified the value of fees levied on transactions, the value of land transactions, and the amount of credit assigned through mortgages as a percentage of overall credit markets, arguing that these three markers can function as a "barometer" of the



nascent land market as an input to economic activity. Focusing just on the first nine months of 2018, loans outstanding were valued at 637 million RWF, equivalent to almost 12% of the GDP. Over the same period property with an estimated value of RWF 330 billion was subject to transfer – equivalent to almost 5% of the GDP, and 3 billion RWF were generated through transaction fees. Cumulatively the contribution is almost 1.1 billion USD – or one sixth of the GDP for 2018.

OTHER RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS TO ASSESS IMPACT:

(1) IMPROVED GENERAL LAND MANAGEMENT AT NATIONAL LEVEL WITH POSITIVE EFFECTS ON THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION.

Achievement: "3" (between 25 and 50%)





EXPLANATORY NOTE

Land contributes directly to the economic well-being of more than the 80% of Rwanda's agriculture dependent citizens. In the past, disputes over land ownership were a major source of conflict including in the years preceding the genocide in 1994. Possession of land or a land title in itself does not reduce poverty or increase the productivity of agriculture. However, it forms an integral part of broad economic structural reforms being implemented that aim to transform Rwanda from a least developed country to a high-income country by 2050. Gender equity has increased, poverty has fallen, and the number of land-based conflicts has diminished. The suggested scores reflect heavily the extent to which the LTRP has generated the impact directly, or contributed to it.

Equality between the sexes: 75%

Giving effect to the right of all citizens to hold property was one of the principal objectives of the LTRP. The system has been especially successful in promoting social inclusion and gender equity. More than half of all privately held land is now held singly or jointly by women. At the end of phase 1, 92.3% of women reported having a basic understanding of how to implement their property rights and rights of their inheritance. The proportion of women who accessed land titles singly or jointly as a result of the programme increased from 23.8% in 2012 to 63% in 2017 (Durieux, 2019). While legally married and female headed households are now better protected against losing their land, there is evidence that women in *de facto* and polygamous marriages do not have the same protections. It is claimed that the gender provisions of the land law actually discourage some men from entering formal marriages (Durieux, 2019). With this last issue increasing in trend, the GoR has recognized the need to address this through policy solutions. However, there is no evidence of this being addressed in the 2019 National Land Policy update.

Reducing Poverty: 0%

In Rwanda, the poverty line in 2010 was RWF 118,000 per year; or in today's terms RWF 159,375 per year, or roughly USD162. The proportion of Rwandans living below the poverty threshold declined between 2010 and 2017 from 44.9% to 38.2%. Poverty rates for households that owned agricultural land were under the national average at 41.8% and 34.9% respectively. It is however not possible to deduce that land ownership was a distinguishing feature in the declining poverty rates.



One aim of the LTRP was to facilitate access to credit and savings for all citizens. In this respect, the LTRP overachieved its target up to and

including in 2016, before falling short of goals in successive years and by one third in 2018 (610,272 achieved versus a target of 937,727). Of the 84,689 (out of the 155,000) who accessed credit in 2013 using land as collateral, only 12,729 were from the very-poor category and they received up to or less than RWF 100,000, which is approximately USD 100 (Coffey, 2013). (See footnote 11 for an explanation of Ubudehe categories). Of particular concern, the abjectly poor category was 100% unsuccessful in accessing credit and unable to use their land as collateral because it was of an insufficient size (Table 11, Coffey, 2013). Durieux (2019) surveyed LTRP Sector Land Managers to ascertain if land titling was enabling the poor to access credit. There was a general view that poor people (provided that titles were not encumbered with unpaid taxes) potentially had access to credit but did not want to use land as collateral for fear of not being able to repay the loan. During the I&S field trip, officials shared accounts of poor families using land to secure loans for school fees and upon being unable to meet repayments, losing their land and main source of income.

Reducing conflict: >75%

Unsecured and unregistered land linked with land scarcity has persistently been a source of conflict in Rwanda, including in the lead up to the 1994 genocide. The Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development collected land dispute data from selected districts. These data show that from 2016 to



2018, disputes fell by nearly three quarters, from 7,010 in 2016 to 1,562 in 2018; it was thereby mentioned that land titling had a decisive role in resolving nearly 50% of the disputes. Intra-household disputes predominate with inheritance ranking as the primary reason for disagreement. In fact, more than 50% of land disputes involve other family members. Clear tenure and titling has also supported increased 'social harmony' with more than 90% of respondents in successive logframe monitoring surveys conducted for DFID agreeing that land title encouraged resolution of land disputes with the land certificate itself being a decisive factor.

(2) INCREASED INVESTMENTS OF FARMERS IN IRRIGATION SYSTEMS AND IN SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION MEASURES FOLLOWING LAND TENURE REGISTRATION AND LICENSE ISSUANCE.

Achievement:"4" (<25%)

EXPLANATORY NOTE

While overall implementation of soil conservation measures at the end of the LTRP was high (87.3 % in 2017), neither this improvement nor many decisions to invest in soil conservation measures, could be unequivocally linked to the LTRP. Ali (2011) and Ngoga (2018) provide examples of increased investment in soil conservation following the acquisition of land title. However, these studies did not assess the potential impact of complementary policies that also followed the acquisition of land titles and that encouraged explicitly improved agricultural practices, including by providing access to inputs such as seeds and labor for infrastructure development (such as terraces). While Durieux does not assess the link between land titling and the decision to invest in soil conservation, the LTR final impact evaluation does dismiss Ali's early finding of increased soil conservation practices as an impact of the Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP) and not of LTR. ¹³

Early evaluations conducted by the World Bank in 2011 (Ali et al. 2011) found that households which had benefited from land titling were (by almost 10%) more likely to invest in soil conservation techniques and structures such as bunds, terraces, and check dams. This was about double the change in investment patterns in the control group. 14 Also female headed households were (by 19%) more likely to invest in soil conservation. 15 The extent to which land was protected or became more productive, thus facilitating reduced poverty, was not measured by the study.

In 2016, a study of farmers in Gatebe in the northern highlands of Burera District (with gradients >20%) examined the factors that influenced 712 randomly selected farmers' decisions to adopt soil conservation techniques. All other things being equal, farmers who had land tenure security were found to be 1.55 times more likely to invest in soil conservation techniques (Nahayo et al., 2016). ¹⁶

While the proportion of **arable land** protected against soil erosion reached 87.3% in 2017, DFID's final evaluation of the LTRP found that over subsequent phases the proportion of **cultivated parcels** that were protected against soil erosion declined from 70.3% in 2010, to 68.2% in 2017. The decline was greatest among poor rural households and among female headed households. (Durieux, 2019: Table 47, Annex E).

¹⁴ The study conducted on behalf of the World Bank surveyed 3554 households located across four cells (the smallest administrative unit) equally distributed between 'treated' and 'non-treated' households.

¹³ VUP was a social protection scheme that included labour intensive public works.

¹⁵ The study concluded that previously low levels of tenure security by females had impeded investment by this group and that removing such impediments directly influenced their propensity to invest in soil protection measures.

¹⁶ The study found that around 85% of farmers were aware of crop losses caused by soil erosion and used a range of techniques to counter it. These included agroforestry (90.6% of farmers), vegetative strips (83.6%), infiltration ditches (67.7%), hedge and fence rows (64.2%), mulching (29.9%), progressive terracing (25.3%) and bench terraces (16.2%). The greatest impediments to investment were inadequate 'financial assistance' (cited by 70.95% of farmers) and inadequate technical assistance (63.3). Land tenure insecurity (8.7) was the least cited reason.



Finally, consideration needs to be given to the impact of other relevant policies on choosing to invest in soil protection. For example, the Land Use Consolidation Programme (LUCP) encouraged LTR beneficiaries to join their small plots so as to create larger areas for single-crop production. Ali (2016) using the 2010 sample found that owners of small plots who were encouraged to 'consolidate' their holdings in order to intensify agriculture were in fact 0.14 times more likely not to adopt soil conservation techniques, suggesting unfettered use is at least as important an incentive in how land is protected as legal title itself.

(3) INCREASED LAND PRODUCTIVITY AS A RESULT OF INCREASED INVESTMENTS IN IRRIGATION AND SOIL CONSERVATION:

Achievement: "3" (between 25% and 50%)

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Limited land availability, high fragmentation of land holdings, poor farming practices and low-quality agricultural inputs limit productivity and economic growth in Rwanda. Investment in improved seeds and fertilizers, terracing and mechanization on larger plots is clearly taking place. However, there is no direct link between increased land-titling and agricultural productivity. None of the reports or interviewees consulted linked irrigation measures or soil conservation to land security. From 2008 to 2012, growth in agricultural production was driven by two key factors, being the Crop Intensification Programme (CIP) and the Land Use Consolidation Programme (LUCP). These are discussed in-depth in section 2.7 below. While the LTRP is not linked to the CIP or the LUCP, both made effective use of the LTRP as a platform to organize and deliver their objectives.

(4) REDUCED VULNERABILITY OF THE FARMER POPULATION AGAINST THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE THROUGH LAND TENURE SECURITY AND HENCE BETTER LAND MANAGEMENT AS WELL AS EASIER ACCESS TO BANK CREDITS USING LAND TITLES AS COLLATERAL:

Achievement: "3" (between 25 and 50%)

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Assessing achievement of the impact indicator **improved access to bank credits using land titles as collateral** is not straightforward. The suggested indicator restricts itself to bank credit while the LTRP logframe and other literature consider all credits and savings facilities. This is an important difference and is one of several considerations in assigning a relatively lower score for achievement as compared with that suggested in the LTRP logframe.

In facilitating access to credit and savings, the LTRP overachieved its targets up to and including in 2016, before falling short of goals in successive years and by one third in 2018 (610,272 achieved versus a



target of 937,727). Earlier data collected for DFID highlight that those in the abjectly poor category were 100% unsuccessful in accessing credit and were unable to use their land as collateral because it was of an insufficient size (Table 11, Coffey, 2013). Durieux (2019) surveyed LTRP Sector Land Managers to ascertain if titling had enabled the poor to access credit. There was a general view that poor people (provided that titles were not encumbered with unpaid taxes) *potentially* had access to credit but did not want to use land as collateral for fear of not being able to repay the loan. During the field trip officials shared accounts of poor families using land to secure loans for school fees and upon being unable to meet repayments, losing their land and main source of income.



Of the 84,689 (out of the 155,000) who accessed credit in 2013 using land as collateral, only 12,729 were from the very poor category and they received up to or less than RWF 100,000, approximately USD 100 (Coffey, 2013). (See footnote 11 for an explanation of Ubudehe categories).

Even where farmers did access credit as a result of land tenure, this did not necessarily result in increased investments in improved land management. In fact, a relatively minor share of credit proceeds went toward improved land management. Off-farm activities including buying property and land, paying for school fees and starting a business attracted the majority of credit, with investments in farming equipment attracting only around 16.5% of newly available credit. Thus while land titling may improve access to loans and increase incomes, it is not decisive in determining whether farmers will invest proceeds in land management. Where farmers did invest in better land management practices, investments were made across a range of inputs. Around 75% of these farmers invested in fertilizer, 49% in improved seeds and 38% in labour inputs.

National household survey data¹⁷ show that the proportion of agricultural land-owning households obtaining loans for agricultural inputs and equipment or/and for business expansion was low and declined from around 12% in 2010/11, to 10.1% in 2016/17. Consulted sector land managers agreed that, in general, 'more' or 'much more' investment was being made in off-farm activities and that the LTRP was 'not directly promoting improved investment in agriculture' (Table 22 Annex E, Durieux, 2019).

Source: Coffey, 2013

Figure X: Distribution and use of granted credits

2.6. Signs of indirect impact

An indirect impact was the unintended flourishing of an informal credit sector including microfinance institutions at the community level, to meet the demand for credit that was not serviced by the banks. In particular, Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) emerged in every sector across the country with a total of 7 to 15,000 members. In these SACCOs, members may use their land title as collateral to obtain borrowings. In some cases, SACCOs also use the land title of members to obtain capital for onward lending. This has provided indirect benefits to poorer Rwandans unable to access formal credit arrangements (Durieux, 2019). It is important to acknowledge the credit sector as a key provider of credit as it was included in DFID evaluations of the LTRP's 'access to credit and savings' impact indicators.

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¹⁷ E1CV 3 and E1CV 5 data sets



Despite the GCCA+ OO setting a climate change target, there is broad consensus in the literature that the LTRP did not have a direct impact on climate change outcomes, either in building adaptation and resilience, or in being responsible for any land-based mitigation. However, some indirect outcomes related to soil conservation may be indirectly attributed to the LTRP where a link can be made between the decision to invest in improved land management and the fact of holding a title. As has been noted above this was thought to be an early impact of the LTRP (Ali, 2011) though this finding was dismissed in final programme evaluations.

In terms of negative indirect impacts, the literature highlights several issues directly associated with the CIP and the LUCP but which are perceived to be associated with the LTRP. As noted previously, Ali (2016) found that owners of small plots who were encouraged to 'consolidate' their holdings were less likely to invest in conservation techniques. Durieux (2019) notes that poor families' perception of being 'forced' into the programmes and to give up traditional farming was not always welcomed even if an alternative source of income was on offer.

Related to gender equity, there are some concerns that – as a result of the respect of the rights of formally married (or as head of the household) women to hold and inherit land - some men are now reluctant to marry formally, because this would require them to officially share land rights with wives. 'Real' control and decision-making still seems to be principally exercised by males.

Another indirect negative impact relates to the creation of "perceived losers", notably those who do not own land (youth mainly) and the extremely poor who cannot enter the land market because the size of their land parcel is insufficient and who may therefore be forced to transact in more risky though less expensive informal markets (Coffey, 2013, Durieux, 2019, Ali, 2016). These groups saw themselves as excluded from opportunities to progress socially and economically, largely because of the LTRP. Durieux highlights that such negative perceptions are important to consider and to counter in future programme developments as the LTRP's future is not yet certain and broad social acceptance, including of the need to modify the business model (and increase certain transaction fees) will be essential for longevity.

2.7. Conclusions on direct and indirect impact generated by the project and discussion on factors for success and failure

Land titling as such does not lead to structural land and economic reform. However, it does provide a necessary platform and framework that enables comprehensive poverty reduction actions to flourish. For example, it encourages the expansion of credit markets, it makes the land markets more transparent, and it provides direct access to services designed to improve agricultural productivity and to protect land. Without these additional interventions, beneficiaries would not be able to make full use of the land tenure security they have acquired through the reform. The fact that such poverty reduction programmes were delivered alongside the LTRP must be seen as one reason for its success.

In evaluating the GCCA+ contribution to the LTRP it has been crucial to distinguish the overlapping outputs of three different programmes focused on improving land use and management and agricultural productivity, and the effect of one regulation designed to prevent agricultural fragmentation that ran concurrently to the LTRP (Durieux, 2019). The LTRP architecture enhanced the programmes to the extent that their success (and failures) may be indirectly attributed to the existence of the LTRP. The three programmes were:

• The Crop Intensification Programme (CIP) which aimed to encourage commercial agriculture by providing extension services to produce and improve the productivity of government-approved crops. Farmers who received a land title were expected to participate in the programme (Durieux, 2019) and received fertilizer, improved seeds, livestock, and significant training. It is important not to mistake associate outcomes as direct outcomes of the LTRP – though without the LTRP, it is very well possible the CIP may not have been as effective.



- The Land Use Consolidation Programme (LUCP), which ran in tandem with the Article 30 of the 2013 Land Law outlawing subdivisions below 1 ha (mostly through inheritances), encouraged the owners of small pots to consolidate their land holdings. None of the LTRP evaluations considered if such land was automatically subject to better land management under either the CIP or another subsidiary programme though this is a possibility. Again, implementation of the LUCP would not have been possible without the outputs and achievements of the LTRP.
- The Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP), a social protection scheme that includes labour intensive public works, was especially important for the poorest households and particularly those that did not have land. It provided alternative livelihoods for households unable to conduct subsistence agriculture due to being 'forced' to join the CIP or the LUCP; and paid for labour including terracing hillsides prone to erosion. This last activity is an important element of soil conservation and reflects the fact that soil conservation measures being applied on around 85% of Rwanda's agricultural lands, providing significant protection against soil erosion and landslides. Also here provided the LTRP a necessary platform through which to deliver activities aiming at reducing poverty levels. In turn, the VUP supported the LTRP in generating indirectly adaptation impact.



III. Analysis of sustainability levels

3.1. List of services, systems and products that were established/delivered under the project and that should have been maintained (based on the outputs delivered):

- The National Land Tenure Centre and the Office for the Registration of Land Titles still operational and complying with their mandate
- District Land Bureaux (30) still active in the area of land registration and management
- Land Administration System (LAS) still applied
- Land Administration Information System (LAIS) still operational and regularly updated
- Local residents trained as para-surveyors still involved in land registration processes
- Draft National Land Use and Development Master Plan approved and under implementation

3.2. Information and comments on sustainability aspects from the available reports (desk phase):

From the GCCA Global Evaluation Report, 2014:

- The various reports on the LTRSP raise concerns about the sustainability of the LTR process. A first issue concerns the sustainability of the Land Administration System (LAS) itself, in particular the institutional set-up at district level (District Land Bureaux) and below (sector level), where staff, skills and equipment are still limited. Currently, support from developing partners is aimed at strengthening the institutional set-up at decentralised levels (in particular the funding of 416 land managers based in the sector administrations) and at speeding up the transfer of information into the Land Administration Information System (LAIS).
- Another concern relates to the functioning of the LAIS, in particular on the effective collection of the lease documents by the landholders. While the system aims to make the District Land Bureaux self-sustaining through cost-recovery mechanisms, the real cost attached to the collection of documents could be unaffordable to some households, which would then pose a threat to the proper functioning of the LAIS, as people would tend to resort to land transactions outside the legal system. Reportedly, this concern is currently being addressed through awareness campaigns and appropriate pricing policies.
- A third concern relates to the capacities of the justice sector to address the many land disputes emerging from the LTR process. This concern is, to some extent, addressed through other EU support to the justice sector.
- Continued GCCA support to the LTR programme could be justified by the argument that further donor support seems required if the current results of the action are to be sustained. Additional support would be particularly relevant to ensure the continued operation of the institutions that were created to manage the Land Administration System at the de-centralised levels (districts, sectors).
 - In case of continued GCCA support, the evaluator would recommend that more attention be given to (1) local-level promotion of sustainable land use (soil and water conservation, agroforestry); and (2) systematic monitoring of environmental impacts of land use (such as soil erosion, water turbidity). Further, there should be a more prominent focus on climate adaptation and resilience objectives and appropriate indicators, relevant to these objectives, should be identified.

The best entry point for the achievement of more sustainable land use or a wider adoption of climatesmart agriculture techniques, seems to be the government's agricultural and forestry extension systems, that already benefit from EU support (in 2014). It would require a strengthening of CC mainstreaming in the agricultural extension programmes, which still seem to have a strong focus on



agricultural intensification, with little attention for e.g. organic fertilisers. As already mentioned in section 2.2, the evaluator is further of the opinion that the National Land Use and Development Master Plan and the District Land Use Plans — which are the land sub-sector's tools to achieve sustainable and rational land use - are unlikely to make an important contribution to more sustainable land use as their implementation is not based on regular contacts with farmers.

• Recommendations for an eventual follow-on support¹⁸ included: (1) to work on the sustainability of the LAS, in organisational and operational terms; (2) to work on the financial sustainability of the system, in particular with regards to the functioning of the District Land Bureaux; and (3) to strengthen the capacities of the Justice Sector to address land disputes.

From Neil Bird's report, evaluating the budget support modality for environment and CC projects:

The biggest challenge, which is beyond the control of the EU budget support programme, is to ensure the sustainability of the government's reforms. Whilst the support programme allowed for the timely completion of a nationwide effort to register land parcels, the land registration system has yet to mature and demonstrate that the security of tenure is indeed necessary to make farmers invest in soil conservation and irrigation practices, and thereby effective in reducing their vulnerability to climate change.

From the GCCA Technical Fiche, completed by the project manager at the EUD:

Both technical and financial sustainability present a major challenge for the programme. Technically, the challenge relates to the immense amount of data/information to be processed, archived and made available at decentralised and centralised levels. The current dynamic in property changes even exacerbates the data challenge. Financially, the maintenance and sustained operation of the complex LAS is quite a burden for the government.



From the Joint Review Summary Report :

The National Land Centre, mandated to manage the country's land resources, was allocated a limited budget by MINECOFIN (25% of what was requested); the sector clearly relies on support from development partners to bridge the gap. Also, there has been a continued limited capacity in the District Land Bureaux – in terms of personnel, technical capacity, other operational resources and equipment.

3.3. Findings from the desk phase and specific issues that were further explored during the field phase

From the available documents, one can understand that there were several concerns regarding the sustainability of the achievements by the end of the LTRSP. A follow-on phase was recommended and also materialised. When assessing sustainability levels, it must be made clear to what extent they can be attributed to the respective phases.

Otherwise, the general guidelines for assessing the levels of sustainability as provided in the Terms of Reference were applied.

¹⁸ Which in fact materialised.



3.4 Results of the sustainability analysis (as per table)

6 items were checked for their sustainability. Information could be collected for all of these.

The scores of these 6 items are as follows:

- 2 items (33%) scored 1, meaning that they were fully sustained and expanded/improved
- 1 item (17%) scored 2, meaning it was fully sustained in a "status quo" situation
- 3 items (50%) scored 3, meaning that they still exist but with quality and/or coverage issues

Evidence was found through direct observation for one item (17%); through reporting by reliable sources for 2 items (33%); and through a combination of direct observation and reporting by a reliable source for 3 items (50%).

3.5 Conclusions on the sustainability aspects and discussion on factors for success and failure

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The longer term sustainability of the several items that were assessed (see box 3.4 and the sustainability assessment table in annex), including the implementation of the newly updated National Land Use and Development Master Plan, rests upon a successful and swift transition to a self-funded business model, or delivery of some emergency funding boost from a donor or from the government itself. At the time of the field trip none was foreseen. If sufficient funding cannot be accessed quickly, the entire land administration system including its adequacy as a platform for delivering and monitoring other initiatives including those related to climate change mitigation and adaptation, risks losing capacity, currency and accessibility.

FACTORS ENHANCING SUSTAINABILITY

- The decisive success factor of the GCCA+ support was that it was embedded within a multi-donor programme in partnership with the Government of Rwanda. Each piece distributed risk of failure among the partners and a clear project lead (DFID) recruited a bespoke service provider to manage day-to-day programme implementation.
- The comprehensive policy approach that characterizes Rwanda's land reforms demonstrates the deep political buy-in backed by a financial co-contribution to the programme running costs. A key government objective was to build a 'participatory' approach to LTR as a key to resolve and move beyond a fragile post-genocide and political and social conflict situation and to promote peace and reconciliation. Between 2010-2012, of the 8 million titles that were created, less than 0.1% were disputed (English, 2018).
- A further success factor was that the LTR delivered several rights embedded constitutionally, including gender equity rights and the right of all Rwandan's to own property. This helped to give the programme additional legitimacy and minimized possible negative associations with some associated social upheavals, including the steep rise in the proportion of women who became title holders in a rapid time frame (Ngogo, 2018, Ali, 2011, 2014, 2017).
- Comprehensive training and involvement of communities has been a key factor of success through the programme lifetime and according to the LTRP logframe, 100% of recruitment and training targets were met.



FACTORS THAT COULD DETERMINE FUTURE SUSTAINABILITY

A key issue to resolve going forward, that could be pivotal in its success or failure is related to its potential to generate revenues and to become self-funding. The current fee structure is regressive, that is, a single rate is levied across all basic transactions (around 20,000 RWF) irrespective of land size or income status. This level of fee is not affordable for the rural or urban poor, and in urgent need of reform as the government considers how to monetize the LTRPs comprehensive array of services.



The perceived value of the LAIS in particular, given that it functions as whole-of-government repository of data and is called upon heavily by bodies and agencies (ranging from the property developers and urban planners to the finance ministry and ministry of agriculture, to the courts) as a source of information to inform policy design and the delivery of social and economic services and justice is both evidence of its success and a threat to its sustainability. Every use draws upon RMLUA resources which following the closure of the programme and the end of donor support, are severely constrained. The evaluator repeatedly inquired about potential to reallocate budget and or resources from line ministries to RMLUA, to cover costs of maintaining this highly valuable resource. Although reallocations are not currently being considered as a potential source of funding the government

(which is reluctant to step forward with its own budgetary resources) should explore adjusting ministry allocations to ensure sufficient resources are dedicated to the job of keeping data current and to ensure the database is upgraded periodically.



IV. Additional Elements

4.1. M&E Practice

M&E ACTIVITIES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE:

Internal:

DFID, which led the LTRSP donor consortium, commissioned a number of progress reports, M&E reports and detailed studies. These include:

- The Project Completion Report of the first phase of the Land Reform Process Support Programme,
 2009
- The Final Report on the baseline survey for the Land Tenure Regularisation Programme, 2011
- Mid-term Review report, 2011
- Quantitative and Qualitative Surveys on the LTR logframe targets, 2013
- Annual Reviews, 2013 2014 2016 2017 2018
- Progress report on selected indicators, 2015
- Surveys to gather data and information for tracking implementation progress, 2018
- Impact Evaluation of the LTRP, 2019

During programme implementation, up to 100 M&E staff were employed by the RLMUA to support data collection, analysis and regular updating of the LAIS. However, at the support programme's cessation in 2019, these were terminated, leaving only three M&E officials in place including the head of unit.

External:

GCCA/EU mostly relied on DFID to organise the necessary M&E missions. In addition, the GCCA/EU support to the LTRSP has been one of the case studies (1) under the GCCA Global Evaluation study (2014) and (2) under the review of EU experiences, best practices and lessons learned in environment and climate change related projects funded under the budget support modality (2014).

% OF BUDGET ALLOCATED TO M&E THAT HAS BEEN USED:

No information available.

ADDITIONAL M&E REPORTS THAT HAVE BEEN COLLECTED:

- Ali, D., Deininger, K., Goldstein, M., 2011. Environmental and Gender Impacts Pilot Evidence from Rwanda. World Bank Group.
- Ali, D., Deininger, K. and Goldstein, M., 2014a. Environmental and Gender Impacts of Land Tenure Regularisation in Africa: Evidence from Rwanda. Journal of Development Economics 110 (2014) p 262-275.
- Ali, D., Deininger, K. and Duponchel, M., 2014b. Credit Constraints, Agricultural Productivity, and Rural Non-farm Participation. World Bank Group.
- Ali, D., Goldstein, M., La Ferrara, E., 2015. Empowering Women through LTR Evidence from Impact Evaluation in Rwanda. World Bank Group.
- Ali, D., Deininger, K., Duponchel M., 2016. Using Administrative Data to Assess the Impact and Sustainability of Rwanda's Land Tenure Regularization. World Bank Group.



• Durieux, M., Grabham, J., Rasulova, S., Tanner, C., and Turner, S., 2019. Impact Evaluation of the Land Tenure Regularisation Programme, Rwanda. Oxford-UK, E-Pact.

4.2. Contributions to GCCA+ knowledge management and communication

PROJECT-SUPPORTED RESEARCH AND RESEARCH FINDINGS: None

COMMUNICATION MATERIALS: None

4.3. Opportunities for scaling up (future GCCA support activity)

Rwanda has now demarcated every single parcel of land in the country. Based on this key outcome, further steps need to be taken in the process of making land management and land use practices more sustainable across the country. Some of these further steps provide valuable opportunities for scaling-up and further donor support:

- Support to the currently ongoing process of land titling and making the pricing of land services
 progressive so that the poor are not disproportionately burdened with the costs of land registration.
- The well-designed land titling system can now serve as a platform for delivering a raft of complementary policies and services, including extension services for agricultural productivity programmes. The Crop Intensification (CIP) and the Land Use Consolidation (LUCP) Programmes, for example, used the LTRP to organise agricultural intensification initiatives and extension service delivery. In terms of data collection, the land titling system could also serve as a potent platform for collecting and cross-referencing demographic and economic data. The platform is, for example, now being used to collect information about tree planting programmes. With time, this sort of information could and should evolve to facilitate accurate projections about the mitigation potential of e.g. climate smart agriculture techniques and reforestation initiatives, as well as about adaptation benefits including improved water resource management Supporting the establishment and provision of such services is a next logical step that should be pursued.

Adequate land titling – as was supported in Rwanda – is highly relevant to be replicated in other countries where sustainable land management and use is an issue. While land titling may not lead to direct climate change mitigation and adaptation impacts, its absence is a fundamental barrier to effective climate action related to REDD+, agricultural as well as ecosystem rehabilitation programmes and initiatives.

4.4. Climate Finance – evidence of funding mobilised from public and/or private local sources

The Rwandan government covered about 10% of the total project cost of around 49,295,000 EUR; the remaining 90% were provided by four different donors, with the GCCA being one of them. This sharing of the total cost reduces the risk of project delivery problems in case of national funding shortfalls, while still encouraging actual buy-in and ownership by the Rwandan government and population.



- The LTRP offers an interesting example in monetising the provision of public services to mobilise climate finance. The platform provides data that underpin more than 30 different services. For a small fee individuals and entities may access these services (agencies can access data at no cost) notwithstanding the significant resources that go toward collecting, maintaining and providing usable data. The purpose of the fee is to pay for the administration and registration services. These service fees have so far raised in Rwanda around 25 million USD since 2014. Going forward, fees, charges and even discounts could be designed to incentivise climate friendly behaviours or could be directed to fund climate actions. For example, providing evidence that climate smart technologies had been applied to a piece of land could attract a discount for registering a land sale and the reverse might work also, with proceeds paying for capacity building delivered through one stop District offices. Currently, more than 30% of the fees are collected through the government portal manager, IREMBO, while the sector-related agencies (RLMUA, Minsitry of Environment,...) do not receive any revenue from the services delivered. Reviewing this arrangement might encourage the use of the collected fees for investments in better land use. Business plans are currently under consideration that might achieve full recovery of the programme's ~£53 million up front costs by 2023. As with all climate finance, the integrity of the financing is determined not in how it is mobilised but in how it is invested.
- Mobilising private investment toward sustainable land use: The nascent land market has good potential in mobilizing private investment in a variety of land activities from property development in city landscapes, over land conservation and rehabilitation, to agriculture. In just the first nine months of 2018, loans valued at 637 million RWF, equivalent to almost 12% of the GDP, had been granted using land as collateral. While these loans were not granted to the very poor and so are not an indication of improved access to credit, they are indicative of the significant contribution private investors in land can make to the national economy. Further, there is evidence that up to 16% of the loans' proceeds were spent on improving agriculture. While it cannot be said for certain that these investments were climate change relevant, the mechanism could be tailored to mobilise finance toward specific outcomes using a range of relevant activities and inputs.



V. Sources of Information

DOCUMENTS COLLECTED AND CONSULTED FOR THE DESK PHASE ANALYSIS:

Programming documents

- Action Fiche, 2009 (no logframe)
- Financing Agreement + TAPS + appendices including logframe, 2009

Progress reports

- Summary of the Environment and Natural Resources Performance Report, UNDP/MINELA, 2010
- Joint Sector Review Summary Report, 2011

Monitoring and Evaluation reports

- Mid-Term Review (MTR) of DFID's support to the Government of Rwanda's Land Tenure Regularisation Programme, Terra Firma, October 2011.
- Mission Aide Mémoire: Rwanda¹⁹. GCCA Global Evaluation. Egger Topper, April 2014.
- Review of EU experience, best practices and lessons learned in the field of environment and climate change through the aid modality of budget support, chapter Rwanda, Neil Bird and Fabrice Ferrandes, November 2014.

Technical documents

- Establishing a Land Administration System (LAS) for Rwanda: Technical and Economic Analysis, slide presentation by D.G.Sagashya
- Mapping of Resources for Development Rwanda Country Report, slide presentation by D.G.Sagashya, November 2014

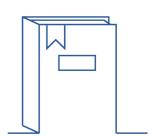
ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS COLLECTED AND CONSULTED DURING THE FIELD PHASE:

- Ali, D., Deininger, K., Golstein, M., (2011). Environmental and Gender Impacts Pilot Evidence from Rwanda, Washington DC, World Bank Group.
- Ali, D., Deininger, K. and Goldstein, M. (2014a). Environmental and Gender Impacts of Land Tenure Regularisation in Africa: Evidence from Rwanda, Journal of Development Economics 110 (2014) 262-275.
- Ali, D., Deininger, K. and Duponchel, M. (2014b). Credit Constraints, Agricultural Productivity, and Rural Non-farm Participation, Washington DC, World Bank.
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- Ali, D., Deininger, K., Duponchel M., (2016). Using Administrative Data to Assess the Impact and Sustainability of Rwanda's Land Tenure Regularization, Washington DC, World Bank Group.
- Baldwin, R., Charles, R., (2019). Land Market and Sustainability in Rwanda High Level RLMUA Business Plan. Report produced by DAI for DFID.
- Baldwin, R., Charles, R., Iyadema, J., (2019). Rwanda Land Market Assessment Version 1.0 (Final).
 Report produced by DAI for DFID.
- Durieux, M., Grabham, J., Rasulova, S., Tanner, C., Turner, S., (2019). Impact Evaluation of the Land Tenure Regularisation Programme in Rwanda, Oxford, UK., E-Pact.

¹⁹ The Aide Mémoire resulted to be the most updated and complete source for the desk phase report. The data provided in the Aide Mémoire were compiled from various sources, in particular the 'Backward-looking joint sector review of FY2011/12', the Final Report of the Service Provider Contract (July 2013) and the Rwanda Land Tenure Regularisation Case Study (March 2014).



- English, E., Locke, A., Quan, J., Feyertag, J. Securing Land Rights at Scale: Lessons and Guiding Principles from DFID Land Tenure Regularisation and Land Sector Support Programmes, London, Legend.
- Gillingham, P. and Buckle, F., (2014). Rwanda Land Tenure Regularisation Case Study, Evidence on Demand.
- Hillhorst, T., and Meunier, F., (2015). How Innovations in Land Administration Improve on Doing Business, Washington DC, World Bank Group.
- Hoza Ngoga, T., (2018). Rwanda Land Tenure Reform: Non-Existent to Best Practice, Oxfordshire, CABI.
- Ministry of Environment, (2019). National Land Policy.
- Nahayo, A., Pan, G., Joseph, S., (2016). Factors Influencing the Adoption of Soil Conservation Techniques in Northern Rwanda, Journal of Plant Nature and Soil Science, 2016, Nr. 179, pp 376-375.
- Niyonsaba, I., Bisiaux, R., and Habimana, D., (2013). LTR Logframe Targets Quantitative and Qualitative Surveys, DFID.
- RLMUA, Ministry of Environment, (2017). Land Use Planning Guidelines.
- RLMUA, Ministry of Environment, (2020). National Land Use and Development Master Plan for 2020-2050.



RELEVANT WEBSITES:

- IREMBO (national database): https://www.irembo.rw and https://irembo.gov.rw/rolportal/en/web/rnra/home?agency-code=RNRA&menu-highlight=AGE#RNRA
- RLMUA : https://rlma.rw/
- RNRA: http://www.rnra.rw/

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- Anna Knox, Chief of Party, LAND Project, USAID, <u>aknox@land-project.org</u>

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Ines-Ruhengeri University:

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Annex to the report: Sustainability analysis

NR	DESCRIPTION OF SYSTEM/SERVICE/PRODUCT TO BE SUSTAINED	SCORE	EVIDENCE	EXPLANATORY NOTES
1	The National Land Tenure Centre and the Office for the Registration of Land Titles still operational and complying with their mandate	3	D/R	The institutional framework for land management has undergone a number of iterations since the end of the LTRSP. In 2011, the National Land Tenure Centre and the Office for Registration of Land Titles moved into the Rwanda Natural Resources Authority (RNRA), which then became in 2017 the Rwanda Land Management and Use Authority (RLMUA) under the Ministry of Land and Forests. Late 2018, the RLMUA returned to the Ministry of Environment. The RLMUA has developed and is coordinating the nationwide system of land administration services (LAIS) implemented through 30 districts in over 416 sectors. Its mandate includes: 1. To implement national policies, laws, strategies, regulations and Government resolutions related to the management and use of land; 2. To provide advice to the Government, monitor and coordinate the implementation of strategies related to the management and use of land; 3. To promote investment and value addition in activities related to the use and exploitation of land resources in Rwanda; 4. To register land, issue and keep authentic land deeds and any other information relating to land in Rwanda; 5. To supervise all land-related matters and represent the State for supervision and monitoring of land management and use; 6. To execute or cause to be executed geodetic, topographic, hydrographic and cadastral surveys in relation to land resources;





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- 7. To initiate research and study on land, publish the research results and disseminate them:
- 8. To prepare, disseminate and publish various maps and master plans relating to land management using the most appropriate scales;
- 9. To establish and update basic topographic maps and thematic maps;
- To define standards for (a) land administration; (b) land surveys; (c) geo-information, spatial information and land information data collection; and (d) cartographic representations of geographic features and national spatial data infrastructure;
- 11. To set up principles and guidelines related to use of land;
- 2. To organise, coordinate and monitor the collection, use and dissemination of geo information in the country under the National Spatial Data Infrastructure Framework;
- To issue technical instructions related to land management and use to District Land Bureaux and follow-up their implementation;
- To receive and evaluate proposals to purchase or lease state-owned land and to issue, on behalf of the Government, long term leases and permits to occupy such lands in accordance with the Law governing land in Rwanda;
- 15. To monitor and to enforce the execution of terms of land lease contracts and to advise on their amendment;
- 16. To undertake or cause to be undertaken all State land valuation for the purposes of its classification for sale, lease, taxation and cession;
- To carry out an inventory of all land resources in the country, their quality and their use, and act as the keeper and custodian of all national maps, aerial photomaps collections and their database:
- 18. To resolve conflicts relating to land use and management which were not resolved at the District or City of Kigali levels;
- 19. To establish cooperation and collaboration with other regional and international institutions with an aim of harmonising the performance and relations on matters relating to management of land;

On the face of it, the functionality of the RLMUA appears to be fully sustained, at least at the level of status quo (that is, scoring a 2 in this evaluation). However, at the time of the field visit



				in October 2019, RLMUA by all accounts was facing serious funding challenges that, if not resolved, threaten to undo the work laid down over the past 11 years. Among immediate challenges were a 60% attrition rate of staff who had been regularly trained before being poached by the World Bank or other international organisations based in Rwanda and paying international wages. According to a senior RLMUA staff, with the LTRSP ending in March 2019, the number of staff for land use monitoring in the field fell from more than 100 to just three.
				A report to DFID, proposing three alternative business models for the RLMUA, warned: 'RLMUA's current institutional and financial structure is not sustainable, and so a new approach is urgently needed' (Baldwin, 2019 b).
				At the time of writing (November 2020), RLMUA officials did not reply to further questions regarding whether or not the business plan was being implemented, or if further donor funds had been secured.
				However, in June 2020, it was reported that RLMUA had launched a land information inquiry portal as a further step toward easing property transactions, suggesting that at the very least, the LAIS is still functioning. Finally, in 2020, Rwanda was ranked third by the World Bank for ease of doing business in terms of ease of registering property, and fourth in accessing credit ²⁰ . Interestingly, it ranked 81 in terms of getting construction permits, suggesting that at least in terms of adding value to property, much work still needs to be done.
2	The District Land Bureaux (30) are still active in the area of land registration and management	1	R	The 30 District Land Bureaux, now known as District Land Offices, are located across every district and manage the day-to-day implementation of Rwanda's land policies and services. District offices are common in Rwanda's institutional governance structure across a range of sectors, such as health and infrastructure. While the DLO administer national policies and in the case of land, document, adjudicate and facilitate land registration (and in this capacity transmit information to RLMUA), they are part of the local government reporting structure. This dual

²⁰ See https://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings accessed on January 27 2021.





				reporting structure has created some inefficiencies in the administration of land policy. In practice, the institutionalisation of the DLO reflects the importance given to land in delivering Rwanda's social and economic objectives, as, theoretically, no citizen should have to travel more than 12 kilometres to reach one. All DLOs have been established and equipped, the last one coming on-line and connecting to the LAIS in 2017. DLOs achieved their training targets (100%) up to and including in 2017. Each district is zoned into sectors, 416 of which exist across the country. Each sector is the responsibility of a land sector manager who is expected to be in the field, addressing the concerns of citizens. Recruitment for the positions fell behind schedule during phase two of the programme and by 2018 411/416 were in place, up from 388 in 2017.
3	The Land Administration System (LAS) still applied	2	D/R	The Land Administration System (LAS) was the nomenclature to describe the system of land administration, including the land policies such as the LTRP, as well as the institutions such as the RLMUA at the national level, the District Land Offices at the district level and the land cells at the community level. While the system is no longer referred to as the LAS (which to be fair is likely a donor artefact as references can only be found in programme evaluation documents), the system itself is still very much in place and subject to ongoing evolutions. The revised National Land Policy (2019) situates land and relationships with land at the heart of Rwanda's economic and social development objectives. The policy is founded on three pillars: Pillar 1. Land Use Planning, Surveying and Mapping; Pillar 2. Land Use Management; and Pillar 3. Land Administration. The Land Administration Pillar provides policy orientation on how to improve the current land administration system in Rwanda in terms of (i) land registration, (ii) administration of land lease fees and real property taxes, (iii) management of land related disputes and iv) coordination of the land sub-sector. Although each of these elements is functioning well currently and builds on and develops aspects of the former LAS, the current funding challenges will be critical in ensuring it continues to function well. This last factor is decisive in the evaluation score of 2.

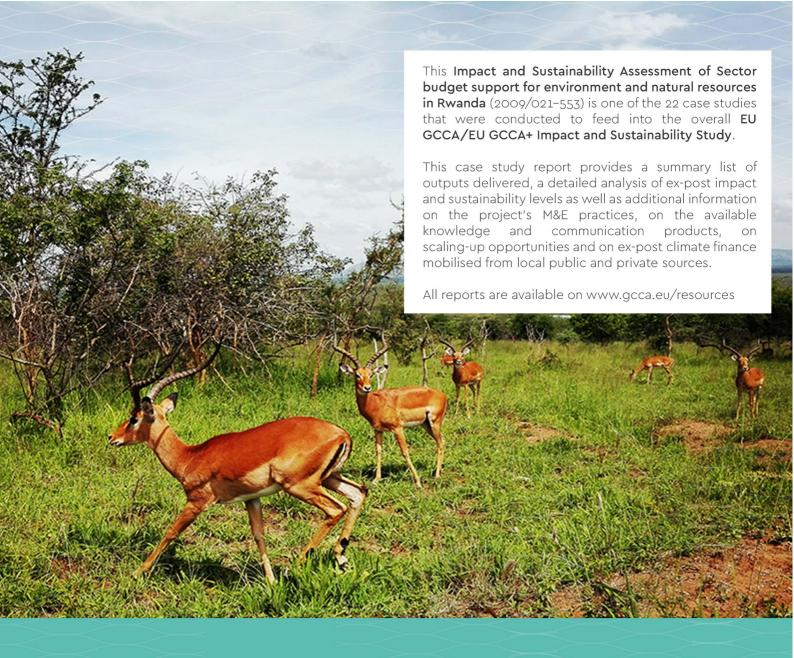




4	The Land Administration Information System (LAIS) still operational and regularly updated	3	D/R	LAIS is operational in all zonal and district land offices and manages all cadastral and property ownership data, supports property transactions, and in effect provides Rwanda with Africa's only all-digital property register. There are however some deficiencies that threaten the sustainability of the LAIS upon which the entire land administration system depends: 1. The intended upgrade and consolidation was delayed due to underperformance of the contractor and the subsequent termination of the contract in May 2018. This delay was the reason for the extension of LTRSP, Phase 2 to March 2019. 2. While basic data on transactions are posted on the RLMUA website, any analytical use of the data in the LAIS requires manual running of queries which only a very small number of RLMUA staff are qualified to construct. The LTRSP's final evaluation report (2019) mentioned that when the DFID team requested tables to be regenerated from the LAIS in February 2019, there were so many errors and data inconsistencies that it was advised to put the data through an additional process of cleaning and checking. At the time of the I&S field visit in 2019, RLMUA was unable to supply any documentation that could be used to independently conduct analytical inquiries. 3. According to Baldwin (2019,a), Rwanda urgently needs a National Spatial Data Information System which would most likely be integrated into the LAIS. Rwanda's population is projected to double by 2050 and an estimated 60-90,000 new houses are needed each year, putting great pressure on the existing land management structure. Baldwin's report suggests: 'a technology refresh is required and this will need considerable investment'. 4. RLMUA, which hosts LAIS, is significantly underfunded. See also comments above.
5	Local residents - trained as para-surveyors - still involved in land registration processes	3	R	Faced with a shortage of professional surveyors, the government recruited thousands of local residents and trained them in map- and photo reading skills. Training was done through learning by doing as competent surveyors from one cell were used to train those in another, and so on.



				This approach worked as an efficient mechanism for training a large number of people over a large area. (Niboyasha, 2013) At a certain point, the lack of professionalisation of the land professions was criticised. As a response, RLMUA established in 2016 the Rwanda Association of Surveyors. Today there is still a shortage of professionally trained surveyors in the district offices. Budgetary constraints hamper fast recruitment of the required numbers of surveyors. So, the local para-surveyors are gradually replaced by professional surveyors but the replacement is slow and the longevity of the professional service is uncertain due to severe budgetary constraints.
6	Draft National Land Use and Development Master Plan approved and under implementation	1	D	The Master Plan was approved in 2011. A review of the Master Plan was underway at the time of the I&S visit (November 2019) with the aim of aligning the plan with the new 2050 Vision, the Land Use Planning Guidelines released in 2017, and an updated Land Policy also scheduled for finalisation in 2019. The review was also to fully integrate monitoring (remote sensing) of encroachment upon protected zones and buffer zones, and to update provisions in relation to land parcels less than 1 ha in size (previously prohibited, and the result mainly of inheritances and subdivisions for dwellings). The updated Master Plan was released in July 2020, and is available here. Though there are clear signs of the Master Plan being used and under implementation, no systematic information could be collected on its overall implementation status. A first implementation audit would be conducted late 2019 (after the I&S field visit).



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