

Towards gender equality: strengthening women's land rights and access to justice

Insights from the LAND-at-scale program



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Abstract

To address gender inequalities more effectively in land governance, it is crucial to conduct a thorough evaluation of current approaches. This thesis analyzed the integration of gender perspectives in the LAND-at-scale (LAS) program, focusing on strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice. Qualitative research methods with semi-structured interviews were used to analyze the theoretical objectives and practical strategies used by the LAS country projects in Uganda, Burundi, Chad, and Mali. To gain nuanced insights into the implementation process, a detailed case study is conducted in Mozambique, emphasizing the impact of local factors on strategy implementation. The central research question explores how LAS incorporates strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice, considering gender inequality and challenges faced by project implementers. This study fills this gap by exploring the complexities involved in translating theoretical objectives into practices tailored to specific contexts. The findings reveal a commitment from LAS to incorporate gender considerations throughout project phases, but also reveals inconsistencies and ambiguities in its gender strategy, raising questions about effective implementation. The LAS country projects exhibit a common goal of improving land governance and enhancing women's land rights, with objectives tailored to specific contexts. The projects apply a diverse range to translate these objectives into practice. Most strategies are oriented toward awareness raising and knowledge sharing, stakeholder engagement, and land registration, yet they remain abstract regarding their specific implementation, target groups and methods used to realize intended change. In terms of access to justice, alternative dispute resolution (ADR) is mostly used to reduce the barriers that women face in asserting their rights. Challenges faced by project implementers, notably cultural norms, resistance, and gaps between laws and implementation, show the complexity of the practical implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights. Additionally, local factors influence strategy implementation as was emphasized by the case study in Mozambique. Factors such as limited state capacity, cultural norms, and poor infrastructure affect can challenge practical implementation. Furthermore, the case study raises questions about the alignment in priority of implementing organizations and local communities, emphasizing the need to consider the needs of local women in land related interventions. These aspects underscore the complexity of achieving successful outcomes, emphasizing the importance of strategies tailored to the local context, time investments, and collaboration with diverse stakeholders. Despite LAS's dedication to gender equality, ongoing challenges underscore the need for clearer strategies and a comprehensive understanding of their impact on women's lives.

Key words: Women's land rights, gender inequality, development initiatives, LAND-at-scale program, access to justice, land governance, gender transformative change

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“If we don’t have the land, we don’t have life.” (Female paralegal, Manhiça district)

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Inhoud

- Abstract 3**
- Acknowledgements 4**
- List of abbreviations 7**
- 1. Introduction 8**
- 2. Theoretical framework..... 10**
 - The crucial role of women in rural economies 10
 - Women’s land rights 10
 - Gender within development programs 11
 - Challenges to women’s land rights 13
 - Access to justice 13
 - Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice..... 15
 - Approaches to addressing gender in development policy and institutions 17
 - Applying a gender transformative approach in development programs 18
 - Research questions..... 23
- 3. Methodology..... 24**
 - Methodological approach 24
 - Methods 24
 - Selection of the LAS country projects..... 25
 - The LAND-at-scale program 25
 - Country projects 25
 - Expert interviews..... 25
 - Case study and fieldwork 26
 - Data analysis..... 28
 - Reflection on the positionality of the researcher..... 29
 - Ethics 29
- 4. Results 30**
 - 4.1 Integrating gender into LAND-at-scale: the framework, strategy, and challenges 30
 - The LAS gender framework 30
 - Monitoring and evaluation 32
 - Discussion 33
 - 4.2 Objectives of the LAS country projects to enhance women’s land rights 34
 - Overview of the objectives selected by the country projects 34
 - Background and objectives – LAS Burundi 36
 - Background and objectives LAS Chad..... 37
 - Background and objectives - LAS Uganda 38

Background and objectives - LAS Mali.....	39
Discussion	39
4.3 Strategies to enhance women’s land rights.....	41
Strategies selected by the LAS country projects to enhance women’s land rights	41
Critical remarks.....	44
4.4 Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice.....	47
Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice.....	48
Alternative dispute resolution and gender sensitivity training for mediation projects	50
Increasing representation and decision-making power of women.....	52
Raising knowledge about women’s land rights	53
Conclusion	55
4.5 Experiences and challenges with implementation of strategies to enhance women’s land rights	55
Implementation of the law and legal pluralism.....	56
Resistance from men and women	57
Challenges with achieving gender transformative change.....	58
Conclusion	60
4.6 Local factors and the implementation of strategies to enhance women’s land rights – insights from the Land-at-scale project in Mozambique	61
Mozambique’s land governance system.....	61
Challenges with implementation of land laws	62
Women and their rights to use land.....	63
Centro Terra Viva - Estudos e Advocacia Ambiental.....	64
Exploring local influences on women's land rights in LAS.....	64
5. Conclusion.....	80
6. Discussion	82
Integration of gender by the LAS program	82
Aligning objectives, strategies and intended outcomes.....	83
Barriers to access to justice for women and ADR mechanisms.....	84
Applying gender transformative approaches into the LAS program	84
Local factors and their impact on the implementation of strategies	85
Recommendations for future research	86
Limitations of the research.....	86
7. References	88
Appendices	92
Appendix A	92

Appendix B	93
Appendix C.....	95
Appendix D	96
Appendix E.....	97
Appendix F.....	97

List of abbreviations

LAS - LAND-at-scale

RVO - Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland

KPSRL - Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law

IDLO - International Development Law Organisation

DUAT - Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra (State allocated Land Use and Benefit Right)

KIT - Royal Tropical Institute

GEC – Gender Evaluation Criteria Tool

GTA - Gender transformative approach

GTC – Gender transformative change

ADR – Alternative dispute resolution

CIJ - Customary Informal Systems

UNAC - National Union of Mozambican Peasants

1. Introduction

Women play a pivotal role in the agricultural sector by actively preserving and efficiently utilizing resources, especially in countries where the agricultural industry is a primary source of income (Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020). As main producers in rural areas, their involvement in the agricultural sector, in investments and decision-making often benefits their families and could enhance food security within local communities (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). Women's access to land is therefore recognized as an important factor in promoting socio-economic development (Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020).

However, especially for women, secured and registered access to land is not self-evident and only 20% of all legal land holders in the world are female (World Bank et al., 2009). This lack of tenure security could negatively affect their agency and deprive women in various aspects of life, including food security, financial credit, housing, and shelter. Even when women's rights are recognized through national policies, patriarchal norms that are deeply rooted in society often prevents them from claiming those rights and from seeking justice (Ravnborg et al., 2016). Therefore, cultural norms, inadequate legal rights, and a lack of access to those rights may increase the vulnerability of women and could arguably contribute to gender inequality in the agricultural sector (IDLO, 2017; Polavarapu, 2020).

Despite its importance for promoting inclusive land governance, gender remains an often neglected or insufficiently addressed issue in development initiatives (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015; Chu, 2011) While there is growing commitment to integrating gender perspectives into land interventions, intended outcomes are often not achieved (see Chapter 2). However, 'to not consider gender [explicitly] is almost always to discriminate against women in land projects (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006 p.14) Therefore, is important to consider policies that recognize and act upon the gendered nature of land rights and to decrease gender inequality within land governance (Mukhopadhyay & Quintero, 2008; AFDB & ECA, 2013; Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). Additional research is essential to gain a deeper understanding of the functioning of development programs regarding the integration of gender perspectives (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006). This acquired knowledge may enhance the efficacy of these initiatives in advancing women's land rights and promoting gender equality. McDougall et al., (2021) therefore highlight the importance of evaluating current approaches, especially in the agricultural sector, to meaningfully address gender inequalities.

LAND-at-scale (LAS) is a development program that aims to contribute to fair and just tenure security, access to land and natural resource due to its expected relevance for enhancing access to livelihoods. This program is commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and executed by the Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO). Currently, the LAS program consists of ten country projects, mainly in West Africa and the Middle East but also outside of those: Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Colombia, Mali, Mozambique, Palestinian Territories, Rwanda, Somalia, and Uganda. Next to other land related objectives, LAS strives to incorporate gender perspectives into the program to foster gender equality in land governance. The program aims to be 'gender transformative' and strives to realize structural changes to advance women's land rights. Hereby, LAS follows a programmatic approach, allowing each project to adjust to the local context, design their own strategies and determine the actions taken to achieve the objectives (RVO, 2022). The intention from the RVO is to guide the country projects during the design, intervention, and monitoring phases of the program and to provide funding, knowledge, skills, and tools. They focus on how interventions or lessons learned might be scaled to maximize their impact.

However, there is no comprehensive overview of objectives and strategies that are currently being implemented in the LAS program to improve women's land rights and the potential challenges that

may emerge within this process. Having an overview of the objectives, strategies, and difficulties encountered within the program, could foster information sharing between projects and may contribute to improving gender equality and women's land rights in a more effective way. Therefore, the aim of this master's thesis is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of objectives and their translation into strategies designed to enhance women's land rights and access to justice within the LAND-at-scale program. The research aims to comprehend how the program incorporates gender considerations, describing the specific objectives and strategies implemented in various country projects within LAS (Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, see chapter 3 for case selection), and examine the challenges encountered during the implementation of these strategies. Namely, to understand the effectiveness and impact of a gender approach, it is essential to understand how objectives are translated into real actions and how this may affect implementation on the ground (Quisumbing et al., 2023). Namely, the success of gender-related initiatives often depends on the context, defined objectives, practical steps taken, the methods employed, and the execution of strategies in the real world (Hillenbrand et al., 2015).

Given that the effective implementation of strategies may be influenced by the local context (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006; Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011), a detailed case study of the LAS project in Mozambique is conducted (see chapter 3 for case selection). This case study aims to discuss contextual factors that may influence the implementation of strategies for enhancing women's land rights in Mozambique. By delving into these specific characteristics, the findings may contribute to understanding how the local context can influence implementation and offer insights into the potential influence of incorporating gender considerations in the LAS program.

By investigating the practical implementation of strategies across multiple LAS projects, as well as conducting an in-depth case study in Mozambique, the research aims to provide insight into the alignment between theoretical objectives and practical implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice. This thesis aims to enhance the understanding of how international development programs, such as LAND-at-scale, operate concerning the integration of gender considerations with the ultimate goal of advancing women's land rights, women's access to justice, and gender equality in land-related development initiatives.

Therefore, this thesis addresses the following question:

“How does the LAND-at-scale program incorporate strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice and what challenges emerge during the implementation process?”

To address the primary research question, the thesis unfolds as follows: Firstly, a literature review is conducted to examine gender inequality in land rights, delving deeper into the aforementioned issues such as the implementation of gender in development programs and reasons for women's limited land rights. This section lays the foundation for understanding women's access to land rights and access to justice. Furthermore, it explores approaches to addressing gender in development policies and institutions. Specifically, gender transformative approaches are focused on, due to the expressed commitment of LAS to integrate these approaches into its initiatives. The sub-research questions of this thesis are presented at the end of this chapter. Subsequently, the methodology section outlines the research design, placing particular emphasis on qualitative methods and a case study analysis. Within the results section, the initial focus is on analyzing the gender strategy of the LAS program, shedding light on its dedication to addressing gender disparities. Subsequently, the objectives of the country projects aimed at improving women's land rights are outlined, followed by an analysis of the strategies chosen to translate these objectives into practical implementation. The results then describe how strategies to improve women's access to justice are implemented by the LAS country projects.

Thereafter, the section delves into an analysis of the challenges faced by project implementers in executing strategies to enhance women's access to justice. Lastly, the case study of Mozambique is introduced to provide insight into how local factors may impact project implementation. The thesis concludes with a concise summary of the study's findings and addresses the primary research question. In the discussion section, the study interprets findings, explores broader implications for policy and practice, and proposes recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical framework

The crucial role of women in rural economies

Land, as a fundamental resource in rural societies, forms the cornerstone of economic development and livelihood opportunities in developing countries. Research consistently emphasizes the significance of access and ownership to land for shaping various aspects of development (Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020). As a result, land tenure security, which ensures that an individual's land rights are recognized and protected (IDLO, 2017), is frequently described as a critical factor for socio-economic development and access to livelihood opportunities (Holden & Ghebru, 2016). Women hold a crucial position in rural areas in developing countries by producing more than two thirds of the total availability of food (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011). Numerous studies emphasize the importance of women for enhancing food productivity through their effective management and conservation of land and natural resources (Odeny, 2013; Quisumbing et al., 2019). They actively make decisions and investments that often benefit not only their families, but also their communities. Tenure security is vital for women, empowering household decision-making, enhancing autonomy, reducing domestic violence, and increasing agricultural productivity (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). This catalyzes other livelihood opportunities, such as access to credit and increased investments in critical areas like food, education, and healthcare, which ultimately enhances the well-being of families and communities (Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020). Women's land rights can function as a catalyst for economic empowerment, expected to positively influence development goals, including poverty reduction, food production, economic growth, and gender equality (Quisumbing et al., 2019).

Women's land rights

Women and girls often encounter obstacles in securing their land rights, primarily due to gender-based disparities in resources and societal roles (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011). In rural areas, women, who significantly contribute to their livelihoods through land-related activities, often face challenges in obtaining land ownership or usage rights (Odeny, 2013; Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020).

While most women in rural areas depend on land for their livelihoods, most of them lack the rights to use or register their land (Odeny, 2013; Scalise & Giovarelli, 2020). Despite comprising almost half of the total agricultural workforce in Africa, women own less than 25% of the land (IDLO, 2017). The lack of registered land for women is frequently linked to gender-based disparities in resources and societal roles (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011). Hereby, gender is referred to as the social attributes, opportunities, and relationships associated with being male and female (Gender Mainstreaming Glossary, 2023).

An expanding body of research underscores the issue of gender inequality and disparities in land governance (see figure 1 for definition) (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). These gender disparities contribute to women's vulnerable position and negatively impact their livelihood opportunities, including food security, economic empowerment, social status, and overall well-being (World Bank,

2009; Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). Climate change and the growing demand for farmland in Africa by large-scale investors are expected to further increase the pressure on land, making women more vulnerable (Giovarelli & Scalise, 2020). Namely, absence of land rights for women does not only challenge access to livelihood aspects, but also exposes them to a greater risk of land loss and displacement. However, land titling processes do not always succeed in protecting women's existing rights to land (Rugadya, 2020). In some case it may even have a negative impact on gender inequalities. Namely, land titling processes often fail to recognize and protect women's existing rights in traditional land systems, exacerbating gender inequities (Rugadya, 2020).

Ensuring equal land rights for women has the potential to promote women's empowerment and advance gender equality on a broader scale (IDLO, 2017; Chigbu, 2020). Therefore, within development debates, the importance of enhancing women's land rights to reduce gender equality is often viewed as a policy objective and as a driver of development outcomes (Melesse et al., 2018). While women's land rights can function as a pathway to economic development, feminist scholars highlight the importance and value of gender equality as an intrinsic goal and moral imperative (Quisumbing et al., 2019). This is underscored by international human rights treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which recognizes gender inequality and women's land rights as a human rights issue (IDLO, 2017).

Figure 1. Definitions of land governance, land registration and land tenure.

Land governance: “The rules, processes, and structures through which decisions are made about access to land and its use, the manner in which the decisions are implemented and enforced, and the way that competing interests in land are managed” (IDLO, 2017; p.12).

Land rights: “Systems by which possession or other user rights over land can be recorded (usually with a government agency) to provide evidence of a title, facilitate land transactions and to prevent unlawful disposal of land” (IDLO, 2017; p.12).

Land tenure: “Is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with respect to land (including other natural resources such as water and trees). Land tenure relationships may be based on written policies and laws, as well as on unwritten customs and practices” (IDLO, 2017; p. 12).

Gender within development programs

Since the beginning of the 21st century, gender equality and the integration of gender considerations in land-related projects have gained increasing attention in global development debates and programs (IDLO, 2017). Gender equality emerged as a distinct goal in the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda. Furthermore, it underscores the crucial role of advancing gender equality to achieve other SDGs, including Goal 16, which focuses on enhancing the rule of law (IDLO, 2017). Numerous scholars emphasize the significance of integrating gender sensitive (figure 2) practices into land related development initiatives and government programs to address gender inequality (Lastarria-Cornhiel et al., 2014; Mukhopadhyay & Quintero, 2008; AFDB & ECA, 2013; Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). Failure to incorporate gender differences into land-related projects often results in women benefiting less than men, exacerbating gender inequality. Women may also face potential backlash or unintended consequences, such as resistance from men or gender-based violence.

However, attention to gender differences and to the integration of strategies to enhance women’s land rights is often still lacking or insufficiently addressed in development programs (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015; Chu, 2011). While intentions might be well set, results and expectations often remain unmet. Even with the integration of a gender perspective and acknowledgment of disparate influences on men and women, there is a marked absence of thorough documentation regarding the process, outcomes, and the role of the development initiative in promoting gender equality. A more systematic approach to implementing these aspects is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the project's impact (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006).

Figure 2. Definitions of ‘gender sensitive practices’ and ‘gender norms and roles.

<p>Gender sensitive practices: “Practices that recognise and respond to people’s different gender-based needs and constraints” (CARE, 2016; p.6)</p> <p>Gender norms and roles: “Ideas about how men and women should behave and act. Gender norms and roles often determine the traditional responsibilities and tasks assigned to men, women, boys and girls. Gender-specific roles are often conditioned by household structure, access to resources, specific impacts of the global economy, occurrence of conflict or disaster, and other locally relevant factors such as ecological conditions” (Gender Mainstreaming Glossary, 2023 n.p.).</p> <p>Gender awareness-raising: “Challenges values and gender norms by explaining how gender roles and norms influence and limit opportunities, access to resources, or decision-making power.” (Gender Mainstreaming Glossary, 2023 n.p.).</p>
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The integration of policies and interventions to improve women’s land rights is often considered a challenge for land-related programs (Archambault & Zoomers, 2015). There is a lack of alignment between the design and implementation of gender into development programs. The initial stages of many programs are often void of a solid foundation to integrate a gender perspective, resulting in the oversight of crucial elements essential for effective outcomes. Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel (2006) found that these oversights include among others the absence of a gender expert during the process, the omission of thorough gender analyses, and the failure to incorporate the perspectives and knowledge of local women. Other common reasons are a deficit amount of funding specially addressed to understanding (local) gender differences and specific funding for activities to enhance gender equality.

The inadequate integration of 'gender' into development programs related to land issues may stem from a lack of awareness regarding the importance of these issues (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006). This includes a lack of understanding of societal norms that shape gender roles and responsibilities. Implementing these initiatives is further complicated by the political and societal sensitivity of the subject and deeply rooted cultural biases against women. Consequently, strategies that specifically target women may encounter resistance from men during the implementation process (IDLO, 2017).

Furthermore, according to Archambault & Zoomers (2015), necessary tools, expertise, and best practices for incorporating gender perspectives in practice are missing and the abundance of tools, manuals, and toolkits often leaves practitioners unsure of how to initiate the process. Other reasons are inadequate training provided to development professionals to use these tools and the lack of resources, including money, time, and qualified human resources, required for effective implementation. Ultimately, there are notable research gaps regarding the efficacy of interventions

designed to advance women's land rights and enhance gender equality (Quisumbing et al., 2019). These gaps might hinder capacity to integrate gender perspectives into development practices and give rise to uncertainties with practical implementation.

In conclusion, given the challenges and research gaps identified in the integration of gender perspectives into development programs, it is relevant to conduct further research to better understand how these programs operate concerning gender issues. This knowledge can serve as a foundation for improving the effectiveness of such initiatives, ensuring that they promote women's land rights and gender equality.

Challenges to women's land rights

This section delves into factors impeding women's land rights and contributing to gender disparities, emphasizing the significance of strategies for enhancing women's land rights. Challenges in (Sub-Saharan) African countries will be identified, including inadequate laws, implementation difficulties, patriarchy, cultural norms fostering discrimination, and limited access to justice.

Legal frameworks fall short in ensuring gender equality, indirectly discriminating against women (IDLO, 2017). These frameworks commonly involve issues such as insufficient participation in decision-making and the failure to protect human rights. In addition, difficulties often emerge with the implementation and enforcement of laws (IDLO, 2017). This is often caused by legal pluralism, where multiple legal systems coexist within the same jurisdiction. Tenure systems mostly consist of a combination between formal regulations (statutory laws) and informal regulations (customary rules) (Kasimbazi, 2017). In many countries on the African continent, customary rules prevail, defining practical land ownership and resource use despite statutory laws granting equal rights. Namely, customary systems are frequently characterized by male dominance and many societies in Sub-Saharan Africa adhere to patriarchal traditions that perpetuate discrimination against women (Ravnborg et al., 2016; IDLO, 2017). In these contexts, women are often viewed as subordinate to men and rely on male family members for land access and ownership (Melesse et al., 2018). This dependency places women at risk of land loss during significant life events, including divorce or the passing of their husband (Ravnborg et al., 2016).

Ultimately, because of these formal and informal legal frameworks, which frequently prove inaccessible, discriminatory, or insensitive to women's experiences, access to justice for women remains limited (IDLO, 2017). Women are often not aware of their rights and face difficulties in enforcement (Lawson et al., 2018). Since access to justice is essential to assert rights and enhance gender equality, further elaboration on the concept of 'access to justice' will be provided in the following paragraph.

Access to justice

Rights do not have meaning if they cannot be claimed. Therefore, addressing the inequalities outlined above requires improved access to justice (Ravnborg et al., 2016). Thus, in addition to access to land, access to justice is addressed as a central theme in this thesis. Access to justice, defined as the ability to seek justice through formal and informal institutions, plays a crucial role in development discussions, particularly in realizing land rights for both women and men (Ravnborg et al., 2016; Lawson et al., 2020). Namely, while several African governments have made progressive legal steps in achieving equal rights for women, justice often remains theoretical on paper and lacks practical implementation and enforcement (AFDB & ECA, 2013). Without access to justice, the effectiveness of domestic and

international policies and laws may be compromised, posing challenges to the enforcement of rights (Lawson et al., 2020).

Access to justice encompasses multiple dimensions that collectively ensure that women have the legal means and support to secure, protect, and enjoy their land rights. McDonald (2020) argues that someone has access to justice if they have knowledge about their rights and the legal system, knowledge about how to use the legal system effectively and the ability to use the legal system without significant barriers, such as high costs, discrimination, or long commutes to court. Thus, access to justice extends beyond the courtroom, it involves the empowerment (figure 3) of individuals to exercise fundamental rights and overcome obstacles, such as discrimination in legal processes (Ravnborg et al., 2016). To enhance specificity in this thesis, the concept of access to justice or initiatives related to it is considered to encompass the following three aspects:

1. Knowledge about rights and the legal system.
2. Knowledge about how to navigate and use the legal system effectively.
3. The ability to claim one's rights and engage with the legal system without encountering high barriers, excessive costs, or other hindrances.

Figure 3. Definitions of women's empowerment, gender awareness-raising and gender equality.

Women's empowerment: "Is generally regarded as consisting of several different components including women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change nationally and internationally" (IDLO, 2017; p.13).

Gender awareness-raising: "The process that aims at showing how existing values and norms influence our picture of reality, perpetuate stereotypes and support mechanisms (re)producing inequality. It challenges values and gender norms by explaining how they influence and limit the opinions taken into consideration and decision-making" (Gender Mainstreaming Glossary, 2023 n.p.).

Gender equality: "Ensure the equal rights of women and men to the enjoyment of all human rights, while acknowledging differences between men and women and taking specific measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality when necessary." (IDLO, 2017; p.32).

The IDLO (2017) discussed key barriers to women's access to justice, particularly in the context of gender and land. These encompass insufficient land rights legislation, deficient business accountability mechanisms, gender-based discrimination within justice systems, limitations in women's capacity to assert their rights, and social costs associated with discouraging societal pressures and stereotypes (figure 4). In short, access to justice, land, and gender issues intersect, with women and girls facing the greatest challenges. Strategies to improve land rights that do not include measures addressing access to justice typically fail to produce the desired and long-lasting results. As emphasized by Lawson et al. (2020), it is essential to prioritize access to justice as a basic element within all land-related policy.

Figure 4. Main barriers that hinder women’s access to justice. Based on IDLO, (2017) and Lawson et al. (2020)

Main barriers that hinder women’s access to justice Based on IDLO, 2017 and Lawson et al., 2020	
1. Absence of adequate laws and mechanisms for claiming equal rights to land	When women’s legal rights to land are not specially mentioned in national laws, regulations, and dispute mechanisms it becomes extremely difficult for women to enforce their rights to land.
2. Lack of accountability mechanisms of businesses	Despite efforts to create enforceable standards governing these responsibilities, there are still significant gaps and difficulties in the enforcement of remedies for violations of an enterprise's human rights obligations.
3. Justice systems may discriminate against women	Due to the gendered division in labour and within households, women often face difficulties in terms of (economic) resources, mobility, and agency to access processes in formal courts. Formal courts are often geographically distant processes are time consuming and costly. In combination with the daily work on the land and care for children, women face constraints to go to courts to claim their rights (Lawson et al., 2020). Moreover, due to the patriarchal society and customary norms. Women can face discrimination in courts and gendered relations are not considered, which may result in unfair and unfavorable results for women.
4. Lack of capacity to claim rights	Women often lack knowledge about their rights and laws. They lack agency and social connections to gain access to information about their legal entitlements and the process to claim their rights. Additionally, there is not enough (para)legal support for women to assist them with these challenges. Consequently, even progressive laws may have limited impact in practice.
5. Social costs	Societal expectations often prevent women from asserting their rights. Men mostly represent family interests in land issues, while women's voices are marginalized. Challenging this norm can make women vulnerable to accusations of disrespect, social isolation, and violence. Furthermore, decision-makers of justice systems may lack knowledge of human rights and prioritize community harmony over gender equality.

Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice

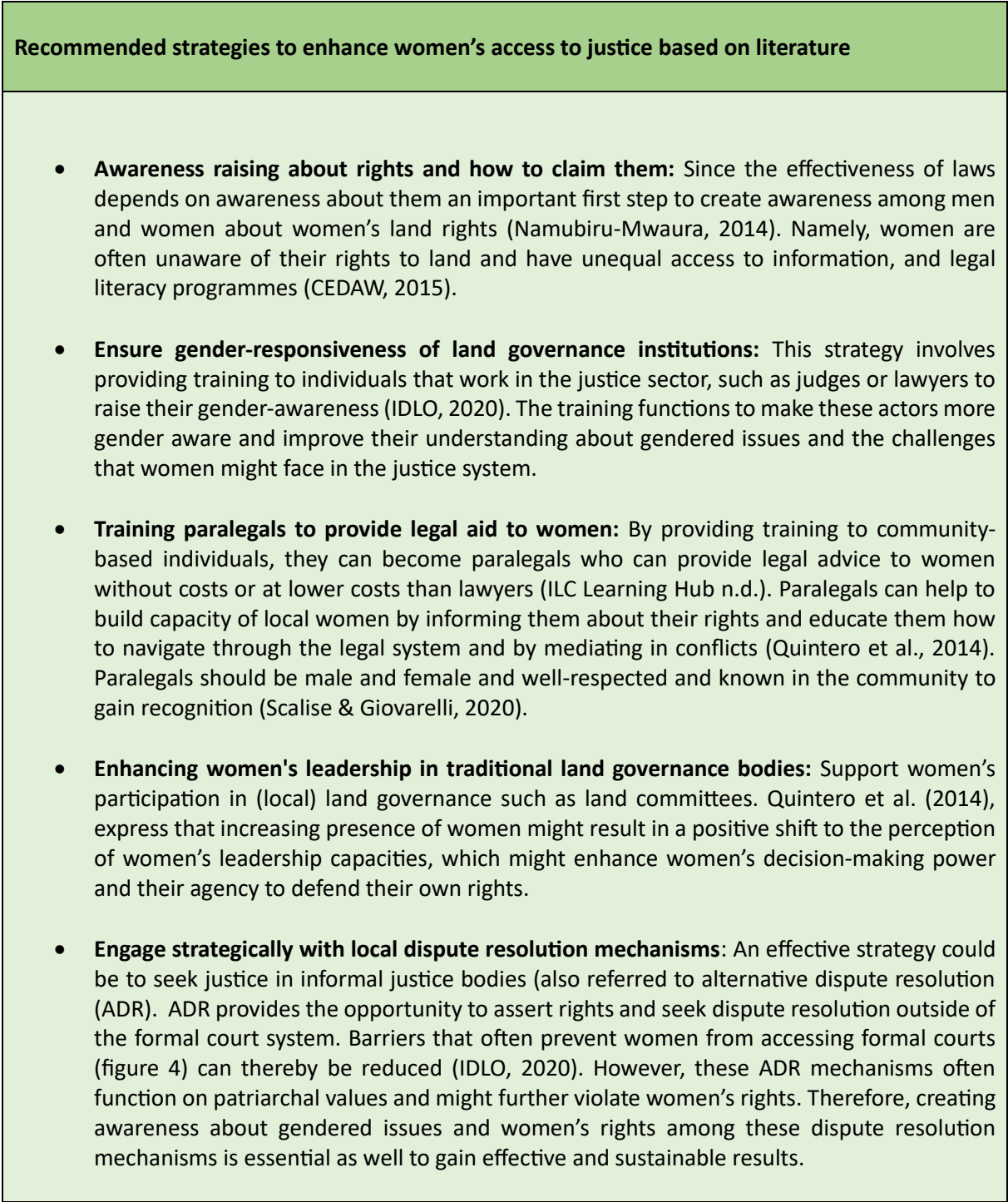
Efforts to address limited access to justice often focus on reforming legal and informal systems. However, Chopra & Isser (2012) argue that these approaches have limitations, as they overly rely on legal systems and customary practices while access to justice is a dynamic process influenced by social, political, and societal factors. To address this, it is crucial to engage diverse stakeholders, such as the government, local community leaders, and community members and prioritize gender equality principles (figure 3) (Mukhopadhyay & Quintero, 2008). This broader approach should consider societal norms, cultural practices, and systemic inequalities contributing to gender disparities.

Furthermore, issues of justice and discrimination intersect with race, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual preference, and socio-economic status. Mukhopadhyay & Quintero (2008) argue that an inclusive and intersectional approach is needed to tackle various dimensions of inequality. Before the implementation of an intervention a gender analysis is recommended to identify how women may face deprivation in access to justice and in the underlying factors (Mukhopadhyay & Quintero, 2008; Namubiru-Mwaura, 2014). This analysis assesses gender variations in roles, activities, requirements, and rights, considering men, women, girls, and boys within specific contexts (Gender Mainstreaming

Glossary, 2023). The Gender Evaluation Criteria (GEC), for instance, can facilitate this analysis, helping to identify if laws are responsive to women's needs and how socio-cultural dimensions affect their access to justice (ILC Learning Hub, n.d.). The results can inform the development of contextually suitable strategies.

Based on available literature, recommended strategies to enhance women's access to justice are described in figure 5. It is essential to note that focusing solely on one strategy without considering or integrating multiple actions and actors may limit its impact.

Figure 5. Recommended strategies to enhance women's access to justice based on literature.



In the remaining part of this chapter the focus will be on strategies, approaches, and policies that can contribute to enhancing gender equality in the context of land rights and land governance.

Approaches to addressing gender in development policy and institutions

Despite some positive interventions and legislative changes in specific sectors such as education and health, gender inequalities remain widespread specifically in agriculture-dependent and low-income countries (McDougall et al., 2021). To address these inequalities, McDougall et al. (2021) highlight the importance of assessing current approaches to address gender equality, such as a gender transformative approach. This paragraph involves a brief review of gender-related approaches in development debates over the last decade, followed by an examination of the 'gender transformative approach' and its added value in promoting gender equality.

In the last few decades, most gender approaches in agriculture have been limited to employing a women-in-development (WID) or gender and development approach (GAD) (Singh et al., 2022). In the 1960's – 1970's, the WID approach mainly focused on integrating women into existing development projects through addressing “women's issues” such as women-only projects focused on practical gender needs and interests (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). In line with the prevailing modernization theme of that time, which perceived development as a linear process of economic growth, the expectation was that an enhancement of women's access to resources, participation, and visibility in the economy and development programs would result in improved development outcomes (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). This approach gained widespread criticism since WID did not address the broader issue of women's subordination within the global capitalist system. It focused on poverty rather than oppression by men, which resulted in limited change and results from development strategies.

This criticism led to the emergence of the GAD approach which shifted the attention on exclusively the concept of ‘women’, to the broader concept of ‘gender’. Gender relations became a central point of analysis and GAD disregarded the idea of treating women as isolated and homogenous groups (Peet & Hartwick, 2015). Moreover, GAD focused on comprehending development processes rather than exclusively emphasizing outcomes. However, over time, GAD shifted towards a more neoliberal perspective, prioritizing technical and economic progress, resulting in the use of women's empowerment for economic outcomes and sidelining underlying factors like social norms, policies, and power dynamics (MacArthur et al., 2022). Therefore, GAD became criticized by feminist scholars for the considered loss of the intrinsic value of gender equality (Singh et al., 2022; McDougall et al., 2021). Hillenbrand et al. (2015) also criticize GAD for its vision and failure to achieve desired gender equality results. Namely, GAD overlooked the interconnected nature of gender issues across multiple scales, neglecting the inclusion of various stakeholders at different levels needed for effective change. Without considering these aspects, achieving sustainable and transformative change is considered unrealistic by Singh et al. (2022). This critique underscores the need for more thorough evaluation and meaningful incorporation of gender considerations into development programs, with a focus on tackling prevailing norms and power imbalances (McDougall et al., 2021).

Considering critiques of GAD and heightened feminist interest in social transformations, the Gender Transformative Approach (GTA) emerged in the 1990s as a promising means to address gender disparities in international development (MacArthur et al., 2022). Unlike earlier theories that treated gender integration as a development tool, a gender-transformative approach aligns with core feminist thinking, that views equality as both a pathway to and an objective of development programming (MacArthur et al., 2022). The Gender Transformative Approach (GTA) is often defined as: "An approach that goes beyond the 'symptoms' of gender inequality to address 'the social norms, attitudes, behaviors, and social systems that underlie them" (AAS, 2012, p.3). Within this approach it is aimed to tackle the foundational factors contributing to unequal power dynamics and structural obstacles, such

as oppressive systems like patriarchy. This is attempted to be achieved through interventions designed to elevate the position of women (MacArthur et al., 2022)., Improving social justice for one group does not mean restricting the liberties of others (Hillenbrand et al., 2015). Rather, gender-transformative activities aim for liberation from oppressive structures and evolve through critical awareness of power relations, resource distribution, and the transformation of gender roles (Rottach et al., 2009).

Figure 6. Definition of gender transformative practices

Gender transformative practices: “Interventions that seek to target structural causes as well as the symptoms of gender inequality leading to a lasting change in the power and choices women have over their own lives, rather than just a temporary increase in opportunities (CARE, 2016; p.6)”. These approaches are holistic, change gender norms at multiple societal level and address structural and institutional barriers.

Applying a gender transformative approach in development programs

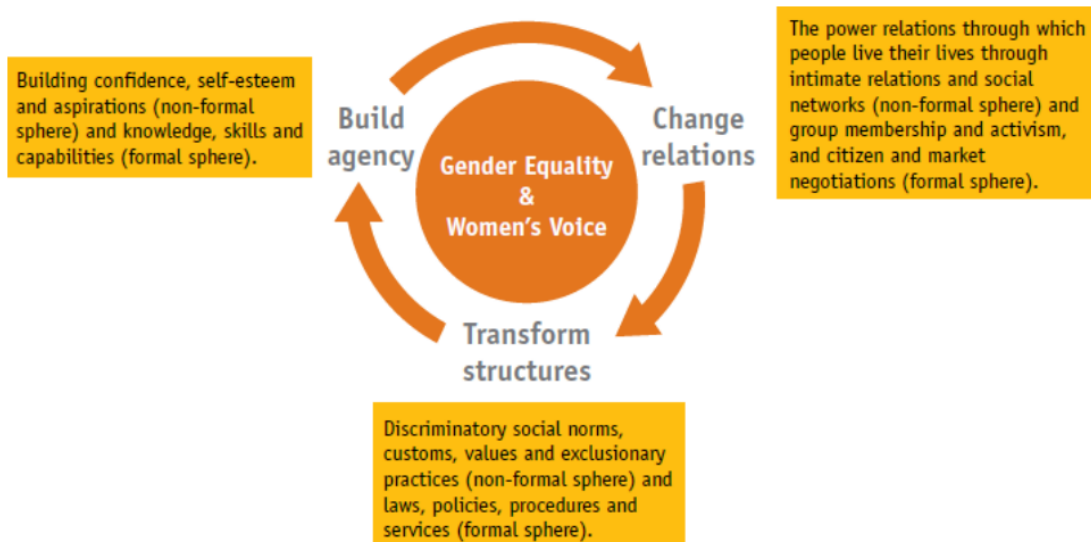
Implementing gender transformative interventions poses challenges, given the complex nature of addressing issues that structurally perpetuate gender norms (Kantor & Apgar, 2013). Additionally, uncertainties persist due to a lack of evidence regarding the precise application and implementation of gender transformative strategies in practice. This highlights the relevance of assessing integration of GTAs and their impacts in current development programs (McDougall et al., 2021). While MacArthur et al. (2022) underscores the need to avoid oversimplification, this section further outlines principles and fundamental practical interventions.

A gender analysis can contribute to recognizing and contextualizing gender relations and differences (Hillenbrand et al., 2015). Furthermore, Hillenbrand et al. (2015) describes three crucial elements for realizing transformative change are: building agency, changing relations, and transforming structures (Figure 7). These elements should be included into the gender analysis and may contribute to understanding the local situation, modifying power dynamics and realizing effective transformative change. Importantly, a gender analysis can be helpful to identify these elements thoroughly. When programs do not execute a gender analysis or solely focus on one or two of these dimensions, negative effects or setbacks might emerge (Martinez, 2006).

Figure 7. Three interlinked domains to change power dynamics and realize transformative change (Hillenbrand et al., 2015).

1. **Agency:** individual and collective capacities such as knowledge and skills, attitudes, critical reflection, and personal aspirations.
2. **Structure:** informal and formal laws, policies, norms, and institutional practice.
3. **Relations:** power dynamics within and between households, communities, groups, and organizations.

Figure 8. Gender equality framework from CARE (2016). CARE’s aim, through the Gender Equality Framework (GEF), is to a) build agency of people of all genders and life stages, b) change relations between them and c) transform structures so that people of all genders live life in full gender equality (CARE, 2016; p5).



A systems approach needs to be adopted (MacArthur et al., 2022). A systems approach is a holistic method of analysis and problem-solving that considers the interconnections and interdependencies within a system (Meadows, 2008). Instead of focusing on individual components in isolation, a systems approach recognizes that changes or actions in one part of the system can affect other parts. A comprehensive systems approach is crucial for interventions focused on enhancing gender equality, to make sure that all levels (individual, communal, institutional, governmental) are incorporated and to avoid oversights in detrimental gender norms and potential reversals of beneficial changes (MacArthur et al., 2022; Singh et al., 2022; Hillenbrand et al., 2015). If not all actors and aspects of the systems are included, inequalities can be perpetuated by resistance to progress by actors or even result in backlashes for women due to increased gender-based violence (McDougall et al., 2021).

Adopting an intersectional lens: This involves embracing a perspective that considers the interconnected nature of social categories like race, gender, and class. Adopting an intersectional lens entails examining how diverse groups of people may be affected differently. This is crucial for promoting inclusivity and preventing the exclusion of marginalized individuals (MacArthur et al., 2022). Furthermore, emphasis should be on a holistic approach involving both men and women.

Redefine success metrics: Critically evaluating ideas about defining success in integrating Gender Transformative Approaches (GTA) is essential. Transformative change, being complex, non-linear, and context-specific, should be viewed as a process rather than a quantifiable final product, deviating from conventional donor measurement practices (Guijt, 2008). While numerical targets can provide focus, they may not fully reveal the complexities within gender dynamics (Waal, 2006). Instead of using a "checkbox" to note if a particular aspect is present, Waal (2006) recommends that project implementers should seek a more nuanced understanding of the diverse groups benefiting from the project and the specific outcomes or impacts it has on them. For instance, additional indicators may be needed during monitoring and evaluation that measure empowerment or capture transformation of

gender norms at different levels (Quisumbing et al., 2023). These aspects can provide a richer and more accurate depiction of the project's effects, enabling better-informed decisions for future program development. The establishment of clear guidelines and areas of change in this process can significantly enhance the effectiveness of programs aimed at empowering women, communities, and societies (Quisumbing et al., 2023). Further elaboration on this topic will be provided in the next section.

Figure 9. Overview of different aspects that are crucial to adopt in a gender transformative approach. The figure is composed based on literature: Quisumbing et al., 2023; Waal, 2006, MacArthur et al., 2022; McDougall et al., 2021; Hillenbrand et al., 2015; Singh et al., 2022. To realize gender transformative change, it is crucial to start with a thorough gender analysis that considers agency, structure, and relations. Additionally, interventions should employ a comprehensive systems approach, apply an intersectional lens, and redefine success metrics to focus on the process of change. These concrete strategies can help address the root causes of gender inequality and facilitate transformative and sustainable change in international development programs.

Requirement	Description	Rationale
<p>Gender analysis:</p> <p>Begin with a comprehensive gender analysis, which includes an examination of agency, structure, and relations:</p>	<p>Agency: Understand individual and collective capacities, such as knowledge, skills, attitudes, critical reflection, and personal aspirations.</p> <p>Structure: Analyze formal and informal laws, policies, norms, and institutional practices.</p> <p>Relations: Examine power dynamics within and between households, communities, groups, and organizations.</p>	<p>This analysis is essential for recognizing and contextualizing gender relations and differences, enabling a deeper understanding of power dynamics.</p>
<p>Comprehensive systems approach:</p> <p>Implement interventions that encompass all relevant levels (individual, communal, institutional, governmental):</p>	<p>Multi-level approach: Consider the influence of gender norms at various levels of society.</p> <p>Informal and formal aspects: Address both informal norms and formal laws and policies.</p> <p>System leverage points: Identify areas within the system where changes can act as a catalyst for transformation.</p>	<p>Focusing on all relevant levels and aspects of the system helps avoid unintended consequences and reinforces positive change.</p>
<p>Intersectional lens</p> <p>Apply an intersectional perspective to interventions:</p>	<p>Inclusivity: Ensure that both men and women, as well as marginalized groups, are involved in the process.</p> <p>Consider multiple identities: Recognize that individuals may have multiple intersecting identities that affect their experiences and opportunities.</p>	<p>An intersectional approach promotes a more comprehensive understanding of how different identities intersect and impact gender disparities.</p>

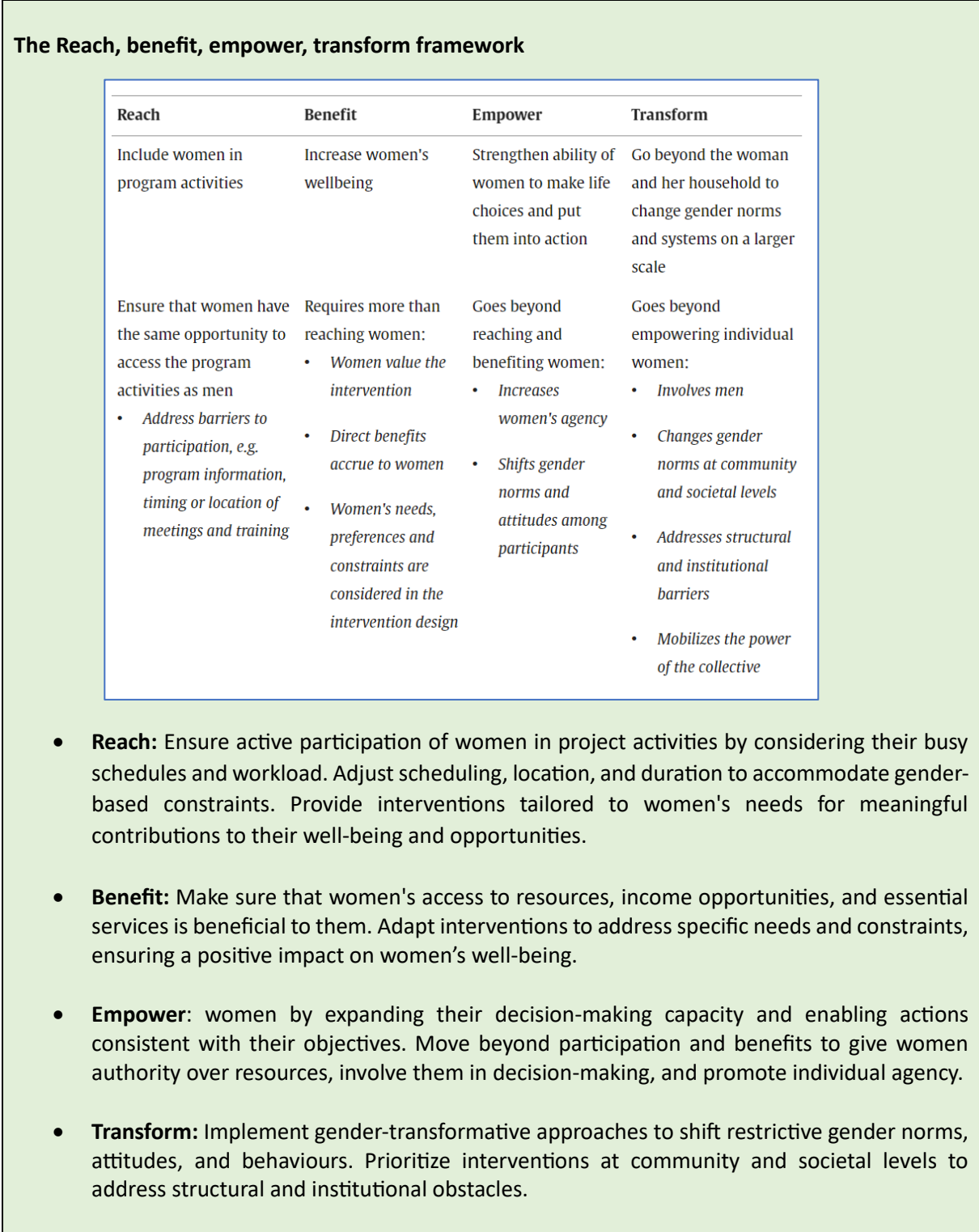
<p>Redefine success metrics: Rethink how success is defined and measured:</p>	<p>Avoid prescriptive indicators: Move away from using rigid, prescriptive indicators to measure gender-transformative change.</p> <p>Process-oriented measurement: Acknowledge that transformative change is a complex, context-specific, and non-linear process that is difficult to measure quantitatively.</p> <p>Qualitative assessment frames: Use qualitative assessment frames to assess progress and changes over time, rather than seeking definitive, quantitative measurements.</p>	<p>Traditional measurement practices may not capture the nuances of transformative change, and a process-oriented approach allows for a more accurate evaluation.</p>
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Enhancing women’s land rights and improve gender equality by using the RBET framework

To delve further into how projects can effectively work towards transformative change, this section discusses the Reach, benefit, empower, transform framework (RBET). Namely, while no standard format exists to enhance women’s land rights due to contextual differences and scientific gaps in knowledge about the effectiveness of strategies certain guidelines and frameworks can be derived from research, insights, and experiences (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011).

The 'reach, benefit, empower, transform' (RBET) framework by Johnson et al. (2018), edited by Quisumbing et al. (2023) provides a set of methods to effectively integrate and assess strategies aimed at promoting gender equality in land governance (figure 10). This framework aids in determining if a project has the potential to transform gender roles and promote gender equality.

Figure 10. Explanation of The Reach, benefit, empower, transform framework.



Notably, while the elements in figures 9 and 10 aim to enhance women's land rights to reduce gender inequality, this does not mean that the main focus point should be solely women. On the contrary, to achieve sustainable change and results and to avoid negative effects community members, women, and men, must be included in the design and implementation of projects and policies (Quisumbing et al., 2019).

The concept of the RBET framework does not necessarily require all its elements in every strategy; instead, it emphasizes choosing specific areas for change and customizing interventions. This includes aligning principles, goals, strategies, and indicators with the situation and resources on the ground (Quisumbing et al., 2023). This selection informs the adaptation of the strategy and facilitates result measurement, preventing unrealistic expectations within projects. While projects may aim for a transformative impact, they often only achieve the initial goal of reaching women (Quisumbing et al., 2023). To assess outcomes such as improved land rights for women, a clear understanding of the specific actions or strategies implemented is essential.

In summary, the RBET framework emphasizes reaching, benefiting, empowering, and transforming the lives of women in the context of land rights and gender equality. It underscores the importance of tailoring interventions to the specific needs of women, engaging them actively, and addressing the broader societal norms and structures that perpetuate gender inequality. Additionally, it calls for inclusivity in project design and policy implementation. The focus should not only be on the end results (such as gender equality or land rights), but also on how to get there.

Research questions

Building upon the identified challenges and recognizing the lack of a comprehensive overview of strategies within the LAS program and their potential impact on gender outcomes, this thesis focuses on the development and analysis of strategies designed to enhance women's land rights and access to justice. Drawing on the theories outlined above, which offer insights into the effective integration of gender into projects, the aim is to analyze the incorporation of gender in the LAS program. The overarching objective is to make a meaningful contribution to the advancement of gender equality within the domain of land governance. The central research question guiding this thesis is:

“How does the LAND-at-scale program incorporate strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice and what challenges emerge during the implementation process?”

1. What is the strategy of the LAND-at-scale program to incorporate gender?
2. What objectives are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, and Uganda to enhance women's land rights?
3. What strategies are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, to enhance women's land rights?
4. How do LAND-at-scale country projects implement strategies to enhance women's access to justice?
5. What challenges do LAND-at-scale country projects experience in the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights?
6. How do local factors influence the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights within the LAND-at-scale country project in Mozambique?

3. Methodology

Methodological approach

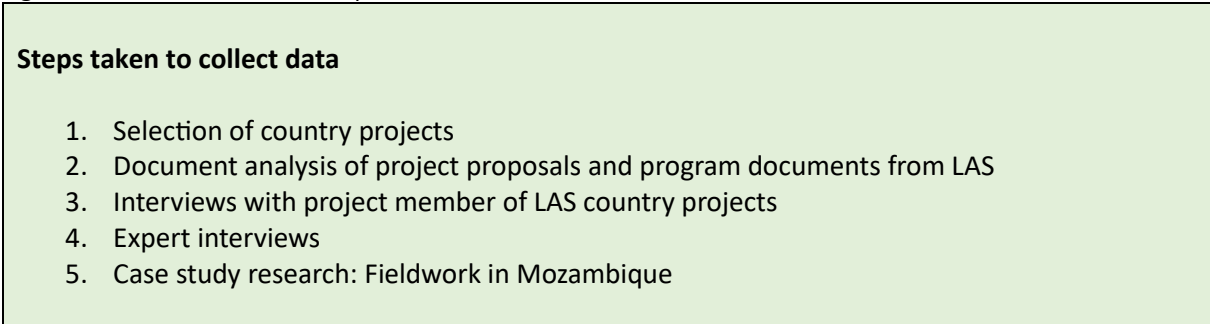
The objective of this thesis is to increase the understanding of the implementation of interventions that contribute to enhancing women's land rights and access to justice to increase gender equality in land governance. In accordance with this aim, a descriptive and exploratory research approach is employed, utilizing exploratory qualitative research as the method of inquiry. Namely, qualitative research contributes to understanding decision-making processes and can be effective in providing a thorough understanding of participants' opinions and beliefs (Hennink et al., 2020). Moreover, this methodological approach is relevant for analyzing individual experiences within a specific context. Using qualitative methods therefore contributes to understanding key concepts and processes, such as strategies for access to justice, across various contexts. In this exploratory qualitative research, no specific hypotheses are used, which allows the researcher to explore unexpected insights and patterns (Hennink et al., 2020).

Methods

This research is based on inductive reasoning, in which empirical, primary data is used to identify and understand a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012; Hennink et al., 2020). To collect primary data, document analysis and in-depth interviews were conducted. Interviews are particularly relevant since they provide the opportunity to gain in-depth knowledge about individual's (different) lived experiences and perspectives regarding a specific issue (Morris, 2015). Interviews also help to understand context and contribute to identifying perceptions and motivations for people's decisions or actions (Hennink et al., 2020). The interviews conducted in the context of this thesis were in-depth and semi-structured, guided by a variable interview guide. Semi-structured interviews allow for the collection of data on specific concepts or items, while also leaving enough space for respondents to offer their own interpretation and introduce new topics (Bryman, 2012).

This section briefly describes case selection and the various phases involved in the data collection process (figure 11). Following this, the data collection process is outlined for the case study conducted in LAS Mozambique. At the end of this section an overview of the research questions and methods used are provided in figure 13.

Figure 11. Overview of different phases of data collection.



Selection of the LAS country projects

With guidance from the RVO and the Knowledge management at LAS, this thesis narrowed the focus to five out of the ten country projects participating in the LAS program: Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, and Mozambique. The selection of these countries was based on their objectives and content, with the aim of creating some consistency in the focus of the projects. For example, the projects in Burundi, Uganda, and Mozambique were selected due to their focus on aspects related to access to justice. On the other hand, the LAS project in Colombia was not selected since it primarily addresses issues concerning indigenous communities, which is not the case in most of the other projects.

The LAND-at-scale program

To understand LAS's programmatic approach, topics, and vision on gender incorporation, data was collected by analyzing program documents. To further enhance my understanding of the program's vision and working methods, two in-depth interviews were conducted on-site with program advisors from the RVO. These interviews provided a solid foundation for comprehending LAS's methodologies, its approach to gender, expectations from projects, and the indicators used for measuring impact. This was a valuable preparation for the next step of my data collection, where I extended my knowledge about the LAS country projects.

Country projects

To gain understanding of the context and aim of each country project included in this thesis, the RVO provided me access to confidential policy documents. For the initial round of interviews with the LAS country projects, the RVO assisted in the sampling process and connected me with project managers from the relevant LAS country projects. After conducting the first round of these interviews, snowball sampling was used where the interviewee referred to other suitable participants related to the project (Hennink et al., 2020). Most interviews took place online due to the wide geographical range in which the LAND-at-scale projects are established. Language barriers during sampling posed challenges, leading to the selection of alternative interviewees proficient in English but not directly involved in on-site activities. This challenge was especially evident in Chad and Mali, with the scheduled second interview in Mali being hindered by language barriers.

Additionally, to analyze the objectives of the projects and to verify projects proposals, member checking was used (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I send a draft version to the country project to give them the opportunity to review and verify this document before starting further analysis. Two countries, LAS Mali and LAS Burundi, responded and provided feedback on the goals, which led to some extra nuances in the objectives.

Lastly, the RVO provided me the opportunity to attend the three-day LAS exchange, an annual event where all country projects assemble to share insights and common challenges. It allowed me to meet interviewees I had previously only interacted with online and to seek clarification or additional information from them during the event. Additionally, due to the presence of a translator, I had the opportunity to interview new participants closely affiliated with the country projects, a possibility I could not pursue earlier due to language barriers. At the end of this data collection phase, a total of 9 interviews had been carried out with most interviews lasting 60 minutes.

Expert interviews

To extend my perspectives on the concepts of gender and access to justice, I conducted interviews with experts in these fields. Regarding gender, I engaged in conversations with two gender experts from the

'Royal Tropical Institute' (KIT). These interactions allowed me to reflect more critically on my work. Additionally, to gain more understanding about access to justice and its relationship with gender, I conducted interviews with gender experts from the International Development Law Organisation (IDLO) and the Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law (KPSRL). These interviews proved valuable in enhancing my ability to critically assess the efforts of LAS projects aimed at improving access to justice for women.

Case study and fieldwork

The last phase of data collection consisted of a case study, for which fieldwork was conducted in Mozambique. A case study is an important contribution to this research, as it provides the opportunity to analyze characteristics from a single place, which can help to clarify underlying reasons for actions undertaken and the decisions made by project implementers in this case specifically (Bryman, 2012). Notably, local context may influence the way in which strategies to improve women's land rights are put into practice (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011). The effectiveness of land titling programs is influenced by a variety of factors, including environmental conditions, legal frameworks, demand for agricultural land, existing land tenure systems, and socioeconomic factors (Namubiru-Mwaura, 2014). Namubiru-Mwaura (2014), argues that these factors should be considered when implementing such programs. Therefore, this case study seeks to understand the specific challenges and opportunities in Mozambique, providing insight into the extent and way in which general strategies are shaped by the local context. This complements the broader analysis of the strategies and experiences found in the other LAS country projects.

Location of the fieldwork

The case study is conducted in Mozambique in collaboration with the LAS project, led by Centro Terra Viva (CTV) during the fieldwork in May 2023. Further details about CTV are available in Chapter 4.6. I selected the LAS project in Mozambique as the setting for my fieldwork because one of its key objectives relates to access to justice. Namely, the main aim of the project is enhancing the legal literacy of land related laws among diverse stakeholders, including men, women, communities, government officials, and paralegals. Additionally, the decision to collaborate with CTV in Mozambique was made due to practical considerations, including safety concerns and the project's capability to accommodate and host me. In contrast, countries like Chad and Mali were not viable options for fieldwork given the current safety situations which prohibit students from traveling to those destinations.

Data collection

Data collection took place over a five-week period (May-June 2023), with most of the time spent in Maputo. To gain insights into CTV as an organization and obtain in-depth knowledge of land governance in Mozambique, particularly regarding the position of women, I conducted several interviews in and around Maputo with different stakeholders (figure 12). Additionally, two field trips were made to two different regions: Gaza province and Inhambane province. During this time, I joined employees from CTV in their activities in the field and we stayed in a place close to the communities, to make sure that several communities in the region could be visited daily. During these field trips, my research activities consisted of field observations during the activities that were conducted by CTV (such as paralegal training or community dialogue (see appendix C for description), short interviews with male and female paralegals after the activities were conducted, and short focus group discussions with 3-5 women who participated in the activities from CTV. See Appendix C for an overview of the research activities conducted during this period.

Initially, more interviews were planned, for example, with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry responsible for women’s affairs. Additionally, efforts were made to arrange interviews with various women’s organizations, such as Forum Mulher and Observatório do Meio Rural (OMR) to gain a better understanding of the position of women in Mozambique's land governance system. However, despite multiple attempts to pursue this, it was not possible to arrange a meeting with them due to time constraints. Furthermore, there were instances where decisions had to be made and some interviews could not take place because I was conducting fieldwork and was not located in Maputo.

Figure 12. Interviews conducted during fieldwork in Mozambique.

<p>Interviews with CTV</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several employers CTV • Gender expert/focal point CTV (2 in-depth interviews) • Director CTV • Founder CTV • Project manager CTV
<p>Interviews with other stakeholders and experts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender expert National Union of Mozambican Peasants (UNAC) (2 in-depth interviews) • Professor (PhD) in Anthropology and Land governance from Eduardo Mondlane University • Member from the Dutch Embassy in Mozambique

Figure 13. Overview of the main research question and sub research questions and methods of data collection.

	Research Question	Methods
Main question	How does the LAND-at-scale program incorporate strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice and what challenges emerge during the implementation process?	Collective of methods used in the sub-questions
1.	What is the strategy of the LAND-at-scale program to incorporate gender?	Policy document analysis and semi-structured Interviews with the RVO
2.	What objectives are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, and Uganda to enhance women’s land rights?	Policy document analysis and semi-structured interviews with project implementers
3.	What strategies are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, to enhance women’s land rights?	Semi-structured interviews with project implementers
4.	How do LAND-at-scale country projects implement strategies to enhance women's access to justice?	Semi-structured interviews with project implementers and Semi-structured interviews with experts.

5.	What challenges do LAND-at-scale country projects experience in the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights?	Semi-structured interviews with project implementers and Semi-structured interviews with experts.
6.	How do local factors influence the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights within the LAND-at-scale country project in Mozambique?	Case study, fieldwork, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, participation in project activities

Data analysis

I started the data analysis by examining documents from the LAS country projects. To enhance consistency across the documents used for each project I utilized the project proposals to gain insights into the background, general objectives, and objectives related to women and gender. I exclusively used interviews to assess the strategies implemented in country projects, since stated objectives on paper may diverge from implementation in practice. The data collected from the interviews and fieldwork are analyzed using thematic analysis in NVivo. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research methodology that aims to identify and understand patterns, themes, and meaningful categories in the collected data (Hennink et al., 2020). This method of analysis involves a systematic and iterative process of data collection, coding, and interpretation (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Principles of thematic analysis as applied in this thesis based on Hennink et al. (2020).

<p>Phases in analysis of data using thematic analysis</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Data preparation: transcription, translation, and anonymization of data. 2. Developing deductive codes (based on interview guide and theory) and inductive codes (drafted during coding process). 3. Applying codes to transcripts. 4. Categorizing: attributing similar codes to broader categories. 5. Describing data: to identify general themes. 6. Comparing codes: to identify issues more in depth and to look for similarities and differences. 7. Interpretation: linking categories and evaluating codes. Interpretation of the themes in the broader context the research questions 8. Reporting the findings and support them with quotes from the original data.

First, all interviews were recorded with informed consent. Subsequently, they were transcribed and carefully read through.¹ I started the data analysis after all interviews had been conducted and transcribed. Nvivo was used for both the coding process and data analysis. Inductive and deductive codes were extracted, categorized, and subdivided in smaller categories (figure 14). This process was repeated several times by re-reading, re-coding, and re-interpreting the interviews until no new codes emerged.

¹ Transcripts have not been included in this thesis but can be requested from the author.

Reflection on the positionality of the researcher

When engaging in research, it is important to consider how one's identity and personal background will influence one's interactions with others (Valentine, 2005). The interviewer's physical appearance, gender, background, beliefs, and attitude can shape the interviewee's perception of the interviewer and may affect their willingness to share information (Hennink et al., 2020). As a researcher, I had to be aware of my positionality and if possible, to take steps to address any potential issues that may arise as a result. This was particularly significant during fieldwork in Mozambique where I visited communities involved in the project. In my case, my personal background as a white, highly educated Northwestern European woman who does not speak Portuguese may have contributed to a distinction between myself and the individuals with whom I interacted during these visits. This potential disparity could have influenced their willingness to share information, their level of comfort in engaging in conversation with me, and the topics they felt inclined to address. Furthermore, as I am white and associated with CTV, community members may have had specific expectations of me. To address these issues, I regularly discussed with employees from CTV in what way I could deal with and adjust to (un)written norms. For instance, I adjusted my clothing and wore the Capulana like the women and I mostly sat next to the women on the ground when only the men sat on chairs. As recommended by Hennink et al. (2020) I also kept a reflexive journal and consistently asked for feedback from project members of CTV to reflect critically on my positionality during the research. In doing so, I hoped to understand how my presence influenced the situation and make any adjustments if needed and where possible. Furthermore, during the field trips I was assisted by employees from CTV who spoke the local language, had cultural knowledge, and introduced me properly to the communities in their local language. However, since my translators were mostly male, this could have influenced the answers given by the women and the extent to which they felt comfortable sharing their stories.

Ethics

To make sure that participants are well informed about their role in the study and to avoid any potential harm an informed consent form was provided prior to the interviews. This informed consent outlined the research purpose and the option to withdraw at any time without explanation. It was explained that participant anonymity will be maintained, and data will be securely stored. The written consent form was also explained verbally. Permission was granted from all participants to record the interviews. To protect participants' privacy, all personal, identifiable, and confidential information collected during the interviews is made anonymous in the transcripts and is stored in a confidential manner. Moreover, only the researcher contains access to recordings, and these will not be shared with others. The data is stored on secure electronic devices and backed up in a separate cloud storage to minimize the risk of loss in case of device theft. Next to the interviews, confidential documentation is used from each LAS project in which objectives and strategies are written. To guarantee this confidentiality and avoid harm to any stakeholder, the researcher only gained access to these documents after signing a form of 'confidentiality'. Permission was granted to use the pictures that are shown in this thesis.

4. Results

4.1 Integrating gender into LAND-at-scale: the framework, strategy, and challenges

This chapter primarily focusses on establishing how gender is approached and integrated by the LAND-at-scale. The central emphasis lies on analyzing the program's overarching objectives, methodologies, and specific goals related to promoting gender equality in land-related activities. This chapter will address the following question:

"What is the strategy of the LAND-at-scale program to incorporate gender?"

The analysis in this chapter is based on two interviews with program managers from the RVO and on the Gender strategy document from LAS (LAND-at-scale, 2019). This document is selected to understand the integration of gender in the way in which it was initially defined and approached when the LAS program started. While this document is currently upon review by LAS, it has not been updated since 2019.

Beginning with an examination of the LAS gender framework, this section outlines how LAS aims to integrate gender into the program. Firstly, the vision of LAS regarding gender integration will be described, followed by an exploration of the expectations LAS has for country projects in incorporating gender into their projects. Secondly, an exploration of the indicators used by LAS to measure progress will be described, along with a discussion of challenges derived from interviews with project managers from the RVO, the institution that implements LAS on the program level on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFa).

The LAS gender framework

The examination started with an analysis of the gender policy from LAS, which is explained in their 'gender framework' document (LAND-at-scale, 2019). This document is composed to assist program managers, project managers, and advisors with the implementation of gender in policies. By using this gender framework, LAS aims for an inclusion of gender in all activities within the program. The gender framework and its definitions are mostly based on the Voluntary Guidelines on the Governance of Tenure (VGGT) (figure 15).

Figure 15. Definition of gender equality as formulated in the VGGT (LAND-at-scale, 2019).

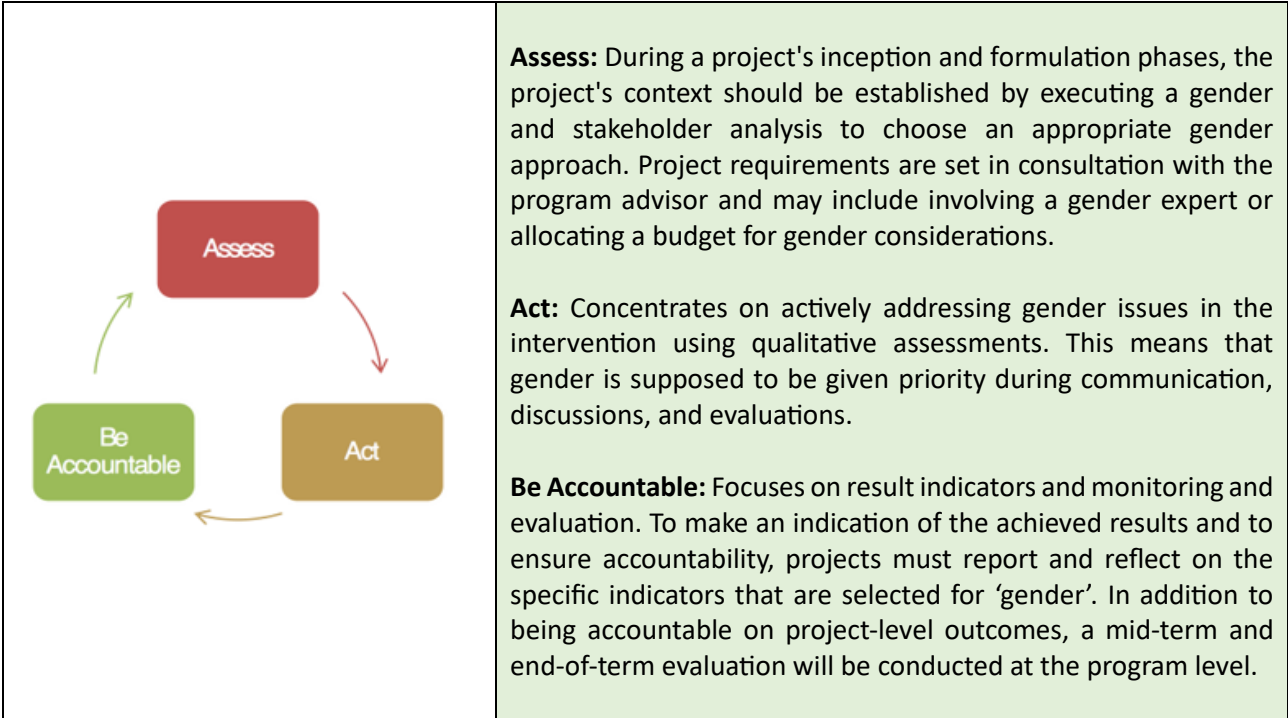
Gender equality: To ensure the equal right of women and men to the enjoyment of all human rights, while acknowledging differences between women and men and taking specific measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality when necessary. States should ensure that women and girls have equal tenure rights and access to land, fisheries, and forests independent of their civil and marital status (VGGT: Principles of implementation).

The gender framework shows that LAS aims to improve the position and role of women in land governance activities and to make a conscious effort to enhance women's position through various land governance activities (LAND-at-scale, 2019). While gender is formulated as a 'key policy theme',

LAS is not solely a gender-focused program. Rather, LAS aims to systematically incorporate gender considerations across all its activities and thereby mainstream gender within the program.

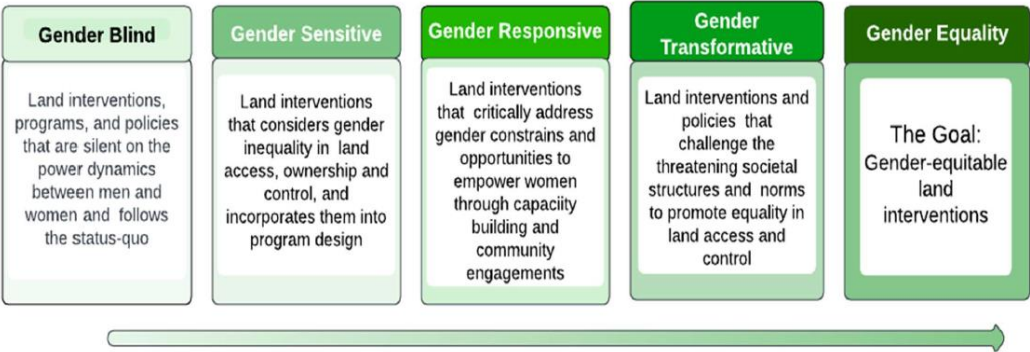
To systematically integrate gender considerations across the program, the gender framework introduces the intervention cycle as highlighted in figure 16. The intervention cycle includes three key concepts: "assess," "act," and "be accountable". LAS country projects are supposed to ensure the inclusion of gender considerations by applying these concepts throughout the design, implementation, and evaluation of their projects. By mandating the integration of gender in this way, LAS assumes that projects will not overlook gender differences.

Figure 16. The intervention cycle to implement gender throughout the LAS program: ‘assess, act, be accountable’. Based on LAND-at-scale (2019).



The RVO determined categories that define the how gender is integrated into the program: gender-blind, gender-aware (entails gender sensitive and responsive), and gender-transformative (figure 17). By evaluating the documents and interviews to ascertain LAS's expectations for country projects in terms of integrating gender considerations, it becomes evident that the RVO requires from country projects that they are gender aware at a minimum. This means that they have to acknowledge gender differences and ensure that none of the interventions are 'gender blind.' Essentially, the LAS program expects projects to be, at the very least, 'gender aware,' and recognize the distinctions between men and women (LAND-at-scale, 2019). To avoid 'gender blind' activities, LAS aims to pay attention to gender throughout all stages of an intervention (identification, formulation, implementation, monitoring). By requiring this integration of gender into the project's proposal and inception phase, LAS assumes that the projects are not gender blind.

Figure 17. Different categories in addressing gender inequality in land interventions (recently extended for LAS by Dadey et al. (2023).



Moreover, LAS emphasizes its commitment to actively pursue gender transformative change and aims to implement strategies that align with this overarching objective. Hereby gender transformative change is described as: ‘Structural changes that empower women and to enhance gender equity within land governance’ (LAND-at-scale, 2019). Thus, LAS expresses its dedication to apply a transformative approach that addresses the root causes of gender-based disparities. This emphasis was also highlighted during an interview with a program manager from the RVO:

“What we have tried and what is truly our goal is to be genuinely gender transformative, going beyond being gender aware or gender blind. As an organization, we must not only refrain from being gender blind, but also move beyond gender awareness, from merely knowing that it exists, to how we can truly transform this incredibly challenging, what do you call it, theme, perhaps even a construct. I believe that is truly the ambition of our program from the get-go” (Program manager from the RVO).

Monitoring and evaluation

In assessing the progress in addressing gender inequality within the LAS program, the interviews highlight the crucial role of monitoring and evaluation. To monitor results, standard indicators from MoFA are employed by LAS (see appendix A) and combined with project-specific indicators that are collaboratively defined with country project managers. Women's rights and gender equality is one of the five policy themes that LAS uses to evaluate outcomes of the overall program. Additionally, within other policy themes attention is paid to gender by making a distinction in outcomes specifically for men and women. The success measurement relies predominantly on quantitative data outputs, with a particular focus on metrics such as the inclusion of women in specific activities. While it is not directly reflected in the indicators (see appendix) during the interviews it was emphasized that successful implementation also involves qualitative improvements in women's empowerment:

“Well, I would say it goes beyond the aspects that can be quantitatively monitored. It is only considered successful when you can demonstrate that the numbers you hopefully see in your quantitative monitoring translate into a better position for women in reality. This includes their ability to participate in decision-making regarding land use and having access to land for their own use. So, it involves more of a qualitative aspect, you know.” (Program manager from the RVO).

From the results described above, it can be concluded that the gender approach of the LAS program can be described as gender mainstreaming, which means that gender considerations need to be incorporated throughout the entire project design cycle, its implementation, and its evaluation. LAS

expects its projects to be at least 'gender aware', but strives to be 'gender transformative', aiming to transform harmful gender roles and norms.

Discussion

Now that there is an understanding of the general strategy of LAS as a program, let's delve deeper into certain aspects that stood out in the framework and interviews with program managers from the RVO. Based on the interviews and further examination of the gender strategy, a few things stand out about the gender approach of LAS. Firstly, the gender framework is quite abstract, and the meaning of certain concepts or methods is sometimes hard to grasp. For instance, the gender framework does not provide a definition of 'gender' which was also indicated by an interviewee from the RVO. Consequently, it remains unclear what is exactly meant by 'gender'. This ambiguity may raise concerns about inclusivity and responsiveness. If it is unclear whether the strategy addresses the needs and concerns of both men and women or focuses exclusively on one gender, it could unintentionally marginalize certain groups or fail to address the complexity of gender-related issues.

Furthermore, aside from a few guiding questions, it remains unclear what is intended by the term 'gender analysis'. This is noteworthy since LAS expects projects to conduct a gender analysis and the program managers explained that the 'gender analysis' distinguishes LAS from other land governance programs and helps to ensure that gender is significantly applied into the program.

Lastly, the description of 'gender transformative' approaches lacks specificity. It remains unclear when a strategy can be considered 'transformative' or in what situation this should be applied in the projects. While on the one hand this leaves room for local elaboration and contextual adjustment of strategies, it also leads to ambiguity. Without a clear definition, confusion may arise among stakeholders about the intended scope and objectives of transformative strategies. This could lead to inconsistent implementation and interpretation of gender transformative strategies, as different individuals may have varying understandings of the aim of the strategy. Consequently, projects might believe to be implementing gender transformative strategies, while in practice their intervention might be characterized as gender sensitive by LAS. For instance, the impression might be gained that projects are working on gender transformative strategies, while in practice their interventions might be 'gender sensitive' according to the perception of the LAS program.

During the discussion about gender transformative change in the interviews, another aspect becomes striking. While a transformative approach is central to LAS's gender vision, one of the interviewees highlighted that it is questionable if it is realistic to achieve results which are transformative within the short timeframe of the program:

"Some projects have ultimately been reduced to 3 years, and to achieve gender transformation within that timeframe is actually almost impossible...it's impossible...it is confirmed on the recording now." (program manager from the RVO).

Another challenge discussed during the interviews is the programmatic approach that is used by LAS. This programmatic approach means that each country project is responsible for developing and executing their own interventions, aligned with mutually agreed-upon LAS objectives. Hence projects may decide by themselves what kind of interventions they apply to address gender inequality. On the one hand, the programmatic approach was discussed as valuable for tailoring strategies to the local context and specific needs. On the other hand, it can also lead to substantial variations in how gender is integrated and monitored within projects. This lack of consistency can make it challenging to compare the effectiveness of interventions and identify best practices. Furthermore, developing effective strategies requires time, expertise, and resources. If each project is tasked with figuring out the right approach from scratch, it can lead to a duplication of efforts and a higher overall resource investment.

Therefore, one of the interviewees emphasized that it maybe the programmatic approach provides too little guidance, and could benefit from increasing uniformity and consistency in gender strategy of LAS:

“But now, because it's so programmatic, it's simply left up to each individual project partner to figure out the best way to measure it, while I think it could really benefit from some sort of guidelines or framework.” (Project implementer from the RVO).

In summary, LAS encourages projects to be 'gender aware' at a minimum but aspires to be 'gender transformative,' challenging harmful gender roles and norms. Despite having a framework for gender integration, LAS's gender policy exhibits inconsistencies and lacks clear definitions and guidelines, raising questions about the feasibility of effective implementation and achieving transformative change.

4.2 Objectives of the LAS country projects to enhance women’s land rights

The previous chapter described how the LAS program aims to integrate gender considerations, expecting projects to be at least gender aware. Given the programmatic approach used by the LAS program, the LAS country projects have the autonomy to determine the objectives they choose to enhance women's land rights. The idea behind the programmatic approach from LAS is to stimulate interventions which are tailored to the local context and needs.

An overview of the specific objectives and interventions used by the country projects is currently lacking. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to gain insights into the objectives selected by LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, and Uganda. The chapter will address the following question:

“What objectives are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, and Uganda to enhance women’s land rights?”

The results of this chapter are mostly based on an analysis of the project’s proposals from the country projects. For all country projects the official ‘project proposal document’ (see Appendix E for references to the policy documents) are chosen as objects of analysis to enhance similarities within the documents used. Consequently, this chapter mainly focuses on the selected objectives as set out in the project proposals and does not extensively consider the strategies used to implement the formulated objectives. Interventions to implement the objectives will be further discussed in the next chapter. Additionally, interviews with the project implementers from the country projects have been used to increase the understanding of specific land related challenges within each country.

This chapter will start with an overview of the objectives used by the LAS country projects (Figure 18). Secondly, this analysis delves into the primary objectives, with a specific emphasis on women's land rights, within each of the four projects. This is combined with a brief contextual background to understand the objectives in their broader context of the country. The chapter ends with a discussion of these results.

Overview of the objectives selected by the country projects

Based on the analysis, several key objectives are formulated and categorized into broader themes in figure 18. The observed patterns indicate a prevalence of objectives related to land registration, awareness raising, transforming social norms, legal reforms, gender-inclusive governance, capacity building, and gender mainstreaming. While these broader categories are identified, it is noteworthy that each project formulates its own specific objectives within these themes. To comprehend the origin

of these specific goals and their alignment with the context of each country, the text provides specific objectives and a brief contextual background.

Figure 18. Overview of the objectives from the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali and Uganda.

Category	Objective	Burundi	Chad	Mali	Uganda
Land registration	Empower women by Promoting joint registration.	X			X
	Promote gender-sensitive land registration.	X			X
	Focus on registering women's names on land certificates.				X
	Acknowledge and register informal rights for women, like 'Igiseke.'	X			
Awareness-raising	Increase awareness of women's land rights in general.	X	X		X
	Increase awareness of women's land rights in local land conflict resolution mechanisms.	X			
Legal reforms	Ensure legislative process inclusion of women's rights in Land Code revision.		X		
	Improving the institutional framework, which includes lobbying and advocacy efforts	X	X		
Gender-Inclusive Governance:	Secure women's representation in decision-making bodies.			X	
	Ensure representation of women in land commissions.			X	
	Make commission services accessible for women.			X	
	Strengthening the capacities of the local village structures in conflict mediation.	X			
	Increase women's participation in land-related discussions.				X
Incorporate attention to women within	Incorporate attention to women within broader objectives.	X			

broader objectives (Gender mainstreaming)					
	Integrate gender perspective into each objective.		X		X
Capacity building	Empower women through a campaign for better land access.		X		
	Provide support for economic empowerment of women's cooperative.		X		

Background and objectives – LAS Burundi

The LAS project in Burundi, in collaboration with ZOA, VNGI, and local partner Miparec, focuses on systematically documenting land rights and issuing certificates. The project supports local authorities, by providing training on land registration and conflict resolution. The primary goals include raising awareness of people's rights to land, with a specific emphasis on safeguarding women's land rights (Figure 18). Additionally, the project aims to develop a scalable model for sustainable land rights registration, considering various scenarios and a pilot project for implementation in different districts. The LAS project also aims to improve the institutional framework through lobbying and advocacy efforts (Figure 18). In terms of enhancing women's land rights, LAS Burundi mainly focuses on different strategies to raise awareness about women's rights and facilitating community dialogue about the added value of protecting women's land rights. Among the main objectives of the project, there are no goals solely oriented towards women's land rights. However, it is aimed to put emphasis on the protection of women's rights during all stages of the project and incorporate attention to women's rights into all broader objectives of the projects (gender mainstreaming).

The focus of the project on women's rights is primarily incorporated in the objective of systematically documenting land rights and issuing certificates. Hereby, the project strives to register informal rights specifically for women (Figure 18). Namely, in Burundi 'Igiseke' represents a customary practice that recognizes a certain degree of land access for women. Although it is not full ownership, this practice grants daughters a usage right to land near their parental home. fostering registration of this informal right can provide some legal protection for women and may enhance enforcement of their rights. By acknowledging 'Igiseke' on certificates, it is aimed to preserve this traditional right, preventing its disappearance due to lack of documentation.

The legal framework and especially the Land Code in Burundi does not undermine gender equality but does not directly grant equal access either. Therefore, LAS Burundi has based its practice of encouraging the registration of the names of both husbands and wives on the 'Code des Personnes et de la Famille' where it is stated that all marriages in Burundi are made in the universal community of good. The project aims to stimulate that this includes land, meaning that husband and wife are both registered on the land certificate. The project therefore aims to enhance opportunities for women to assert their rights within a land rights system that is predominantly patrilineal and traditionally biased in favour of men, as was highlighted by the project implementer in Burundi:

"There are just quite a few situations where the woman really just suffers, and even with the land registration we're currently supporting, it has always been said, it's a 'men's business,' so only the name of the head of the household is then put on the certificate. And yes, not the woman". (Project implementer Burundi)

Lastly, land disputes are common, with over half of all court cases related to land conflicts and the lack of proper land documentation and registration further complicates resolution efforts. Burundi's land scarcity and high population density are expected to further exacerbates these challenges. LAS Burundi therefore aims to strengthen the capacities of the village structures in conflict mediation and increase awareness about women's land rights (Figure 18).

In summary, LAS Burundi has adjusted its objectives to address the specific challenges faced by women in the context of land rights. Through a combination of documentation (informal titling and joint titling), and promoting awareness, the project aims to provide more equitable land rights in the region.

Background and objectives LAS Chad

LAS Chad is mostly oriented towards revisions of the legal framework related to land. Namely, currently the revision of the Land Code is taking place, where the outdated 1967 Land Code will be replaced. LAS Chad aims to actively engage in this national process to ensure the new law is more inclusive of women's rights. It was in this context of the national revision of the Land Code, that the LAS program in Chad has formalized its goals. The primary goal of the LAS project is to enhance land-related policies and administration, with a specific focus on promoting women's rights and improving their opportunities to access and utilize land resources (figure 18).

LAS Chad aims to integrate a gender perspective into each objective and recognizes women's land rights as a fundamental driving force behind the entire project. Next to the revision of the Land Code, the second goal of the LAS project in Chad, which is "supporting land reform," stands out as the most specific objective, concentrating on women's land rights. This objective is further divided into several pillars (figure 19). Especially pillar one, regarding the Campaign 'Women and Youth for Chad without Hunger' is at the core of the LAS project in Chad. With support from international NGOs and civil society organizations, this campaign strives to empower women and to ensure that women in rural areas gain better access to land resources. The central emphasis of the campaign revolves around lobbying, advocacy efforts, and providing support for accessing land to women's associations in selected regions across Chad. Within the Campaign it is intended that these women's groups gain support from influential community members in obtaining land for their activities. The second pillar is also focused on the Campaign and is described as the 'economic empowerment pillar' (Figure 19). This pillar involves providing economic support related to commercialization of production, for women's groups that have acquired access to land through the campaign. This pillar encompasses offering economic assistance linked to the commercialization of production for women's groups that have gained land access through the campaign.

Figure 19. Specific objectives related to "Supporting land reform"

- Pillar 1. Support to socio-economic land reform (based on the new land code) in the designated project areas via the Land Rights for Rural Women Lobby Campaign.
- Pillar 2. Support to socio-economic land reform (based on the new land code): socio-economic empowerment especially for women, via training on agricultural practices.
- Pillar 3. Support to (socio-economic) land reform (based on the new land code): peaceful cohabitation and dispute resolution mechanisms are designed.
- Pillar 4. Support to (socio-economic) land reform, based on the new land code: fair rules and regulations for expropriation.

Due to pressure on available land and various challenges, such as violent conflicts and an outdated legal framework, coupled with a complex and ineffective land titling system, men and women in Chad face significant obstacles in gaining access to land (Project proposal Chad). The situation is even more challenging for women due to gender discrepancies in land access, which make it nearly unfeasible for women to gain access to land, as explicitly outlined in the interview:

“When we look at women's land rights, we have to put in a context of very high gender-based violence, lack of access to education. And a lot of you know, discrimination that is there.” (Project implementer Chad)

The campaign's core focus on advocacy and assistance in accessing land, acknowledges these local challenges of women. Furthermore, within the Campaign it is recognized that securing land is only one step and subsequent support for commercialization of production is necessary for sustainable livelihood improvement. This shows the dedication to adjusting the project to the local context by fostering tangible benefits to women and their communities, linking land access to improved economic opportunities. These adjustments demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the challenges faced in Chad and a strategic approach to achieving positive outcomes in land governance and women's rights.

Background and objectives - LAS Uganda

The LAS project in Uganda aims to build capacity of land related government interventions and to ‘contribute to the development of a structured and scalable approach towards improved tenure security and sustainable land use for men, women, and youth on customary lands, which is obtained using fit-for-purpose and participatory tools and approaches’ (Project proposal). The specific interventions areas of the project are described as follows:

- 1) Improved tenure security for men, women and youth.
- 2) Inclusive, climate smart and sustainable land use planning.
- 3) Improved capacities and awareness of key land stakeholders on customary land registration and land use planning.

As depicted in figure 18. the primary objectives related to women’s land right for LAS Uganda are to promote a gender-sensitive land registration system on customary land in Uganda. The project aims to empower women and girls to become co-owners of land and to increase their participation in land-related discussions and decisions (Project Proposal Uganda). These objectives involve promoting joint registration, transforming societal norms, perceptions, and behaviors regarding land ownership and rights. Furthermore, in all objectives of the project it is aimed to pay specific attention to women and youth. These objectives are chosen because, despite statutory laws mandating equal access to land rights for both genders, women frequently encounter challenges in realizing these rights. Consequently, LAS Uganda seeks to actively advocate for joint registration to enhance the practical implementation of the law. Furthermore, a legal requirement is set for 33% of positions within local land organizations to be occupied by women (Project proposal Uganda). This aligns with the objective to enhance women’s participation in land-related decision-making bodies. Despite this legal framework implementation of laws and policies remains a challenge. This may be ascribed to the patriarchal societal structure and discriminatory elements against women, as explained by Uganda's project implementers:

“They [women] are not able to fully exercise their rights to enjoy their rights as provided for in the laws. And this comes from the fact that they we operate in an environment that has cultural norms and practices that discriminate against women and girls because it's a patriarchy.” (Project implementer Uganda)

LAS Uganda recognizes the importance of addressing this gap between legal provisions and practical challenges by including the objective of 'transforming societal norms, perceptions, and behaviors regarding land ownership and rights. Thus, the project selected objectives that align with Uganda's broader national goals and legal framework while navigating challenges such as the social norms that prevent implementation of the law.

Background and objectives - LAS Mali

In accordance with the legislative framework in Mali, the LAS project has a political-institutional focus and seeks to strengthen local capacities to manage land conflicts and preserve customary rights (Project proposal Mali). The project therefore specifically aims to enhance the effectiveness and capacity of land committees: Commissions Foncières (CoFo), by assisting them and to enhance their institutional functioning.

The main objective related to enhancing women's land rights is to strengthen the functioning of land governance and emphasize gender inclusivity, particularly in ensuring the meaningful participation of women in decision-making bodies, such as the CoFo. This is divided into two specific objectives:

- Promoting gender-inclusive land access and governance: It is aimed to make sure that women are represented in land commissions and that the provided services of these commissions are also accessible for women. The project also aims to increase women's influence and decision-making power within the CoFo's.
- Ensuring that the assessments and input provided by women's groups are considered and integrated into the evaluations conducted by the CoFo: It is aimed to include the perspectives, insights, and recommendations of women's groups in the decision-making and evaluation processes of the land commissions.

These objectives follow from the legal framework in Mali and a specific law (Loi Orientation Agricole) that has been mandated and acknowledges the management of customary land at the village level through the CoFo. These CoFo's serve as a land management body prior to formal courts and play an important role in conflict resolution. While the law mandates the inclusion of at least one woman in CoFo's, women are often not represented. Effective implementation where women are represented in the CoFo and have actual influence remains a challenge due to factors such as religious norms, lack of awareness of land laws, inadequate training, and financial constraints.

Furthermore, although men and women formally possess equal rights to land, patrilineal customary systems often dominate rural areas, thereby denying women's inheritance rights, decision-making power, and access to land. This lack of enforcement of women's rights along with factors like limited awareness of land laws, low representation in land allocation bodies, worsens access to land:

"Access to land means that you are allowed to cultivate the land that belongs to your husband, and that you have the access to cultivate it for what you desire. Obtaining, for example, a land title, meaning that you are the owner of the land, is nearly impossible for women."

Thus, Mali faces a volatile context with tensions and disputes over natural resources often leading to larger conflicts. The project adjusted their whole objective to this local situation of conflict and the provisions of the law to that mandate women's representation in land committees.

Discussion

The data described above indicates that projects mostly grounded their objectives in the legal situation within the country. Either by using existing land-related laws to enforce rights, or by striving to revise or finalizing land-related laws and policies to support women's land rights. For example, in the

interview with Mali it was discussed that the objectives are aligned with the provisions outlined in national legislation, as it facilitates enforcement. In Chad, the objective is to make the governance system more inclusive of women's rights in response to the ongoing revision of the land law. Furthermore, LAS Uganda aims to promote joint titling, since the law mandates equal access to land for men and women. In Burundi, they focus on registration of informal rights, since due to the specific customary practice of 'Igiseke'. This gives the impression that each country project formulated their objectives for women's land rights, based on the specific context and needs of the country. This also reflects the importance of tailoring strategies to local conditions (Giovarelli & Wamalwa, 2011).

In the interviews with the country projects, all participants emphasized the importance of improving women's land rights and they argued that it plays a significant role in their projects. Several interviewees expressed that if they would not pay attention to women specifically, women are likely excluded from land registration. The project in Uganda for example explicitly argued in the interview that the success of their projects is tied to the inclusion of women:

"Yeah, very, very important. Because within, within the context of our project, we want to ensure a gender sensitive secularization or regularization of land rights. For us, it would be a failure if we were to secure land rights of 30,000 small holder farmers, but only men. It would be a failure for the project, so we want to ensure that." (Project implementer Uganda)

Remarkably, this expressed value of the focus on women is not directly reflected into the general objectives of the projects. In the main objectives of the projects, there is in most cases no direct reference made to women's land rights or gender relations. This gives the impression that although women's land rights and gender integration are acknowledged as important, it is not a primary focus in the projects itself. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions, such as the project in Chad, which is mainly centered on enhancing women's access to land.

Furthermore, the objectives are quite abstract, and they do not clearly indicate the specific actions the projects are undertaking to achieve these goals. Additionally, it remains unclear what is precisely meant by the projects when expressing the intent to improve 'gender-inclusive land access' (as seen in Mali). This raises questions such as who is being referred to—men, women, all women, or specific groups of women? There is also ambiguity regarding the targeted groups and content when the projects state their intention to raise awareness. Questions arise concerning when awareness is considered achieved and what the specific goal is for 'increasing awareness.' Similarly, when employing gender mainstreaming, it is unclear when and how this is intended during project implementation and what it practically entails. These aspects did not become clear based on the interviews or project proposals.

In conclusion, LAS country projects demonstrate a commitment to addressing the challenges faced by women in securing land rights. Their objectives related to women's land rights are focused on awareness raising, transforming social norms, legal reforms, gender-inclusive governance, capacity building for women, and gender mainstreaming. Each project tailors its objectives based on the specific context and needs of the country. They mostly align with existing land-related laws, or it is strived to revise them to support women's land rights. However, there is a discrepancy between the expressed importance of women's focus in the projects and the absence of direct references to women's land rights in the general objectives of the country projects. The objectives presented are somewhat abstract, lacking clarity on specific actions and the practical implementation of gender-inclusive measures. The abstract nature of the objectives may lead to challenges in the implementation phase. Without clear guidelines, it may become difficult to measure progress, assess impact, and ensure that the intended benefits are reaching women effectively.

4.3 Strategies to enhance women’s land rights

This chapter presents the strategies that are used by the LAS country projects to translate objectives into practical outcomes. The aim is to gain insight into the strategies employed by the projects to effectively advance women's land rights. The chapter addresses the following question:

“What strategies are selected by the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, to enhance women’s land rights?”

Firstly, an overview of the strategies employed by the country projects is presented in figure 20. Secondly, some of these strategies will be illustrated with examples from the interviews. Lastly, various aspects that stand out about these strategies will be discussed, such as understanding how the selected strategies align with gender transformative approaches. The data is derived from interviews conducted with the country projects and the expert interview with the IDLO.

Strategies selected by the LAS country projects to enhance women’s land rights

Based on the interviews with the country projects, eight different types of strategies that are used by the country projects, emerged from the data. These strategies provide a general impression of the types of interventions applied within the LAS program. Behind every strategy, the country code of the country implementing that strategy is indicated. Importantly, the absence of a country code in the table does not imply that a country is not applying the entire strategy. It means that this particular strategy did not come up during the interviews.

Figure 20. Overview of the different strategies used to enhance women’s land rights based on the country projects from LAS Mali, Burundi, Chad, and Uganda. The figure presented is based on recurring themes in the data, aligning with the types of strategies frequently discussed in literature.

Country code: C = LAS Chad, B = LAS Burundi, M = LAS Mali, U = LAS Uganda.

Type of strategy and related aim of the strategy	Strategies used and country code
<p>Awareness raising & knowledge sharing about several topics</p> <p>To improve knowledge and insights about specific aspects.</p>	<p>Raising knowledge about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land rights: B, U, C • Gender roles: B, U, • Registration of women’s name on paper <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance - Technical process - Informal rights registration <p>Specific methods used for communication:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshops: U, B • Door-to-door: B • Quizzes: B • Trainings: Social norms transformation training: U
<p>Community engagement</p> <p>To reduce resistance and conflict, create more support from community.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaging men: B, C, M, U • Engaging traditional authorities or key agents: B, C, M, U

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialogue and collaboration which involves organizing dialogues at community level and involving various stakeholders: B,U • Separating men & women to discuss topics, followed by combining men and women after separated discussions: B, M
<p>Empowerment</p> <p>To improve agency of women</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby and advocacy training for women: C • Forming a group of women: M, C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To discuss access to land - To prepare for important meeting - To feel supported by other women - To be together, organize, create, confidence and courage.
<p>Using tools and applications</p> <p>To improve effectiveness of interventions related to enhancing governance, resolve land conflicts, and promote gender-responsive land policies and practices.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Femmomètre: Website for women from the LAS project in Chad to report land disputes: C • PIP approach²: B • Gender evaluation criteria tool³: U <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tool from GLTN to conduct a comprehensive gender analysis and select areas for change. • Land governance and conflict app: M
<p>Lobby</p> <p>To create an enabling environment that supports and strengthens women's land rights through legal and policy reforms.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influencing policy and legal reforms: C, B • Raising awareness and lobbying at national level for improvements in legislation. To influence policy and legislation. Such as inheritance rights for women: C • Lobby for land by traditional authorities: C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lokal Kadaster: - Traditional leaders

² PIP: The PIP (Participatory Impact Pathways) approach is a participatory and bottom-up methodology that empowers individuals and farming communities in East Africa to address land degradation and invest in sustainable land use. By developing Integrated Farm Plans (PIPs), it encourages long-term thinking, active engagement, and resilience-based stewardship, facilitating positive change at various levels, from individual farms to entire landscapes. Within the PIP approach, which works on household level, gender roles and its effects on the household and incomes are discussed. It aims to analyze household dynamics, including income sources and gender roles, to identify opportunities for efficiency improvements and potential changes, while also planning for long-term goals and necessary support (The PIP approach: building a foundation for sustainable change, z.d.)).

³ The GEC is an assessment that can be used to identify and address barriers for gender mainstreaming within a specific context. Project implementers from Uganda view the GEC as a valuable tool for assessing and interpreting intervention outcomes and an effective method for targeting and implementing strategies (Project proposal Uganda).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government - Land committees
<p>Capacity building</p> <p>To enhance the knowledge and skills of women and local actors</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge sharing about fertilizers etc; C • Trainings about commercialization: C • Campaign: C • Lobby and advocacy training for women: C • Strengthen the knowledge and skills of local stakeholders to promote women's land rights: B, U, M, C
<p>Enforce representation of women in decision making bodies and increase women's decision making power</p> <p>To improve agency decision making power and voice of women</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasize by the existing local government structures that the law mandates the inclusion of one woman in the land committee in each village: M • Establishing women's groups involves preparing for a meeting with the land committee, ensuring that women possess the necessary knowledge to articulate their concerns and feel empowered through the collective support of fellow women: M
<p>Promote registration of land</p> <p>To secure and formalize (informal) land rights for women.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of informal rights: B • Sharing knowledge about titling process: B, U • Promote joint titling: U, B • Standardisation of communal land certification tools and materials that are gender sensitive and align with government-approved standards, to make sure they can be implemented on a bigger scale: B, U

To illustrate how the country projects addressed these topics in interviews, this analysis highlights two predominant categories of strategies substantiated by quotes from the interviews: Awareness raising and knowledge sharing across various subjects, as well as community engagement.

Firstly, figure 20 shows that several strategies are focused on awareness raising. Namely, in addition to the specific category of 'awareness raising and knowledge sharing', this topic can also be recognized in other strategies such as 'enhance technical aspects of titling' and 'capacity building' or 'Lobby'. The strategy of 'awareness raising and knowledge sharing' was frequently discussed as the main focus area of the projects, especially in Burundi and Uganda. In these projects they apply several strategies to enhance knowledge about rights, or awareness of gender roles. For example, Burundi organizes specific quizzes about land and Uganda organizes dialogues in communities to raise awareness about the importance of joint titling:

"Yes a big part of the project is focused on Awareness raising. You can do that in various ways, even going door-to-door to explain it. Because in the beginning, with sort of community meetings, we saw that there were only a few women there, ultimately. Because maybe it doesn't work timing-wise with other tasks they have, or... I don't know, it just didn't appeal to them. So then we thought, okay, we

need to come up with other ways to reach those women, so that they also know what their rights are and know what they should claim! So basically, going door-to-door, house to house, to explain, what are the procedures? What are your rights? So that's included.” (Project implementer Burundi)

“So we are there in this community to first and foremost to tell people about this, that men and women have rights and have equal rights to land and to sensitize them that when they are doing the land registration process, it is important that women and girls are included. As participants in the process, but also as beneficiaries in the process. So we do a lot of community sensitization work, we do a lot of training for the land actors, the land administration actors. We do a lot of training for the traditional leaders. So that they can be able to support families, to appreciate the need to include women and girls” (Project implementer Uganda)

Secondly, all projects use the strategy of engaging community members and specifically men, to reduce resistance and create more support in the communities for women’s rights. Namely, several projects described that this is important as men are viewed as ‘the gatekeepers of women’s right’ and ‘agents of change’. Thus, the projects engage men and traditional leaders to achieve sustainable change for women in a male dominated society:

“What we are saying is that under the LAS on customary land, we want the land registration process to be very gender sensitive, to be gender responsive where the right questions are asked..... It’s really targeting both men and women because it recognizes that if you only transform how women and girls see their rights then they will still go back to male dominated society and they will still have challenges. So the solution is to also include the men who are the gatekeepers of their [refers to women] rights... so they talk to their fellow men, and make them see the other perspective. These are usually like influential people in the community. Community level leaders, for example, culture leaders, religious leaders, even civil leaders. So, we target them because of their positions and influence in the community. But we also include ordinary men and women. So that they can bring, you know that perspective of how they face these issues in their everyday life. And then have a dialogue or discussion with their leaders.” (Project implementer Uganda)

The project in Burundi also explains that they aim to do this by separating men and women to discuss topics, followed by a discussion with men and women about the same topics:

“So what we’re actually doing extra in LAS now is, with our local partner Miparec at the village level, they also organize separate dialogues with women first. Just to talk about these kinds of topics, especially the sensitive topics of second wives. What do we do about that? To give women the opportunity to express themselves about it, and men separately to express themselves about it. Because we often notice that when men and women are in a group together, women sometimes hesitate to speak openly. And I think it’s interesting for men too, that they can just honestly say initially what they think among themselves. And then, indeed, you try to bring those two together eventually.” (Project implementer Burundi)

The diverse approaches, including door-to-door awareness campaigns and separate dialogues for men and women, underscore the projects’ commitment to addressing gender disparities in land rights through community-driven approaches. The next section delves further into the analysis of the strategies used by the country projects.

Critical remarks

If we look at the overview in figure 20 a few things are notable about the strategies that are selected by the projects. Firstly, a few projects explained explicitly mentioned activities such as going door-to-

door in LAS Burundi, or the 'social norms transformation training' in Uganda. However most strategies that were discussed in the interviews remained quite abstract, as can also be seen in figure 20. These approaches do not show the precise actions or individuals involved. For example, projects emphasize "sharing knowledge and raising awareness,". However, in most instances, discussions about knowledge sharing or "enhancing gender sensitivity" lack specificity regarding the target audience for, the exact nature of awareness raising (whether limited to emphasizing the importance of women's land rights or extending to specific gender roles), the methodology used, and the criteria for considering individuals adequately aware of a particular issue. For instance, in Mali, they aim to enhance the representation of women into the land committees (see chapter 4.2), but no specific strategy was outlined that is used to realize this goal. Furthermore, while certain country projects expressed the importance of "engaging men" to mitigate resistance, there was a lack of clarity regarding when and in which specific strategy this was applied. Thus, based on the interviews, it was indeed challenging to precisely define what the projects do or do not undertake.

Moreover, the strategies in figure 20 suggest that most projects engage in a bit of everything and a well-defined, coherent direction regarding their target audience, goals, anticipated outcomes, and the precise methods to achieve them seems to be missing. This inconsistency makes it challenging to determine the primary focus of these projects and how they intend to bring about the intended change—whether it's primarily addressing root causes of inequality or primarily raising awareness—and importantly, how they intend to execute these approaches and the kind of change the projects intends to realize. This lack of coherence in land related projects that aim to address gender inequality is not unique to these projects but rather appears to be a recurring pattern in several development programs, as highlighted by Giovarelli & Lastaria-Cornhiel (2006). However, projects that incorporate a clearly defined strategy from the project's inception, where objectives, strategies, and anticipated results are aligned, are anticipated to be considerably more effective (Giovarelli & Lastaria-Cornhiel, 2006; Johnson et al., 2018). Hence it might be relevant for the country projects to take this further into account in the development and implementation of their projects.

Another notable aspect of the strategies used, is that most of them are focused on sharing knowledge and awareness raising (both on gender roles and importance of women's land rights) and making sure that the land registration process becomes more 'gender sensitive'. Namubiru-Mwaura (2014) highlights the relevance of knowledge sharing and awareness raising as essential steps since it can help to better understand rights or how gender norms affect the family and its income. Furthermore, throughout the interviews, respondents highlighted a challenge they encounter limited awareness regarding women's rights and the influence of gender roles on disparate opportunities for land access.

While acquiring knowledge about rights is an essential initial step to enhance women's land rights, it does not inherently guarantee effective outcomes. Merely possessing awareness of their rights may not lead to substantial change if women encounter challenges in asserting those rights (Ravnborg et al., 2016). Specifically, even when women have their rights registered, social norms can impede the recognition of these rights. McDougall et al. (2021) argue that acknowledging social norms is essential in effecting structural changes for women. They emphasize that challenging these norms often requires a more comprehensive approach that goes beyond mere awareness and education. To effectively challenge social norms, it often takes a combination of factors at different levels (McDougall et al., 2021). This was also emphasized during expert interview with the IDLO:

"There are so many of these programs that we done where we've gotten the land titles for women's rights. But there's so much research that talks about even when that happens, if you've not worked on changing community social norms, there can be a lot of backlashes against women. It can increase the incidence of violence. So it's very important that you take a whole of society approach. It's not just one

targeted intervention. What an ideal programming would look like is to work with all the stakeholders. So empower this is civil society organizations, the women's organizations. We will deliver trainings, support, legal aid organizations to help women navigate the legal system, working with community leaders, the men, boys. On changing social norms, but then also working with the former justice systems, judges, lawyers to sensitize them to women's rights.” (Gender expert IDLO)

The quotes from the IDLO emphasize the importance of a multifaceted approach to ensure the success of women's rights initiatives. This includes sharing information about rights, transforming social norms, and involving various stakeholders—such as civil society organizations, women's groups, legal aid providers, community leaders, and the justice system—to promote awareness and respect for women's rights. Based on the data from the interviews with the country projects, it appears that projects partially adopt this ‘multifaceted’ approach as explained by the IDLO. Namely, the country projects engage various stakeholders at different levels, involving men and community leaders through community engagement initiatives and they aim to impact legal reforms through lobbying activities. However, fewer strategies are focused on addressing social norms. However, a notable observation is that most of the strategies are not directly focused on transforming social norms.

This observation also says something about the extent to which gender transformative strategies are applied by the projects. Namely, what you would expect from a transformative strategy is that it addresses root causes of gender inequality, addresses unequal power dynamics such as patriarchy, rather than just a temporary increase in opportunities by enhancing knowledge or capacity (MacArthur, 2022; CARE, 2016).

Further exploration into the selected strategies by the country projects will now focus on gender transformative strategies and their specific characteristics, as discussed in the theoretical framework. Namely, if we look at the strategies applied by the country projects some specific aspects that are crucial for a gender transformative approach are missing. From a gender transformative approach, you expect that is that it entails a gender analysis, intersectionality, systems approach, multilevel perspective (see figure 9 in theoretical framework). While a multilevel perspective is seemingly applied to some extent, given the emphasis on stakeholder inclusion in the strategies, other crucial aspects are not adequately reflected in the strategies. For instance, the concept of intersectionality, which considers the interconnected nature of social categories such as gender, race, and class, was not addressed or considered in the projects. Additionally, the projects did not make specific references to or consider the unique experiences and challenges faced by groups of women. The absence of discussions on intersectionality and specific groups may limit projects' ability to comprehensively address the diverse and intersecting forms of discrimination that women may encounter. The same accounts for a ‘gender analysis’ which is in most cases not executed by the country projects. Despite LAS Uganda, that uses the Gender Evaluation Criteria Tool from GLTN (figure 9) to conduct a gender analysis, most projects did not do this prior to the start of the project. However, a gender analysis is crucial to ensure that strategies are adjusted to local needs and local gender relations (Hillebrand et al., 2015).

Furthermore, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, three critical elements should be incorporated into interventions for those aiming to achieve sustainable and transformative change: agency, structure, and the alteration of interpersonal dynamics (figure 8) (Hillebrand et al., 2015). If we compare these three elements with the strategies selected by the country projects, they seem to relate mostly to ‘agency’ (individual and collective capacities such as knowledge and skills, attitudes, critical reflection, and personal aspirations) and to some extent on ‘structure’ (informal and formal laws, policies, norms, and institutional practice). The element of ‘transform’ (related to power

dynamics within and between households, communities, groups and organizations) is less directly represented in their strategies or interventions. This exclusion of the element of ‘transform’ may compromise the impact of interventions (Hillenbrand et al., 2015). Namely, addressing power dynamics is crucial for fostering more profound societal transformations and ensuring a more holistic approach to sustainable change (Hillenbrand et al., 2015).

In conclusion based on the data it can be indicated that strategies of the LAS country projects are focused on eight different themes as depicted in figure 8. These strategies are mainly focused on awareness raising and knowledge sharing, and to some extent to legal reforms. Less attention is paid addressing unequal power structures and social norms. While it is essential to emphasize a well-defined and integrated approach to enhance gender equality within development projects (Johnson et al., 2018, the data suggests that projects seem to lack a clear direction or detailed description of the kind of strategies that they apply. In terms of using a gender transformative approach, essential aspect to foster sustainable change seem to be less represented in the strategies used by the LAS projects, which may limit the long-term effects of the interventions that are selected.

4.4 Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice

The previous factors focused on objectives and strategies from LAS projects, to enhance women’s land rights. This chapter now narrows its focus to explore strategies specifically aimed at improving access to justice. As detailed in chapter 2, access to justice—encompassing the capacity to seek and enforce rights through institutions—plays a crucial role in the realization of land rights (Lawson et al., 2020; Ravnborg, 2016). Without access to justice, policies and laws may lose their effectiveness, and the enforcement of rights becomes challenging (Lawson et al., 2020). To ensure equal enjoyment of rights, accountability mechanisms are essential to seek justice. However, as stated by IDLO (2017): “Justice systems, formal or informal, are inaccessible, discriminatory, or insensitive to women’s lived experiences. (P. 23).” This chapter aims to contribute to bridging these gaps by understanding and analyzing the strategies used by LAND-at-scale projects to enhance women’s access to justice. In essence, this chapter addresses a critical aspect of women’s land rights by investigating the practical approaches undertaken to navigate and overcome challenges within justice systems, ultimately working towards ensuring the equal enjoyment of rights for women. The following question will be explored:

“How do LAND-at-scale country projects implement strategies to enhance women’s access to justice?”

The data in this chapter is based on interviews with project implementers from the LAS country projects in Burundi, Chad, Mali, Uganda, and the expert interviews with the International Development Law Organization (IDLO)⁴ and the Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law (KPSRL).⁵ The strategies employed by country projects to address these challenges will be discussed. Various strategies were

⁴ IDLO is the only global intergovernmental organization devoted to promoting the rule of law to advance peace and sustainable development (IDLO, 2017)

⁵ The Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law (the Platform) aims to jointly explore innovative approaches to emerging challenges in the field of security and rule of law in fragile and conflict affected contexts (Knowledge Platform Security & Rule of Law. (n.d.))

discussed in the interviews, including those centered on land rights, as detailed in the preceding chapters.

The chapter consists of an overview of the strategies that are used within the LAS program to enhance women’s access to justice. Firstly, it is briefly described when strategies relate to access to justice. Then, the strategies are depicted in figure 21. This is followed by figure 22 that illustrates the themes identified during interviews, representing the barriers to women's access to justice as perceived by the country projects. Subsequently the following strategies will be discussed in further detail: alternative dispute resolution, training paralegals, increasing representation of women in land governance bodies and raising awareness about women’s rights.

Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice

Regarding access to justice, certain strategies could be directly related to the topic to the topic of access to justice, but others were not explicitly discussed in that context during the interviews. These strategies were later classified in the analysis as integral to the concept of access to justice. In this chapter, a strategy is considered associated with access to justice if it aligns with one of the following dimensions of access to justice:

1. Knowledge about rights and the legal system.
2. Knowledge about how to navigate and use the legal system effectively.
3. The ability to claim one's rights and engage with the legal system without encountering high barriers, excessive costs, or other hindrances.

However, these strategies frequently overlap in practice, with one strategy often addressing multiple dimensions. For instance, the ability to claim rights without barriers often entails knowledge sharing about rights. As a result, strategies are not strictly categorized into a single dimension of access to justice within this chapter. Based on interviews, the strategies as depicted in figure 21 are identified. These categories are established based on literature (IDLO, 2017; IDLO, 2020; ILC Learning Hub. n.d.; Quintero et al., 2014) and insights gathered from interviews, the strategies employed by the country projects are categorized into six categories and are depicted in figure 21. Since, most country projects use similar strategies into their projects, no specific distinction has been made between the country projects in this figure. For the remaining part of this chapter, we will delve into the strategies outlined in figure 21, providing explanations and discussions to better understand the implementation processes and underlying reasons for these strategies.

Figure 21. Strategies used by the LAS program, based on the country projects in Burundi, Mali, Uganda and Chad to enhance women’s access to justice.

Strategies to enhance women’s access to justice
<p>Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)</p> <p>To claim and seek rights and solve disputes outside formal courts.</p>
<p>Raising awareness about women’s rights</p> <p>Increasing knowledge among men and women about women’s rights</p>

<p>Raising gender awareness in Mediation structures</p> <p>Training mediation committees</p>
<p>Lobbying and Advocacy</p> <p>Influence legal reforms</p>
<p>Training Paralegals</p> <p>People are trained to educate and assist communities about legal issues such as women's rights.</p>
<p>Increasing representation of women</p> <p>Including women's representation and participation in local government structures such as local land committees, and ensure they have a voice</p>

Throughout the interviews, the country projects identified shared obstacles perceived as barriers to women's access to justice. These barriers, illustrated in figure 22, closely align with those outlined in the literature by IDLO (2017) and Lawson et al. (2020), which detail the challenges women encounter in accessing justice. This convergence underscores the relevance of importance of addressing these specific barriers.

Figure 22. Common themes identified in the interviews that the country projects view as barriers to access to justice for women

Barriers to Access to Justice for Women as described by project member of the country projects	Description
Complicated bureaucracy	Conflict resolution in higher courts is often complicated and time-consuming, involving inaccessible bureaucracy that can take years to resolve disputes.
Limited literacy and verbal communication	High illiteracy rates and reliance on verbal communication in some countries hinder women's ability to engage with the legal system.
Lack of legal knowledge	Women often lack knowledge about their legal rights and the functioning of the legal system, further complicating their pursuit of justice.
Practical barriers	Long commutes, lost income, and childcare responsibilities make accessing higher courts challenging for women.

Cultural norms	Many societies have deeply rooted cultural norms that perpetuate gender inequality, often influenced by religious beliefs.
Unbalanced power structures and corruption	Unbalanced power structures and corruption can hinder the enforcement of women's legal rights, particularly in cases like land disputes.
Lack of gender sensitivity	Gender-sensitive aspects and specific consequences for women are often overlooked, leading to increased conflicts at the local level.

Alternative dispute resolution and gender sensitivity training for mediation projects

The first topic that the project implementers discussed during the interviews when we talked about access to justice was alternative dispute resolution (ADR). All interviewees explained that they implement alternative dispute resolution as one of their main strategies to enhance women's access to justice. In practice this often means that projects aim to solve land related disputes within local communities, for instance by mediation. The projects explained that they prefer to address conflicts locally and that they actively aim to avoid formal courts. Namely, communities are more acquainted with this type of mediation, and formal courts are typically time-consuming, lack gender sensitivity, and present practical barriers for women to access, as exemplified in the following quote:

“But the challenge is that these formal courts are very complicated, especially for women. They are not very sensitive, and women cannot afford the legal fees, they cannot afford lawyers. The courts are probably very far from where the women live or work, and women have other care roles, so they do not have time to spend with us their cases every time and again. The procedures in court are very complicated, especially for women and girls to follow and understand. There are issues to do with corruption, so women must pay bribes and they don't have that money, so many times the men are able to pay and therefore they win the case. So, for us in our program, we are saying, let us try as much as possible to avoid the formal courts, because they do not work for women and girls.” (Project implementer Uganda).

LAS Chad and LAS Burundi underscored the importance of mediation as well, especially given the high incidence of violent land-related conflicts in these countries. They prioritize the resolution of disputes through mediation structures, as formal courts often entail lengthy proceedings and pose significant financial burdens. LAS Burundi and LAS Chad also indicated that the low quality of the legal system and the associated corruption are reasons to choose for ADR mechanism. Additionally, LAS Uganda emphasized the significance of mediation, as it can effectively mitigate potential resistance and conflicts that may arise when women's names are added to land registration documents. Thus, by using ADR, the projects aim to reduce several barriers that they described in the interviews that prevent women from seeking justice in formal courts (barriers are depicted in figure 22). The projects explained that women face barriers like long commutes to courts, lack of gender sensitivity and unbalanced power structures and corruption that women face when they seek access to justice (Figure 22). The projects established mediation committees that consist of traditional leaders and land committee members. These committees are responsible for handling a range of conflicts, such as land disputes, domestic violence, disagreements, and other issues that may arise during processes like land registration.

The interviews indicate that the project also train these committees on women's rights, so they become more gender sensitive and have more capacity to provide gender-responsive justice. Otherwise, it is most likely that no attention will be paid to gender sensitive aspects since these local committees regularly function on patriarchal systems.

"The problem is that before the project, these mechanisms are not gender sensitive, or gender responsive. So, we try to influence them to train them in a gender sensitive approach." (Project implementer Uganda)

Without the attention to gender sensitive issues within ADRs, women's rights may get further violated due to the patriarchal values within these ADRs. Therefore, providing training about gendered issues and women's rights among these dispute resolution mechanisms is crucial (IDLO, 2020). This was also explained by the expert interview with KPSRL:

"At the local level most of the time when they create those commissions, those alternative dispute resolution settings it's going to be elders and male elders. And again, you're replicating the same inequalities. Because you are putting people there who are not sensitive to those dynamics. So, it's work which needs to be done on the long run and you will need to associate both." (Gender and law expert KPSRL)

Moreover, in this interview with KPSRL it was emphasized that the focus should not solely be put on ADR mechanisms. It is essential as well to aim for policy reforms to make laws more inclusive of women's rights and to include higher courts as and to make them gender sensitive, to attain actual long term structural changes for women. If these courts are not gender sensitive, it may further disadvantage women's already vulnerable position. Namely, some land related conflicts will inevitably go to court in the end when conflicts cannot be solved locally. Furthermore, during the interview, collaboration with the government was pointed out as an important driver for sustainable change for women at a higher level. Thus, engaging multiple stakeholders is essential to realize sustainable and impactful change in the long run:

"It's an important thing to mention, how do we support the formal justice chain? Because some land related conflicts will inevitably go there, right based on the size of the conflict. So how do we support the formal justice chain to deal with those type of conflicts handle those types of matters, but making also sure that at the local level, some of the conflicts can be quickly solved quickly handled with all the care and all the sensitivity needed... you need to work with the multiplicity of stakeholders, but even with those stakeholders groups, you have to make sure that they understand gender relations and that the sensitivity is there." (Gender and law expert KPSRL)

The projects themselves emphasized the importance of supporting the formal justice chain. In discussions with the country projects, it was clarified that a notable number of cases still make their way to court. However, these court systems, in general, were described as insensitive to women's rights. When cases go to court and are no longer resolved at the local level, projects state that they lose control in this area and can no longer ensure the recognition of gender differences and women have little chance of enforcement of their rights. Notably, based on the interviews, the impression was gained that the projects do not implement many strategies to make the justice system more sensitive to women's rights:

“We don't do so much of the mitigation of the formal justices. But we support the existing structures to provide mediation to, you know, resolve this conflict and make up between families...” (Project implementer Uganda)

LAS Uganda and LAS Mali did not explicitly convey their commitment to stimulating policy reforms or involvement with higher courts. LAS Burundi and LAS Chad on the other hand, clarified that their objective is to collaborate with the government to impact policy reforms and provide support for revisions of land laws. The interviews left some ambiguity regarding the extent of efforts and the precise methodologies used to tackle corruption or discrimination against women in higher-level courts. Additionally, LAS Burundi indicated challenges in determining effective methods to enhance the capacity of judges, lawyers, and higher courts in interpreting women's rights, primarily due to the sensitivity of this issue in the country and the suboptimal quality of the legal system.

In conclusion, while the projects have demonstrated a strong emphasis on ADR due to the cost-effective and timely way to resolve disputes, it is crucial to acknowledge the potential limitations of relying solely on local-level interventions (IDLO, 2020). If these ADR mechanisms are not considering gender differences, it can perpetuate gender disparities and further increase women's obstacles to enforce their rights. Furthermore, the interviewees stressed the challenges posed by the low quality and corruption within the legal system, which indicates that women will still face obstacles in enforcement of their rights if their cases end up in formal courts. To ensure a comprehensive and impactful approach, collaboration with the government and efforts to influence higher-level courts may be necessary to effectively contribute to lasting changes for women (IDLO, 2017).

Increasing representation and decision-making power of women

Another subject addressed in the interviews concerning access to justice is the aim to increase the representation of women in committees and to ensure that women have a voice. To implement this strategy, LAS Burundi and Las Mali mainly use the law, since it mandates the inclusion of women in land committees (see chapter 4.2). Therefore, the projects work together with local government authorities to ensure specific percentage of committee positions to be reserved for women. Hereby the projects actively stimulate local authorities to respect and implement constitutional quotas for women's participation in decision-making bodies.

“Yes, at the beginning, we have those CoFos [the land committees], which have a specific set of responsibilities within the law that they must adhere to, and one of them is, for example, to have a composition where women are also members of a CoFo. So that is the first level, and it is also stated in the law that women must be part of those CoFos. Because it is a law, you can easily enforce that, and they can easily demand that they [women] are included.” (Project implementer Mali).

In LAS Mali and LAS Chad, the emphasis extends beyond mere compliance with legal mandates. The goal is to ensure that women are not only included due to legal requirements but also genuinely empowered to bring attention to the unique challenges faced by women in conflict situations:

“So it [refers to land committee] is representative of women too, so our point was to see if these women actually having a voice or they're just being there because they have to be as a quota for women. And trying to work directly with them to see OK, what is your role? What is your specific role? When it comes to, you know, highlighting the issues that are faced by women in conflicts. So I think that the approach is not isolating women, but also giving space and voice to them.” (Project implementer Chad)

Thus, in their strategy, the projects aim to find out if women in these structures have a genuine voice or if their presence is merely symbolic. To encourage meaningful representation, LAS Chad and LAS

Mali also organize a women's group prior to the land committee meeting. The aim of this meeting is that they discuss the issues that will be discussed later together with men in the land committee. The idea is that women feel supported and empowered by each other and are more likely to speak up in the meeting with the land committee. In the interview with Chad, it was mentioned that this strategy is important within the project, since it can enhance women's empowerment and courage:

"In the world of a woman this is something like changing mentalities for women ...I can quote one of them in these interviews last week: 'this gives us the courage...this gave me the idea that I can have access to land, and I want to talk to my sisters, it gave me courage'." (Project implementer Chad)

According to Quintero et al. (2014), it is important for women's access to justice to increase their representation in decision making bodies. This increased representation can result in a positive shift of to the perception of women about women's leadership capacities, and hereby also change gender norms in the long run. Nonetheless, interviewees from Mali and Burundi emphasized the challenge of ensuring impact of this strategy. Despite their focus on meaningful representation of women, they doubt if it is possible to realize more decision-making power for women. Namely, it was described that it is questionable if women will have recognition in the land committee since cultural norms often prevent women from speaking in the land committees. This suggests that increasing women's decision-making power may be challenging when these committees are not gender sensitive in practice.

Raising knowledge about women's land rights

Another frequently employed strategy by the country projects involves "raising awareness about women's land rights." This aspect holds significant importance for the projects. LAS Burundi, for example, highlighted that addressing the lack of awareness among women regarding their legal rights is a major challenge. Without awareness of rights, women may struggle to demand accountability from those who violate or ignore their rights.

"I think the most difficult is that the women don't know their rights. And they cannot claim them at the local mechanism of justice. They are not aware of their rights, and they cannot claim for their rights. Those who are in charge they are also not sensitive to gender issues. They don't know the women's rights. If you don't know your right, you cannot claim it or make people accountable for it." (Project implementer Burundi)

Therefore, in the interviews the country projects emphasized the importance of raising awareness about women's rights, as was explained by a project implementer from Mali:

"...And then explain the law about what rights they have in terms of land, land rights, and access to land, and then you try to explain that. That is official legislation. So if you make women aware of that, that it [women's rights to land] exists, that they are equal to men, that is often already an eye-opener. Because they do not assume that at all. They just assume that they are less." (Project implementer Mali)

"All our work is really at grassroot level to ensure that the women and girls are able to fully exercise their rights and they are able to you know, to enjoy the rights that are provided for in our laws. So, our work in general as an organization, we do a lot of work around sensitization on the law, so that people can know that these laws are there. ...And we know that many times women and girls continue to suffer because they don't know that the law is existing, that protects them. So, we do a lot of work to create awareness on women's land rights." (Project implementer Uganda)

Hence, a common approach employed by various projects involves the promotion of awareness and community education regarding women's land rights and legal safeguards. To achieve this, these projects conduct sensitization campaigns to inform people about the laws that protect women's rights. For instance, the project in Burundi mentioned that one of their primary goals is to ensure that women are aware of their rights and know how to assert them. To do so, they implement several activities such as quizzes for women about gender roles and their rights, and they go door-to-door to reach women. Nonetheless, in most other instances, the practical execution of these awareness initiatives was only briefly mentioned, and during the interviews, project implementers did not elaborate on how they carry out activities to raise awareness. Rather, they mentioned that they include this 'awareness raising' wherever possible in the program. This gained the impression that activities for communities to raise awareness about women's land rights are often part of other land related strategies, such as training about land rights in general.

In LAS Mali and LAS Burundi, to extent the capacity of knowledge sharing about rights, they train people to become 'paralegals. Paralegals are people from local village with a certain recognition. These paralegals have the task of enhancing awareness of communities on legal issues and gender-related topics. For instance, in Burundi, to make sure that more people know their rights to land and are sensitive to women's rights, paralegals are trained to share this knowledge with other community members. Furthermore, the paralegals assist in legal issues and increase the capacity to solve land related disputes. Quintero et al. (2014) and ILC Learning Hub (n.d.) also highlight the effectivity of paralegals for building capacity and informing men and women about their rights and educate them how to navigate through the legal system.

Improving knowledge about rights can be considered a useful first step since the effectiveness of a law depends about awareness about it (Namubiru-Mwaura, 2014). However, the long-term effectiveness of these strategies might be questionable (IDLO, 2020). IDLO (2020) and insights from expert interviews with KPSLR show that raising awareness about women's land rights is insufficient to realize effective and sustainable change. Having rights according to law, does not automatically imply the ability to assert them (IDLO, 2017). This emphasizes the necessity of combining several intervention strategies to enhance women's access to justice. Moreover, during the interview with KPSRL, it was a highlighted emphasis on the necessity to go beyond a Western-centric approach that predominantly depends on sharing knowledge and emphasizes technical sciences. Instead, the interviewee advocates for recognizing local knowledge held by communities that have been managing the land for generations. It was encouraged by the interviewee to use strategies that integrate local knowledge to address issues related to access to land rights effectively. Additionally, the interviewee emphasized the importance of involving multiple stakeholders in the decision-making process, ensuring that the agenda is not solely determined by external donors but is led by those directly experiencing the impact of land deprivation.

"In terms of strategies, it's also very important to shed the light on local knowledge in terms of Land Management because there has been a huge emphasis on technicalities, sciences, environmental sciences, but from a very Western perspective, right, which I believe makes sense, which I think is important. But I also believe in in true local knowledge I also believe that we are talking about people who have been managing land for long times... Try to see how to align that with more Western scientific ways of tackling the issue. So first of all, a multi stakeholder settings. Second, leverage on local knowledge and ensure that yeah again who's setting the agenda? One of the strategies I think is also, to make sure that the agenda, whenever a land program is about to be shaped is not set by the donor or is not heavily dominated but what we think is the right thing to do or should be the priority? Right. I

think it's important to ensure that it is led by people who are experiencing it by people who are suffering the deprivation of rights.” (Gender and law expert KPSRL)

Conclusion

The strategies applied by different countries to enhance women’s access to justice largely overlap, the specific methods and strategies used may vary based on their individual contexts such as the specific legal frameworks. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) emerges as the primary strategy the projects apply related to access to justice. The strategies applied align with the strategies that are also described in literature to be effective to enhance access to justice for women (chapter 2). However, to address the many barriers that women face, projects it was recommended in the expert interview with KPSRL to strive for a more inclusive formal justice system and to use multifaceted approaches. Furthermore, the effectiveness of some strategies, such as sharing knowledge about rights, are debatable in achieving tangible results. Solely focusing on knowledge sharing might not be enough to overcome barriers such as discriminatory aspects that obstruct women in accessing their rights. Notably, the question was raised in the expert interview of the alignment between local knowledge and Western perspectives while designing strategies for access to justice. It was argued to strive for strategies that go beyond Western-centric perspectives and to involve the communities directly affected by land rights deprivation in shaping intervention agendas. In terms of these strategies, it might be of value to critically reflect on the alignment between the agenda of donors from a Western perspective and those directly experiencing the impact of deprivation of their rights to land.

4.5 Experiences and challenges with implementation of strategies to enhance women’s land rights

The previous chapters, focused on the chosen objectives and strategies by LAS aimed at enhancing women's land rights. This sub-question shifts the focus to the implementation of strategies. In essence, this chapter delves into the experiences and challenges tied to implementing strategies for enhancing women's land rights. By doing so, it sheds light on the complexities of pursuing gender equality in land rights and offers a closer look at the real-world challenges faced by LAS country projects. The lessons learned from these challenges can provide insights for more effective responses to challenges that emerge. This chapter addresses the following question:

“What challenges do LAND-at-scale country projects experience when implementing strategies for enhancing women's land rights?”

This chapter takes a broader perspective by generalizing the specific challenges that the projects may face. Thus, it is aimed to identify patterns across projects and the recognition of shared aspects encountered during implementation. The data presented is derived from interviews conducted with country projects in Chad, Mali, Burundi, and Uganda.

Firstly, the challenges associated with the implementation of laws and legal pluralism will be examined. Secondly, resistance from various stakeholders will be discussed, emphasizing the importance of involving key agents to mitigate potential resistance. Lastly, the chapter delves into challenges related to applying gender transformative strategies.

Implementation of the law and legal pluralism

In the interviews conducted with country projects, the primary issue highlighted was the execution of legal provisions of policies and laws. Although laws grant equal land rights to both men and women in most countries, the projects underscored that a major challenge lies in effectively executing these laws and policies:

“The main challenge is not the lack of policies and laws. The laws and policies are there. They address gender, you know, gender equity. And yeah, it's not that they are perfect...But I strongly believe that if they were implemented, even as they are, a lot of progress will be achieved in terms of addressing, gender equity. So, the main challenge in Uganda is really the implementation of the existing laws and policies. So, there is a huge disconnect between what the laws and policies are saying and what the actual practice in the community is.” (Project implementer Uganda)

In conversations with KPSRL and the Burundi project it was discussed that judges often lack the recognition they need, and the legal system itself lacks transparency, with corruption being a common problem. In general, there is limited adherence to the rule of law. Additionally, the conventional land registration system frequently falls short in terms of ensuring that women and girls are included. The challenge of enforcing laws to enhance women's land rights follows from legal pluralism, where customary systems diverge from the legal framework (Kasimbazi, 2017). However, these customary systems often prevail, but are mostly oriented towards men. This becomes apparent in inheritance systems, for example, which are mostly patrilineal. This practice makes women dependent on their relationships with men to gain access to land. The complex interplay of legal and cultural factors results in the exclusion of women from ownership, decision-making power about land, and inheritance practices, as highlighted by the project in Uganda:

“For me, the main challenge is really the cultural norms, and you know the way the society is organized and has evolved over time. You have on one hand the society that is based on the man. So, when it comes to property ownership, when it comes to inheritance, when it comes to management of the land making key decisions on the land, how the property is passed from one generation to the next, it follows the male lineage. And there is no or very limited recognition of women and girls in this system.” (Project implementer Uganda)

As was mentioned in the previous chapters, several projects aim to systematically document land rights and actively try to put women's names on the certificate when new land rights are being registered or in the case of a marriage. However, this is a challenging task since women are often not considered in the land rights system or allowed to inherit land from their father or husband. The management of land is described as ‘men's business’ where women are often excluded or discriminated against:

“It's a men's business, so only the name of the head of the household is mentioned on the certificate, which are the men and not the women, while it is mainly the women who work on the land and do most of the work. But when it comes to the land and its yield, it is mostly the man who decides”. (Project implementer Burundi).

“Most of the legal framework is patrilineal oriented. This legal framework is done by men for the men...They never think about women's rights.” (Project implementer Burundi)

In practice, this means that while it is mainly the women who work on the land, the husband is often still in charge. All projects emphasized this challenge of enhancing women's land rights and gender equality in a patriarchal society where inclusion of women is not a given. It indicates that due to deeply rooted social norms and values, applying 'land rights' for women is not something that can be done easily.

From this data it can be observed that the overall challenge in enhancing women's land rights follows from the interplay of legal and cultural factors and deeply rooted patriarchal norms. Thus, addressing these challenges requires not only legal reforms, but also a transformation of societal attitudes and practices to ensure meaningful gender equality in land rights. This emphasizes the importance of strategies that aim to bridge the gap between legal ideals and on-the-ground realities and challenge (McDougall et al., 2021). However, to address these aspects and realize sustainable change requires time and effort and cannot be changed within a brief period (Hillenbrand et al., 2015). The sensitivity of the subject necessitates careful implementation (McDougall et al., 2021), potentially leading to additional challenges, as elaborated in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Resistance from men and women

In the pursuit of enhancing women's land rights, the projects often encounter resistance from different local stakeholders. Interestingly, women themselves often show resistance as well. This might be attributed to their disadvantaged and unequal status in society that, over time, has become the norm (Bichhieri, 2022). In many cases, women are not aware of the rights they possess, or they might not view it as a priority to have their lands registered:

“For women, in the beginning there could be resistance, but it's not as strong as it is for men. Because for women they have suffered a very long time. Because of these cultures, sometimes it has been normalized. At some point, they start feeling as if it is fine: ‘It's working perfectly well for me, so why are you coming to tell me I have to put my name on that title?’ When you start to talk about land, then they say no, that's for my husband to discuss, not me. If you if you want to speak to young girls, they say no, that's for my brother or for my parents to discuss, not me.” (Project implementer Uganda)

To address this concern, the projects aim to explain the rights women possess according to law and emphasize the relevance of registration. However, as the quote above shows, it might even be a challenge to discuss land rights for women, with women themselves. Cultural norms and the practice of women deferring to their husbands in land discussions can make it a challenge to reach women and involve them into the project. Women often have busy schedules and may not see how they can effectively manage their participation in these initiatives alongside their existing responsibilities.

This resistance from women raises the question to what extent the program's strategies align with the vision and preferences of local women, since women initially state they are fine with their current situation. Projects gave the impression during the interviews that they aim to adapt their strategies to the needs and perceptions of local women, by working together with local organizations or local chiefs. Still, this finding indicates the importance of adapting strategies to the specific context, to make sure that the benefits of the interventions align with women's needs (Namubiru-Mwaura, 2014; Johnson et al., 2018) and to develop a project with stakeholders, rather than for them.

The country projects explained that even more resistance is encountered from men. The interviewees indicated that the main reason for their resistance is that men benefit from the current status quo. They fear losing their privileges and power when efforts are made to change the established dynamics by promoting women's land rights:

“Of course, it's more difficult with men because men are beneficiaries of status quo. You know, the culture has worked for them. The culture, which is discriminating against women and girls, but men benefit from status-quo. So, when we are working with men, it is, there's a lot of resistance at the beginning. They always feel like you know, ‘This is this is how our culture is. This is what works for us. You cannot come and change this! This is how we want things!’ so there's usually a lot of resistance.” (Project implementer Uganda).

“But also, the resistance, the resistance that we get from the communities. Because you're challenging, you're challenging status quo. You're challenging something that a certain group of people is benefiting from that is their power. That is their everything, especially the men and the boys. So, they will always fight you. They will always try to resist whatever conversation that you bring in the community. I think that is also a challenge that we make.” (Project implementer Uganda).

The data above suggests that discussions about women's land rights and the promotion of gender-sensitive social norms are delicate topics requiring careful implementation. If men are not involved into the process, it can result in backlash due to increased tensions or potential conflicts:

“Because remember, when we come into this issue, it creates a lot of tension and conflict among families because it's not, it's not something that we are used to that a woman should be included on that title. The automatic thing will be for a man or husband to say I am the sole owner of this land... So, it creates a lot of tension among husband and wife leads to a lot of domestic violence.” (Project implementer Uganda)

To strive for registration of women on the land certificate, can create tensions among families and, at times, even result in violent resistance (McDougall et al., 2021). This concern was consistently raised by nearly all projects and during expert interviews, as illustrated by a quote from an interview with the project in Mali:

“In Mali, women have reported that when they return home in the evening, their husbands begin to complain, undoing all that was discussed during the day. To achieve sustainable support, it is essential to engage in frequent conversations and gradually attempt to shift perspectives.” (Project implementer Mali).

These findings indicate that it is crucial to involve both women and men, along with other community members, in the intervention to prevent adverse effects and ensure the sustainability and desirability of initiatives, as is also emphasized by Quisumbing et al. (2019). As a result, all country projects expressed that they have chosen to involve men, traditional leaders, and other influential figures in their initiatives. The aim is to train these stakeholders on women's land rights and to utilize their widespread community status and their capacity to effectively lead the transformation of community-, or societal attitudes and beliefs. Nevertheless, gaining support from these traditional leaders may still be challenging, as indicated by the following quote from a project implementer from LAS Chad, where a conversation is highlighted with a local representative from the government in Chad:

“Then the campaign started as a means to exemplify a change in mentality. Some of the governors initially reacted with 'we don't even want to discuss that! We won't even touch it!' However, eventually, the governors became convinced of its importance.” (Project member Chad)

Challenges with achieving gender transformative change

Due to the sensitivity of the topic and the complex social norms that need to be addressed to realize change, it was also emphasized that in some cases objectives must be aligned with the local situation. For example, in Mali and Burundi, it was mentioned that it is already a significant achievement if there is ‘any discussion about gender at all’ and women are participating in the interventions. The concept of gender transformative change was therefore described as a goal that is far removed from the current situation and practical possibilities. Furthermore, regarding gender transformative change, one of the main challenges the projects face in terms of realizing sustainable and transformative change for women, are the short time frames. The interviewees emphasize that it takes time to change deeply embedded cultural norms, social practices, and mindsets. The few years the projects typically last, can limit the ability to bring about meaningful and lasting change in conservative or patriarchal societies,

especially in the context of gender equality and the transformation of social norms. Due to the time constraints, the projects face the challenge of balancing short-term outcomes with the broader, long-term goals they aim to achieve. This is illustrated in figure 23 with an example of Uganda, where the "social norms transformation training" program is experienced as a useful tool to shift perceptions, but at the same time the extent to which it is implemented is limited due to short duration of the project. Despite recognizing the potential benefits of more extensive social norm transformation, LAS Uganda acknowledges the limitations of resources and time within the project's duration. The interviewee emphasized the difficulty of balancing the desire address the practical constraints of time and resources, suggesting that while the current efforts may be sufficient for the immediate goal of gender-inclusive land registration, the broader goal of social norm transformation might require more resources and time than the project allows.

Figure 23. Example from Uganda – Implementation of the social norms transformation training.

Social norms transformation training

In Uganda the “social norms transformation training” is used to change traditional gender norms and empower women in the context of land ownership and registration. The program works with families and households to address gender dynamics that prevent women from accessing their land rights. When men or women express interest in land registration, the program intervenes by engaging in conversations and sessions with both men and women over a seven-week period. It delves into how cultural practices and norms affect individuals and families, encourages critical thinking about why certain practices exist, and explores the benefits of transforming these norms. The project in Uganda observed that this approach seems to be more effective than broad community sensitization meetings, which mainly consist of dialogues within the community and often lacks promising results in shifting perceptions. While the social norms training is much more extensive and seems to have effect in transforming social norms, it is also more time consuming. To work within the limitations of the project, the program focuses on doing "as much as is necessary" to achieve its primary objective, which is getting families to accept the inclusion of women and girls on land titles. This suggests that, while more extensive social norm transformation might be beneficial, the program prioritizes a specific, short-term goal within the project's time frame. A project implementer from Uganda explains the following about this issue:

“I think for me the main challenge is that, as I said before, within the project timelines, you want to do more in terms of social norms and cultural norms transformation. You'd want to go, you know, an extra mile, but that's not possible. The time does not allow...So you end up trying, you know to balance between what you can do. At the moment I would say what we do is enough for the purpose of ensuring gender inclusive land registration and land use planning. But as I say, social norms transformation goes beyond that. Yeah, you want to do more and that's not possible with the resources that we have and the time.”

Furthermore, the interviewees highlight the challenge of limited time in combination with measuring and quantifying the impact of projects on enhancing women's land rights. For example, this interviewee from the LAS project in Uganda explains that if you only focus on numbers that show how many women registered their lands, you might be compromising on the sustainable impact intervention itself:

“If we follow the timescale that we have, then we compromise on a lot of work that needs to be done to ensure that women and girls participate. Like I mentioned, it involves a lot of resources and time to

engage people, to change mindsets.... Yet at the same time you have to deliver the numbers that are needed. So, it becomes very difficult for us, especially for us as an organization that focuses on gender and women's rights issues. Because if you tell me I have to produce 200 certificates of customary ownership with another organization that does not consider gender considerations, they will look like to their performance, they will give you the numbers, but they will not have dealt with the deeply embedded issues.”(Project implementer Uganda)

Additionally, while it is relatively straightforward to count tangible outputs, such as the number of legal reforms enacted or the number of training sessions conducted, it is much more challenging to quantify ‘transformative’ change and the real-world impact on women's lives (Hillenbrand et al., 2015). For instance, it is hard to determine precisely how many women are benefitting or are feeling more empowered to make decisions about land. This was addressed by an interviewee from the project in Mali:

“If one of the indicators of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is 'How many women have been reached by the project,’⁶ I can never answer that, because we are building an improved, reinforced system, and whether that system is in contact with that woman is a different question. So, I cannot say whether it's two or 1,000 women who will ultimately benefit from this. I don't know. I can only guarantee that the system is woman-friendly, gender-friendly. That's the only thing I can do. So, you must be a little...be humble, to not claim all the results.” (Project Implementer Mali).

These findings show that it is a challenge to meet numerical goals while still dedicating time and resources to tackle deep-seated problems related gender inequality. This might influence the sustainability and impact of acknowledging land rights. On the one hand it might not be feasible to achieve transformative results within the projects timeframe. On the other hand, if attention is solely paid on quantitative measures, crucial gender-specific nuances that determine the effect of intervention, might be neglected. In essence, the interviewees emphasize the difficulty of balancing numerical targets with the complexities of gender and women's rights issues.

This suggests that when projects aim for transformative change, quantitative metrics may not be the most suitable method to measure the effects of the intervention. Traditional metrics often fail to capture the complexities within gender dynamics (Waal, 2006). This underscores the importance of redefining success metrics when a project strives to adopt a gender transformative approach (Guijt, 2008). As detailed in Chapter 2, Waal (2006) argues that projects should strive for a more nuanced understanding of how the target groups may be affected by the intervention. It is important to consider the various groups benefiting from the project and the specific impacts it has on them. When the goal is to adopt a transformative approach, additional indicators may be necessary to assess empowerment or capture the transformation of gender norms across different levels (Quisumbing et al., 2023).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter provided insights on the challenges faced by LAS country projects in enhancing women's land rights. The implementation of laws and legal pluralism is considered as a challenge due to the gap between existing policies and their effective execution on the ground. Resistance encountered by women and men emphasizes the sensitivity of discussions around gender-sensitive issues. This highlights the necessity to align strategies with the vision and preferences of local communities. The complexity and sensitivity of these issues makes it challenging to adopt transformative approaches within the project's timeframes. The findings underscore the complexity of

⁶ See Appendix

gender dynamics and emphasize the need for nuanced approaches and redefined success metrics when there is an aspiration to realize transformative change in women's land rights.

4.6 Local factors and the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights – insights from the Land-at-scale project in Mozambique

In the preceding chapters, a comprehensive analysis is provided concerning the objectives, strategies, and challenges related to implementation. Nevertheless, a more detailed examination becomes essential for a nuanced understanding of the practical implementation of these strategies. This chapter delves further into the implementation of the LAS project in Mozambique, aiming to thoroughly investigate and analyze the specific ways in which local conditions in Mozambique influence the design and execution of LAS. The overarching goal is not only to comprehend local priorities and perceptions but also to acquire a profound understanding of broader issues in project implementation, shedding light on how local factors impact the execution of LAS. Understanding these contextual dynamics is key, as they can significantly shape the effectiveness of land titling programs, as highlighted by (Giovarelli & Wamalwa in 2011). Consequently, the central question to be addressed in this chapter is:

“How do local factors influence the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights within the LAND-at-scale country project in Mozambique?”

This chapter starts with a concise contextual background about Mozambique, focusing on its legal framework and its progressive characteristics. Following this, a brief overview of the state of women's access to land rights will be presented together with an introduction of Centro Terra Viva, the organization that was joined in Mozambique to conduct my fieldwork. This broader description entails the next subjects:

- Mozambique's land governance system
- Challenges with implementation of land laws
- Women and their rights to use land
- Introduction of Centro Terra Viva

After this brief regional framework, the results are presented that follow from the data that is gathered during the fieldwork. This entails the following sections:

- CTV's gender approach
- Empowering women through education.
- State capacity and land rights in Mozambique,
- Aligning priorities: Women's perspectives on land rights in Mozambique
- Paralegals and their role in bridging the gap between law and practice for land rights and gender equality.

The chapter ends by a discussion of how these aspects influence the overall implementation on a project level.

Mozambique's land governance system

After gaining independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, Mozambique went through a civil war which lasted nearly two decades. After the end of the civil war in 1992, Mozambique turned its focus towards promoting private sector engagement and attracting investments for national

development (Salomão, 2020). To safeguard land tenure and access for both local communities and new investors, community rights were formally acknowledged in the National Land Policy (GoM, 1995) and the 1997 Land Law (Lei de Terra). This law introduced reforms in the distribution of land, access to land and community rights. It mandated prior informed consent from communities for any land-related decisions affecting them, which is currently a cornerstone of Mozambique's land governance (Salomão, 2020). Mozambique's legal framework aims to integrate and safeguard customary land rights and investor interests, which makes the 1997 Land Law recognized as one of Africa's most progressive land laws (Salomão, 2020; Kleinbooi et al., 2011; Cabral & Norfolk, 2016).

In Mozambique, land is owned by the state, which means that land cannot be sold, and people can only have the 'right to use' land (Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra - DUAT). The official recognition to use land (from now on called 'DUAT') can be acquired through in three ways (Figure 24) (Kleinbooi et al., 2011). Hereby the Land law states that men and women have equal rights to gain DUAT.

Another progressive aspect of the 1997 Land Law is its recognition of land-use rights through both state authorization and customary systems. This legal pluralism allows communities to register their lands based on customary practices if they are in line with the national Constitution. This facilitates collective registration, empowering all community members as legal co-title owners and granting them the credibility to actively participate in land-related decision-making (Salomão, 2020).

Figure 24. Methods to gain DUAT (Kleinbooi et al., 2011)

1. Occupation by individuals or local communities according to customary norms and practices (historically or culturally acquired rights).
2. Occupation in 'good faith' (occupation that is unchallenged for ten years).
3. A formal request to the State for a new DUAT.

Challenges with implementation of land laws

Despite the progressive features of Mozambique's land governance framework, implementation of the law faces various challenges. Salomão (2020), argues that despite well set intentions, state institutions often deviate from their duty to protect most of the population. She considers the state as one of the main reasons for the discrepancy between the law and practice, resulting in inadequate land governance:

"Mozambican government has been intentionally hindering implementation of the law by positioning itself in a way that is inconsistent with its duty and proclaimed commitment to protect the rights and interests of the majority of the national population as indicated in the Mozambique Constitution of the Republic" (Salomão, 2020; p.247)

Moreover, limited financial resources and inadequately skilled personnel, combined with complex organizational structures and institutional fragility within the Mozambican government, add complexity to fundamental tasks in land administration and law enforcement (Cabral & Norfolk, 2016). These challenges are frequently exacerbated by corruption.

Furthermore, the growing demand for land driven by economic development and foreign investments has posed a challenge to safeguarding the legally acquired land rights of communities. In contrast with the provision of the law, communities are often not involved in decisions made about their land by the government or investors (Cabral & Norfolk, 2016). The envisioned legal recognition of customary rights is often not enforced in practice due to limited comprehension of customary norms by state representatives which led in many cases to unlawful land occupation and conflicts.

Women and their rights to use land

Agriculture is Mozambique's primary economic activity and plays an important role in the livelihoods of its communities. Most of the population is involved in farming activities, with women being the primary workforce. However, women, mostly encounter challenges when it comes to asserting their land rights (Cabral & Norfolk, 2016). The legal pluralism of statutory laws and customary practices pose challenges for the implementation of the land law that states equal access to land for men and women. Despite progressive legislation, women in rural areas often face violations of their land rights due to discriminatory customs and patriarchal systems. The gap between statutory law and customs complicates efforts to enhance women's land rights and address gender inequality. In Mozambique, policy makers often fail to address discriminatory aspects in customary law that mostly prevail in rural areas. These elements have the potential to impede women from exercising land rights and in most rural areas, women's access to land relies on male relatives (Bicchieri, 2022). High illiteracy rates, complex legal policies, and limited information reaching communities leave many women unaware of their rights to land. Bicchieri (2022) highlights that these factors may lead to women experiencing subordination and gender-based violence as normal. Securing land tenure rights can attribute to address these violations of women's human rights and women can particularly benefit from individual land rights in contexts in Mozambique where customary norms discriminate against women (Cabral & Norfolk, 2016).

Figure 25. Map of Mozambique (WorldAtlas, 2021). Research activities are conducted in Maputo Province, Inhambane Province and Gaza Province



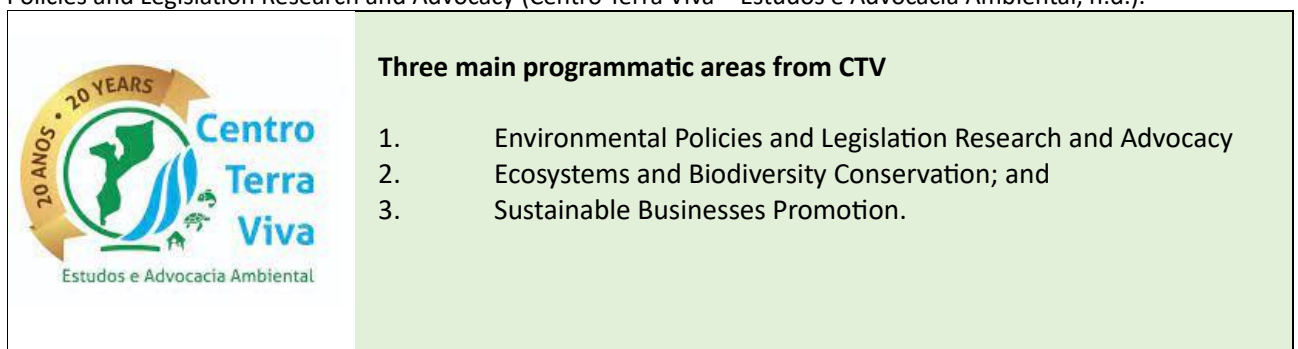
Centro Terra Viva - Estudos e Advocacia Ambiental

Centro Terra Viva - Estudos e Advocacia Ambiental (CTV) is a Mozambican NGO founded in 2002, with a primary focus on environmental research and advocacy. Their mission is to empower civil society through scientific knowledge and awareness-raising activities related to land and natural resource management, national environmental policies, and legislation. Their objectives centre around strengthening (climate resilient) land tenure, sustainable development, and strengthening legal literacy (see figure 26 for CTV's main program areas). The LAS program is part of the category of 'strengthening legal literacy,' and only this specific domain is considered in this case study. Therefore, any discussions regarding certain aspects related to CTV specifically refer to the LAS project implemented by CTV.

CTV's mission envisions a Mozambique where natural resource management is socially just, environmentally sustainable, economically viable, and institutionally responsible, all based on scientific knowledge, ensuring sustainability and equitable benefits for all (Centro Terra Viva – Estudos e Advocacia Ambiental, n.d.). CTV operates within various programmatic areas, as illustrated in Figure 4. The LAS project is part of the domain of Environmental Policies and Legislation Research and Advocacy and the project focuses on community legal literacy, land rights certification, and climate resilience. In Mozambique, many farmers lack awareness of their legal rights, making them vulnerable to land-related disputes. To address this issue, the LAS project, launched in 2021, seeks to enhance tenure security and local capacity through community paralegals, covering 33 different districts. They also train district governments and local community associations to improve land management and deepen their understanding of local communities.

Despite the initial plan for the LAS project in Mozambique to be jointly implemented by CTV and Terra Firma, the actual situation during my fieldwork differed. During that period, CTV solely handled the LAS implementation. The intended involvement of Terra Firma, in delimiting land-use rights and formalizing land rights registration, did not materialize during the fieldwork conducted in May-June 2023. Consequently, Terra Firma is not considered in this case study.

Figure 26. Three main programmatic areas from CTV. The LAS project is part of the domain of 'Environmental Policies and Legislation Research and Advocacy (Centro Terra Viva – Estudos e Advocacia Ambiental, n.d.).



Exploring local influences on women's land rights in LAS

In the upcoming section of this chapter, the results derived from the data collected during fieldwork (see chapter 3) in Mozambique will be presented. The objective is to capture local priorities and perceptions and gain a profound understanding of broader issues in project implementation. The initial focus will be on delving into CTV's gender approach, followed by an exploration of various aspects emerging from the analysis of the gathered data in Mozambique. This will include a detailed examination of the role of knowledge sharing in women's empowerment concerning land rights, an

investigation into the influence of social norms on women's perceptions of land rights, and an assessment of how the state's role affects the execution of strategies.

CTV's gender approach

To understand how CTV aims to address gender inequality it is relevant to start with the organization's vision regarding this subject. Throughout the entire project CTV aims to approach gender as a crosscutting theme. This means that they aim to pay attention to women's participation and gender roles, within all their interventions (Project proposal Mozambique, see appendix E). This strategy can be described as 'gender mainstreaming' (Gender mainstreaming glossary, n.d.). Currently, CTV does not have specific activities exclusively for women or focused on gender relations within the LAS program or in general.

To approach gender issues, CTV mostly uses the Mozambiquan Constitution as a starting point in their interventions, since it dictates equal rights to land for men and women. For instance, CTV provides training on existing laws and procedures to increase awareness of legal rights to land and the possibilities to gain DUAT for men and women. Additionally, CTV provides training on women's rights to paralegals, community agents, local authorities to ensure equal participation and enjoyment by men and women of the resources provided by CTV. They also aim to strengthen women's participation in institutional and community development by enhancing women's participation in decision-making processes. Within these activities, the 'gender mainstreaming' approach means that CTV ensures participation of women in activities and encourage that women can express their opinions when engaged in these activities. A project implementer from CTV further explains this in the following quote:

"Gender is cross cutting, we don't have specific activities related to gender, only those ones that we integrate. So, we integrate gender aspects in all activities that we have here. So, if we are going to do a field visit, we make sure that they invite women to participate in the events.....You want them to be present, that's the first step, women should be present during the activities. But the presence is not enough. Is important to involve them at the beginning of the process or integrate capacity building to improve their knowledge, to understand more about the laws, their rights, the rights of the communities in general, how the communities must do their role in land issues, but natural resources management too. So, when they have knowledge, they can participate more and regularly in these decision-making processes." (project implementer CTV)

Several project implementers from CTV underscored the advantages they perceive in adopting gender mainstreaming. They highlighted that gender mainstreaming gives them the capacity to integrate gender considerations into all interventions. This allows CTV to prioritize the engagement and involvement of women, even if there is no dedicated funding for gender-related activities:

"I think this [gender mainstreaming] is good because while we don't have a specific project about gender, we can guarantee that in all activities from all projects it [gender] is taken into account, even without money or specific project about gender." (project implementer CTV)

In interviews with CTV project implementers, it became apparent that the availability of financial resources influences their decision to prioritize gender mainstreaming as the primary approach for advancing gender equality. While they express to be content about the current gender strategy, ideally, they would allocate budgets for specific activities tailored to women if their financial resources allowed. Unfortunately, this is often not feasible because donors define budgets, and these budgets tend to be limited. Furthermore, one of the main challenges they face is convincing donors to allocate more funds

for gender-related initiatives (no specific reference was made to LAS). Additional (financial) resources are frequently required to implement activities addressing gender issues. For example, the interviewee highlighted the need for extra meetings, such as in-depth discussions on gender topics with separate groups of women and men, followed by combined sessions. Consequently, adopting a gender-sensitive approach can lead to increased costs, even when the core activities remain unchanged. This can sometimes present a challenge in justifying these additional expenses to the donor.

Based on these findings it might be suggested that limited financial resources influence the selection of the programs gender approach, and results in the absence of separate activities that are focused on gender. Gender mainstreaming within the LAS program of CTV, seems to be an opportunity to still ensure that attention is being paid to gender issues within a project, even though time and budget are limited. On the other hand, attaining successful outcomes through gender mainstreaming demands a substantial investment of time and effort. This ensures the integration of crucial aspects, such as acknowledging the distinct needs and roles of both men and women, advocating for gender equality, and equitably distributing benefits and responsibilities at every stage of a project (Johnson et al., 2018).

However, based on the data the impression is gained that available time and resources may sometimes be insufficient to implement gender mainstreaming effectively. Throughout my fieldwork, it was noted that in various meetings, including paralegal training and community dialogues, a multitude of issues required discussions. In these training sessions, topics such as the conditions under which individuals have the right to DUAT, along with discussions on local dispute resolution and the impacts of climate change in Mozambique, were covered. Absorbing this information can pose a challenge, particularly for participants that are unfamiliar with the content. Consequently, during the observations it was noticed that discussions related to gender issues were often very briefly touched upon. Some discussions mostly focused on the legal equality of men and women, without addressing gender roles that can hinder women's access to DUAT. This challenge also came forward in one of the interviews with the National Union of Mozambican Peasants (UNAC), an organization who also works closely with rural societies:

“The social civil society organizations, must also have resources because you cannot do it without... In this country everything is expensive. Just staying in a community for five weeks, my goodness, it's a fortune! So somehow, we must think that this [implementing strategies specifically for women] is a priority that must be done. What happens is that gender issues are put on 2nd place. I mean, it's 1, 2, 3, 4, things that must be done, this is the 4th issue to be done. But it must be the 2nd or the 1st. That must happen because otherwise it's beautiful. It's there, written, but nothing will happen.” (UNAC)

Thus, since gender is not always the main priority, it was also argued that overloading meetings with too many issues, can hinder discussion of gender-related topics at all. In essence, if gender mainstreaming is not executed extensively or does not address harmful gender norms, it can result in efforts where the inclusion of gender considerations remains superficial and fails to drive meaningful change (Parpart, 2014). There might be chance that the focus is mainly put on ‘reaching’ women and making sure they ‘benefit’ from the resources. Therefore, implementers have to critically reflect on their implementation methods to make sure that interventions actually contribute to addressing gender inequality. This issue was also addressed during the interview with UNAC:

“Oh no, that [refers to guaranteeing that attention is paid to women's position] is a big challenge. I always say we must be quite methodologically critical when we want to discuss gender. Yeah, people must understand what we are talking about. Because sometimes we go to the communities and we discuss access to land, we want to tell the people the DUAT itself, but we did not discuss gender...And we think that we've discussed gender. So, for me, we must look critically at this issue of making gender

a cross cutting issue. Sometimes you leave gender for the least thing to do and we think that we've done it while we didn't do it. "

In conclusion, the utilization of gender mainstreaming by CTV could be seen as a practical approach to integrating gender considerations into a project with limited time and resources. This is in line with the overarching goals of the LAS program, as the RVO mandates projects to be at least 'gender sensitive'. Through the application of gender mainstreaming, CTV appears to fulfill this requirement. However, the extensive range of topics covered during activities sometimes causes a lack of in-depth discussion on gender roles, essential for achieving meaningful change, to be overshadowed. Consequently, the practical implementation by CTV may result in gender issues receiving comparatively less attention and priority in community discussions and programs than other pressing matters.

Empowering women through education

One of the challenges in Mozambique is that women are unaware of their rights to land. CTV aims to address this issue by underscoring the importance of legal literacy in the main of objective the LAS program. Before, we explain how CTV aims to do this, it is important to understand why women often lack knowledge about their rights. Namely, one of the main obstacles that hinder women's access to justice and practical implementation of their rights to use land, is that women are often excluded from educational opportunities, face difficulties in accessing information, and in general have higher illiteracy rates than man (62% for women vs 37% for men) (Bicchieri, 2022). Women face these difficulties in accessing information since they predominantly allocate their time to family responsibilities while men have the freedom to engage in government meetings or capacity development activities organized by civil society organizations. The insights and information acquired during these events are in most cases not shared with women, exacerbating the information gap between the genders. In the interview with the Dutch embassy, it was addressed it is crucial that women know their rights. If women are not aware of their rights, there is a higher likelihood that they may face eviction from their land if an investor expresses interest in purchasing it. Namely, even though it is not allowed to sell or buy land according to law, this often happens in practice.

Given these challenges experienced by many rural women in Mozambique, CTV expresses the significance of legal literacy in comprehending and advocating for women's rights. The interviews underscored the essential role of education for gender dialogues and women's empowerment:

"Education is important. For me, the biggest barrier is that women are uneducated. The more women are educated, the better position they have in influencing the changes that they need to have access to more opportunity's etcetera. So, access to education is fundamental for whatever gender discussions that we want to you know, conduct. I think that's what should be a priority." (Project implementer CTV)

Lack of awareness about their rights not only increases the risk of women being evicted from their land, but it can also have broader implications within the social domain. According to Bicchieri (2022), social structures may discourage women from questioning the status quo. The interviewee from UNAC elaborates on this point, emphasizing the significance for women to conform to community norms for social acceptance. Deviating from these norms can result in discrimination, further exacerbating the vulnerability of women in the community.

"You are busy following the norms in the community and you are not busy asking or questioning what my right about land is. And not only about land, but many other issues for you to be acknowledged, you have to be accepted in the community, you must behave according to the norms of that community. When now you're not behaving according to the norms the people discriminate. So you want to follow the norms. And the issue for you is not the ownership. You are happy about having access. But what

really matters, is if this investor comes, and they will say what is your title deed? That she knows her rights” (UNAC)

The quote suggests that conforming to community norms is crucial for social acceptance. If social norms are not followed, it may result in discrimination, which can reinforce women's vulnerable position. The emphasis is on the importance of being acknowledged and accepted within the community, which, according to the interviewee from UNAC, often takes preference over questioning or asserting rights. This example shows the complex interplay between traditional norms, power dynamics, which can prevent women from speaking up about their rights. See appendix F for an example of observations from the field.

Figure 27. One of the female community members speaking up during a community dialogue about land related matters in Manhica district. Picture: Own source.

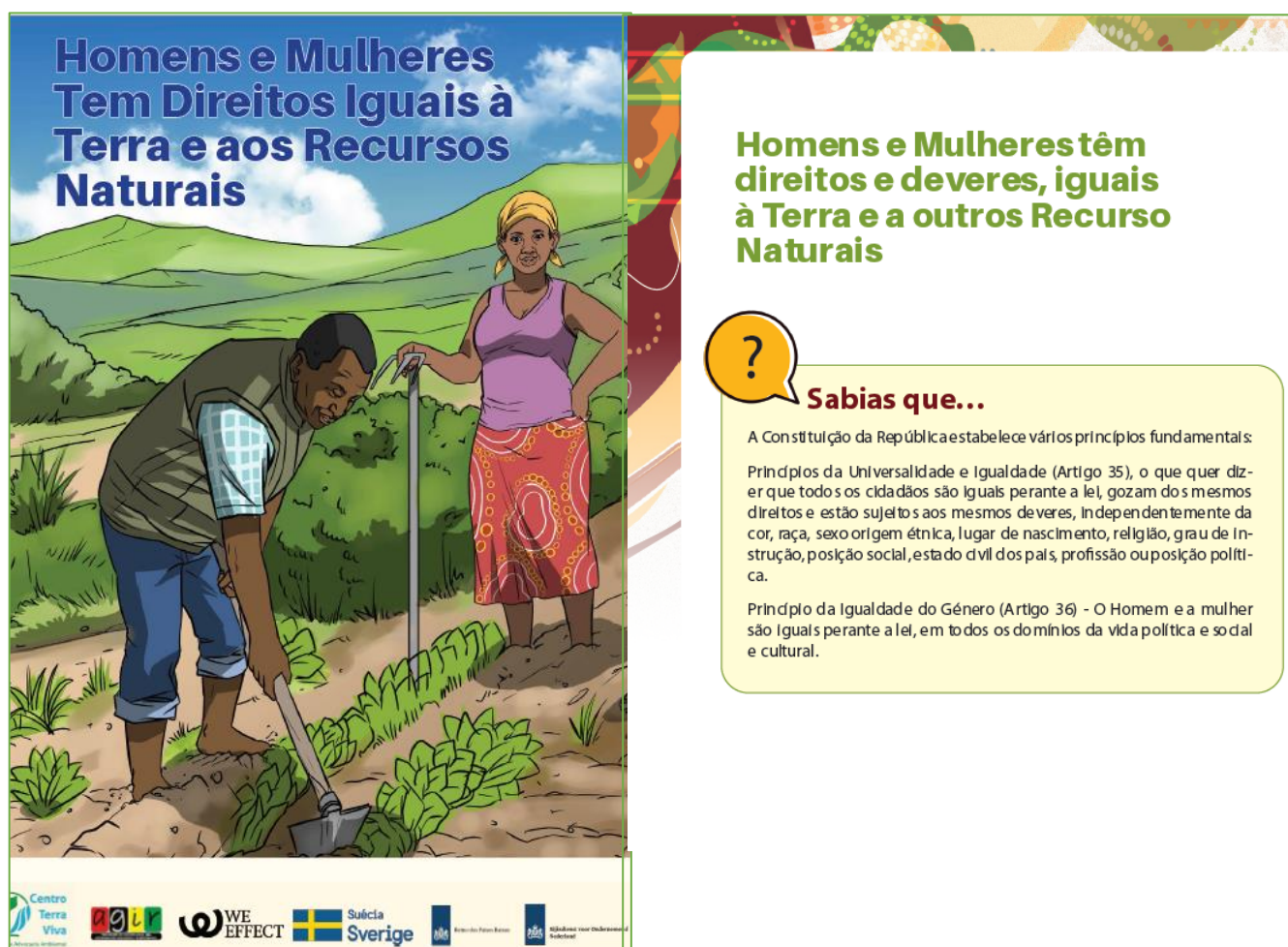


CTV as an organization, emphasizes the vital role of access to education in empowering women and enabling their active engagement in discussions regarding their rights. This is also reflected in their strategies, that are mostly focused on enhancing legal literacy of communities and paralegals. Various stakeholders, including UNAC and the Dutch Embassy, shared this perspective and highlighted the significance of organizations like CTV in Mozambique for providing knowledge and paralegal training to women.

CTV explained that communities can experience a positive transformation when they are provided with education and training opportunities. Knowledge about rights can boost women's empowerment potentially enhance their willingness to assert their rights. UNAC also recognizes the transformative power of education and training, women who receive this training are more likely to speak up and assert their rights, even if they face discrimination:

“But you get to the point where you understand that whoever speak in the community as women, it's because she has undergone some type of training. She knows her rights. Now she speaks up. Even if she is discriminated, she doesn't care. But the people who've never gone to training have never had access to information. And they will, even if these women who is now are more powerful because she had access to information, stands up and speaks.” (UNAC)

Figure 28: A page from a flyer shared by CTV with community members after a meeting with a community. The aim of the flyer is to provide knowledge about rights to land. Translation of the text on the left: Men and women have equal rights to land and natural resources. Translation of the text on the right: “Did you know? The Constitution of the Republic establishes several fundamental principles: Principles of Universality and Equality (Article 35), which means that all citizens are equal before the law, enjoy the same rights, and are subject to the same duties, regardless of color, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, level of education, social status, marital status of parents, profession, or political position. Gender Equality Principle (Article 36) - Man and woman are equal before the law in all areas of political, social, and cultural life.



Although CTV reacts well to the local situation by sharing knowledge about rights, solely providing knowledge is often not enough to create real changes that attribute to gender equality in the long term (IDLO, 2020). Namely, and as explained in previous chapters more interventions that integrate multiple levels, stakeholders are needed, and gender norms that perpetuate gender inequalities should be addressed. In the interview with the Dutch Embassy, the long-term effect and actual impact of raising awareness about rights was also questioned. For sustainable change, a more profound understanding that goes beyond the surface-level of merely creating awareness of rights is needed. Effective strategies for empowerment require time and often involve a more nuanced and in-depth approach that considers the distinct challenges, needs and unique cultural circumstances of each region and the economic context:

“But let's just say organizations as CTV and researchers as well, we have to understand that it's not enough to be aware about the law, but some things deeper. And they need some time to be understood. It depends on another variables like what is happening i in the country, what is happening in the region, what kind of economy...if you go to the place where the like Massingir or central part of Mozambique or Beira. We have different results depending on the way how people have developed the land and what kind of economy and which kind of tensions in the region.”

As mentioned in earlier, next to knowledge sharing, other aspects that needs to be taken into account to realize sustainable change for women are: changing social norms and using a multilevel perspective where all stakeholders are engaged (including civil society organizations, women's groups, legal aid providers, community leaders and the justice system) in promoting awareness and respect for women's rights (Interview IDLO).

The activities of CTV relate to these aspects for some extend. Namely, CTV uses a multilevel perspective where they aim to involve government representatives, and they work closely together with civil society organizations and legal aid providers (paralegals) and community leaders. Thus, CTV really focuses on the grassroots level and aim to involve local key agents in communities and local organizations. At the same time, they also focus on a higher level by involving government representatives and legal reform of Mozambique's land governance system. Namely, CTV is actively involved in conversations about the revision of the Land Law that is currently taking place. Hereby CTV aims to make the justice system more inclusive of women's rights. However, no specific activities seem to be implemented that are focused on social norms or unequal power dynamics such as patriarchy. Most planned activities that relate to women's rights, are focused on knowledge sharing and awareness raising and entail training on gender to paralegals, community agents, local authorities and women and men beneficiaries of the project (Project plans CTV, see appendix E). However, it was not further specified what 'training on gender' or 'sensitizing community members' exactly entails in detail.

Thus, the emphasis on knowledge sharing and awareness raising, while important, may not directly tackle deeply rooted issues related to societal norms and power structures, that are relevant for an impactful approach.

In textbox 1 an example is presented of a method used by CTV (gender-segregated discussions.) The example illustrates that women in the community have differing perspectives on the effectiveness of gender-segregated discussions. The example suggests that women who had undergone prior training, particularly in the form of paralegal education, described the value of this approach for their authority in the community. This example shows how education and awareness programs may influence women's empowerment and their willingness to actively participate in discussions on topics like land rights.

Textbox 1. Example of a specific strategy implemented by CTV and perspectives of women on this method.

Fostering women's voices: Gender-segregated discussions for inclusive community collaboration in. Inhambane Province

Figure 30. Men and women segregated by sex during the community meetings.



During one of the weeks when I am participating in CTV's community activities, we are in Inhambane province, where our primary goal is to strengthen collaboration among neighboring communities. These communities, along with their associations, are encouraged to utilize shared facilities like a beekeeping area and a water pump, which were established and funded by CTV. We engage with multiple community associations to explore their willingness to collaborate with other communities and we discuss land-related matters, such as conflicts and land rights (DUAT). CTV carries out this process by meeting with each community's association to assess their status and participation.

Special attention is given to the role of women in discussing and managing community resources. To facilitate the involvement of women, conversations begin by separating participants by gender. This method permits both men and women to share their thoughts without interruptions. Subsequently, the responses from each group are compared for further discussion between men and women. A project implementer from CTV explained that creating a space for both genders to share their perspectives without interruptions, it promotes inclusivity and allows for a comparative analysis of gender-specific issues.

These meetings were conducted in a similar way across multiple communities, with the same outcomes. Following these sessions, I engaged in conversations with a few women to gather their perspectives on the method of separating men and women. During the first round of discussions, the women I spoke to expressed their dissatisfaction with the separation. They believed that having a single, inclusive conversation with everyone would be more beneficial to prevent differing responses. When asked if they felt able to freely voice their opinions in mixed-gender meetings, all five women responded with "YES." In the second group of women their perspective differed, and women explained the value of initially segregating men and women during discussions and then reuniting them later. According to these women, this approach was essential because it ensured their voices were heard. When they began in a women-only setting, they felt a sense of support.

Later, when sharing their ideas with the entire group, it had a broader impact, illustrating to the male community members that women's contributions were essential for the entire community. They explained that this method enhanced their "influence" within the community, as illustrated with the following two quotes from the women from the second group (translation from local language to English is done by a project implementer from CTV).

"She said it is a very good method, because as we saw, even after giving the answer, they tried to explain, but a group of men didn't accept their answers. So it means that if they were together, maybe their answer wasn't heard, because they (men) could say that it is not important to hear the women talk."

"She says that it's a very good method, she liked it because she had the opportunity to talk freely. Because if they were together with men, maybe she could not say what she wanted. It shows that the women have capacity. Some answers were given by women, but the men had no idea. It shows exactly that the women have the capacity to do the same that the men have to do"

Figure 31. Focus group discussion after the community meetings.



Responses in this community differed significantly from those in another community. These variations may be attributed to several factors, such as the specific environment, their prior training, and the presence of influential community members during the discussion. Namely, in the initial group, the women did not have prior training on land rights. Notably, a male community member translated, and the community chief was present, which might have prevented the women from talking freely. In the second group, we had more time for discussion, and as the women had interacted with me multiple times before, I noticed that they were more at ease in expressing their thoughts openly. During this session, a male translator from CTV facilitated the conversation but no other male community members were present. Additionally, it's worth noting that two out of three women in this group were paralegals who had undergone training. This suggests that they likely possessed a heightened awareness of women's rights, their own roles, and the challenges that affect women negatively. The differing settings and levels of interaction likely influenced the women's comfort and their ability to speak freely.

State capacity and land rights in Mozambique

When considering the underlying reasons for limited access to education, high illiteracy rates among women and the general lack of awareness regarding rights in rural areas, is mostly attributed to the state by numerous interviewees. They explained how the state poses significant obstacles to the implementation of strategies aimed at securing women's land rights in Mozambique. The professor in land governance from Mondlane University in Maputo (from now on called 'professor in land governance') explained the difficulty of addressing women's rights in a nation where the government does not actively facilitate access to education. Consequently, while there may be a progressive legal framework, enforcement and implementation pose are challenging:

"Well, the biggest challenge is and it's not only for rural communities and for women, for all citizens, also in urban areas, you find the same problem, which is the role of the government. And the role of state, you know. While we can still claim that we have a very good policy and legal basis. But if that there's no rigor in enforcing and implementing the policy and the legislators. And when that enforcement and implementation does not come from the government itself, then then you're forced to confront the government to fight against the government, and you can imagine that you know, capacity to fight the government. It's not for everywhere and the CTV cannot be everywhere all the time." (Professor in land governance)

State capacity, referring to the government's ability to implement and enforce policies (Dincecco, 2017) seems to play an important role in this context. Namely, the challenges described above mainly follow from the limited capacity of the state to facilitate land rights administration system, and there are little enforcements of policies in general. Even less attention is being paid to rights for women, who in face more barriers to access justice compared to men (Bicchieri, 2022).

Furthermore, UNAC and the Professor in land governance explained that the government is not actively engaged in activities to educate Mozambican citizens about land rights. Rather, it seems that there may be a lack of genuine commitment to promoting awareness of people's land rights. Even state representatives are often unaware about the legal framework in Mozambique. CTV also mentioned that they often encounter resistance from government representatives. This could follow from varying priorities and interests, which are often linked to financial gains, such as partnerships with investors.

"Especially government representatives, those people sometimes defend investors.....Many times we see that in the local representative, local representatives are less prepared. Even sometimes they don't know the law. Yes, just doing the business there as usual. But they don't understand the law. So sometimes we go there and teach the local community. But when we forget the main players [refers to government] who decide it is not good for the results." (Professor in land governance)

Nevertheless, in several interviews (Dutch Embassy, Professor in Land governance) the importance of local government involvement for the program success was stressed. The effectiveness of legal systems depends on both government representatives and community understanding of the law. This highlights the need for legal education and awareness on different levels.

CTV aims to address this challenge by taking the initiative to train government representatives. They put emphasis on people's land rights, to bridge the gap between officials and citizens. Hereby they aim to create a more supportive environment for women's land rights as well. However, in a stakeholder interview with the Dutch Embassy, it was noted that, while it is a good start, in a country like

Mozambique with limited state capacity and numerous challenges, these efforts may have limited impact.

Aligning priorities: Women's perspectives on land rights in Mozambique

Another aspect that became apparent in the interviews and the fieldwork, was the perspective of women on the importance of registering their land. When asked about any disparities between them and their husbands regarding land access, most women responded that they perceived no differences. Interviewees described how women have become accustomed to their circumstances in terms of land ownership, and therefore do not perceive any related issues:

"They won't say that there is a difference because they don't know there is a difference. For them it is normal because they don't know it could be different." (project implementer CTV)

"Also the access to information for women, most of them do not know that they have rights of land... They really don't believe that they can own land as women. Sometimes when you get to communities you will talk and they say: 'ohh the issues of land, oh yeah we are fine here!'. And when you ask you go deep down, they say: 'oh yeah, I have land I work on land'. And whose land is that? 'My husband's land, family's land'. You will never get to that point where she will say oh "oh No, that would be mine! That would be nice". It must be you asking them 'Oh, how about having that land as yours.'" (UNAC)

During the interview with UNAC, it became evident that women are not always actively pursuing land rights. Their focus on this matter typically arises only when they are faced with events which confronts them to necessity of asserting their land rights, such as the death of a husband or a land dispute:

"But for rural women. Of course, it doesn't make a difference, everything is fine. Only when things go wrong..." (UNAC)

Moreover, this indicates that securing land rights is not a primary concern for women. Instead, their worries revolve around fundamental needs, such as ensuring an adequate supply of food for their households. UNAC provided an example of how this topic is commonly discussed in Mozambican:

"Yeah, it's not a priority for them. The women say: 'My priority is to bring food to the table, as a rural woman is to raise my children. So I'm not worried if I have a title deed that is not a big issue. If that title deed is on under my name, that is not a big issue. I'm worried about seeing my children growing up. Bringing food to the table and making sure they are healthy. If I am that, I'm happy you see.' [UNAC continues] So, it's about priorities, I think. But when investment comes, you'll see everyone wakes up and they start, I mean, shouting to each other and become confused because these things they didn't think about them in advance." (UNAC)

Based on these findings, it seems that there be a discrepancy between the women in the participating communities and the priorities of organization such as CTV. This raises question about how needs of local women are considered and to what extent they align with interventions from CTV. It is considered a challenge to navigate through these different priorities:

"It is a challenge, and especially when you are when you are talking to people who are not on your agenda, you know you have a certain agenda and these people have a different agenda for you now what matters? It's human rights. It's right to learn. It's also right to other resource. This, but what matter for them, their agenda now it's making sure they have food, it's making sure their children have a school close to their homes." (UNAC)

In the interview with the Professor in land governance, it was discussed that while change is needed, sometimes there is a mismatch in needs, expectations, and approaches. The interviewee said that some

changes from the project are ideologically different to the way local people deal with land and might mismatch in expectations and approaches when it comes to promoting women's rights in the community.

“I think this is my view that the problem, the main difficult is that we need to change, but some kind of changes are ideologically, different to the way people, local people, rural people deal with the land” (Professor in land governance).

The speaker highlights donors, often expect women to adopt the same rights and behaviors as urban or European women. However, this does not always align with local needs. The idea of rights and equality cannot be universally measured or imposed in the same way across different cultural contexts.

Now the question remains: can these different agendas be combined to realize impactful change that aligns with the cultural and community needs? In the discussion with UNAC, she discussed that while it remains a challenge, these divergent agendas can be integrated. It was emphasized that addressing the value of land and understanding the community's priorities are crucial aspects that demand attentive listening and engagement:

“Ohh yeah yeah, there is a way to combine it because what I do usually is OK you worry now about putting food on the table, right? OK. Imagine you without lunch, what will happen to you? Imagine what can happen to you without land? Because today you have land and you manage to bring food to the table, imagine yourselves without land. So, the women will study "oh nooo Then I won't have no way to produce. Then we'll go hungry then..... And then the next thing we can do is. So how can we make sure we have land always? Then comes the title deed, the ownership, and it's possible we just have to make sure that what matter. Yeah, for us and what matter for them? ...and for that, for us to be able to combine that. We must listen to them.” (UNAC).

Project implementers from CTV explained that they also utilize practical scenarios to make the issue more relevant to the women themselves. For example, they discuss potential outcomes if a husband would pass away. Additionally, they addressed that they aim to encourage open dialogue, so women start to question their situation themselves:

“Even though it's not a priority for them today, is it important for you? Why is it important and they must arrive there by themselves? We must not walk them to that to that point, they must question themselves when we pose the questions on the table. Do you imagine you imagine yourself without land? What can happen to you?” (UNAC)

Based on these findings it can be concluded that in some cases, women do not prioritize gaining land rights, as they are more focused on immediate concerns like providing food for their families and raising their children. Thus, there seems to be a discrepancy between the perceptions of local women and the strategies of CTV. CTV aims to adjust to the local needs of women by working closely with the communities, cooperating with local civil society organizations and open discussions with women themselves. However, it raises the questions to what extent these interventions align with local needs of women, or to what extent these strategies follow from external stakeholders such as donors (see chapter 6).

Textbox 2. Illustration of the importance of community empowerment and cultural sensitivity in addressing complex issues such as gender disparities and land rights in Mozambique

Communities as drivers of change and the need for tailored approaches in Mozambique

From the interviews (with stakeholders and project members from CTV) it became apparent that despite the importance of knowledge sharing, this should not be seen as a beginning and end of the solution. It was discussed that it is crucial to emphasize that communities are not helpless isolated entities and should not be treated like that. The focus should be put on respecting their cultural perspectives rather than imposing external views.

“The problem I see is, eh, when we go to the rural communities.... sometimes we deal with them as different people. Like they're not aware of their condition. They were, but that's not true. People are very aware of their condition.”(UNAC)

The eventual aim is to empower the community members to be the drivers of change, especially regarding gender issues. Therefore, it was discussed that internal discussions should be stimulated within the community to bring about change effectively. Moreover, Mozambique covers a large geographical area, with many cultural differences containing over 60 different ethnicities and 50 local languages. Hence it is crucial to acknowledge that each community is unique and customary norms may differ from one place to another. Consequently, there is no one-size-fits-all approach to implement activities. Instead, it is essential to engage with different groups, such as young women and paralegals, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the community's dynamics and needs. Therefore, it is considered essential to work together with the community, engaging the right people who understand the power dynamics and cultural nuances.

“There's no one-size-fits-all in this approach in this. In this process. Yeah, every community has their own specificities. Yeah, in principle, they should take it into consideration. Yeah, because our culture, our state is not much uniform. We are with more than 60 ethnic groups. The countries too big. In every, every group has. Their own specific cities. So in that reason we're not supposed to have the one-size-fits-all approach.” (Dutch Embassy)



“We want to also promote the use and respect to customary norms, you need to understand them very well, and they vary from community to community, from region to region. So you have to learn about that. You must be mindful of, you know, how things work in Massingir how things work in Cab Delgado. etc. It's it's, it's very, it's very...how are gender issues addressed in different regions of the country for example. Norms that apply with regard to land.”

These insights emphasize the importance of approaching communities with respect for their local context and customary norms. Communities should not be viewed as helpless but rather as active and aware participants who can drive change when provided with the right knowledge and opportunities. Working with the right individuals who understand the community's dynamics and fostering internal discussions are essential steps towards achieving positive change and addressing gender issues.

CTV strives to involve local communities and understand their perspectives. The organization dedicates substantial time to prepare for field visits, aiming to tailor strategies to local situations and cultural norms. They also work closely with local chiefs or civil society organizations to further enhance these adjustments. However, this intensifies the time and financial resources required for community visits, restricting the number of communities that can be reached or the duration spent in each community.

Paralegals and their role in bridging the gap between law and practice for land rights and gender equality

Mozambique faces high illiteracy rates and widespread ignorance of land rights, challenged by weak institutional functioning and government officials' limited understanding of these rights (Bichhieri, 2022). Paralegals can help to address bridge this gap, increasing capacity to share knowledge about land rights but also gender-related issues (Mueller et al., 2018). Therefore, CTV's paralegal training aims to empower communities with legal knowledge and facilitating conflict resolution with sensitivity to

gender issues. While CTV initially trained female paralegals, they now only provide training to mixed-gender groups.

Interviewees stressed the importance of understanding local culture and customs before engaging with communities. Paralegals can assist in the need of tailoring approaches to the local context (see Textbox 2) since they often originate from the region and possess local knowledge and may better understand local power dynamics. Paralegal training is therefore seen as a practical way to increase capacity and empower both women and the entire community in asserting their legal rights and land protection:

“The paralegals are people from the community. And they can talk about the issues of the community, which they know them well... that means a lot because sometimes you may think that bringing this approach is good while that approach is not appropriate for that community. But the paralegals also have power in the community. Are people from the community and they are talking about the Issues of the community. This is very important.” (Dutch Embassy).

However, in practice, there are notable difficulties and limitations when it comes to effectively working with and supporting paralegals in a sustainable manner. A significant challenge is providing financial support to paralegals, who primarily work on a voluntary basis. These paralegals have various expenses, including transport and food, which CTV lacks the resources to cover fully. Compounding the issue is the vast geographical area CTV operates within Mozambique, where paralegals must reach scattered communities. This is further challenged by inadequate infrastructure which contributes to logistical complexities:

“The partnership with the local organizations with these paralegals is very important, but they all need money or budget to implement these activities. If we don't reserve that amount to do that we will not succeed. Secondly, CTV is a national organization. But we have our base is here in Maputo and we have two colleagues in Inhambane, and then we don't have any representation in other parts of the country.” (project implementer CTV).

Furthermore, CTV faces communication challenges due to the country's diverse languages, particularly in regions where they lack local representatives. To address this, CTV often depends on paralegals or local individuals for translation, which can be impractical. Furthermore, when I asked some of the male and female paralegal in a focus group discussion about their challenges, they explained that they also face issues with the government who do not allow them to do their work because the government do not want to recognize them officially as paralegals.

“She went to the capacity training to become a paralegal, and then she went to the government to present herself to say: ‘From now I am a paralegal. I want to do this and that.’ But the government didn't help or accept them. And then she experiences the same into the communities... and so it is difficult to be able to work.” (Female paralegal in Manhiça district, translated by a member from CTV)

“The main issue they are facing is lack of recognition as a paralegal. Mainly from the government, but also from man in general. They don't take seriously what they are saying because they are women.” (Project member CTV)

These challenges hinder the effective role of paralegals, restricting access to legal information, particularly for women who face higher illiteracy rates. Insufficient paralegal support and legal education elevate the risk of land disputes, amplifying barriers for women to secure their land rights and gain access to justice. Therefore, while paralegals hold the potential to positively impact women's situations, numerous obstacles impede their capacity to empower communities in understanding and asserting their legal rights, especially in land and gender-related matters.

Conclusion

The case study in Mozambique demonstrated that local factors can significantly impact project implementation. Firstly, the state plays a pivotal role, in the ability of implement strategies effectively. Limited state capacity and state representatives hinders effective implementation of policies but also strategies of CTV.

Secondly, social norms further complicate implementation, particularly regarding gender dynamics. Engaging women proves challenging as cultural norms prioritize men in conversations. Resistance to change or different priorities between women and strategies implemented by CTV, adds complexity to aligning program visions with local perspectives.

Thirdly, the vast size of the country, with considerable distances between locations, amplifies the expenses associated with sending teams to project locations. Poor infrastructure makes it challenging for paralegals and community-based organizations to reach their destinations. These practical challenges and high costs can impede the effectiveness of paralegals.

Fourthly, local cultural differences necessitate increased investments in understanding and integrating into cultural norms. This includes careful selection of chiefs and collaboration with local organizations. This, however, demands more time and financial resources for comprehensive implementation.

Fifthly, the interplay of these factors seems to impact the effectiveness of CTV's approach to gender mainstreaming. While CTV employs this method to ensure gender awareness across all interventions, the actual implementation encounters challenge due to various factors, such as limited time, resources and other issues that demand attention, such as enhancing the recognition of paralegals or providing explanations about DUAT during community engagements. Consequently, less attention is being paid on 'gender issues', which makes it challenging to ensure outcomes going beyond "reaching women" or sharing knowledge about rights.

In conclusion, the interplay of local factors shows the variety of challenges that must be navigated for successful project implementation. The Mozambique case shows that formulated objectives and strategies do not automatically translate into the achievement of intended results in land-related projects. Instead, it implies that implementing strategies necessitates a significant investment of time and resources to effectively integrate gender perspectives in practice. The multitude of local factors at play underscores the challenge in strategy implementation, potentially hindering their effectiveness. It also highlights the need for involvement with various stakeholders that are essential for the success of strategies. Other land related projects may also encounter these challenges in the effective implementation of strategies, potentially obstructing their intended outcomes. Moreover, the Mozambique case illustrates the importance of careful consideration of the needs and priorities of local peoples and that these aspects should not be taken for granted. Consequently, it appears crucial to tailor strategies to the specific context for success.

5. Conclusion

Women play a pivotal role in the agricultural sector, where they contribute significantly to the preservation and efficient utilization of resources in countries that heavily dependent on agriculture for income. Despite increased awareness, development programs often insufficiently address gender differences and land related development programs often fail to deliver intended results. To tackle gender inequalities in land governance more effectively, it is essential to comprehensively assess existing approaches.

The LAND-at-scale (LAS) program aims to contribute to sustainable tenure security and access to land. LAS encourages the incorporation of gender considerations throughout the whole program. Employing a programmatic methodology, LAS stimulates the country projects to tailor their approaches to local contexts and formulate context-specific strategies. However, this flexibility results in a lack of a comprehensive overview of current objectives, strategies, and challenges in enhancing women's land rights that are encountered within the LAS country projects. By gaining a better understanding of these aspects, lessons can be exchanged within the LAS program that can contribute to the effectiveness of integrating gender perspectives.

The primary objective of this master's thesis was a comprehensive examination of theoretical objectives and their transformation into practical strategies aimed at improving women's land rights and access to justice. The study also delved into the challenges associated with the execution of these to gain nuanced insights into how local contexts may influence the implementation process, a detailed case study was conducted in Mozambique.

By examining these factors, the results aim to improve the understanding of advancing women's land rights and access to justice in land development initiatives. This thesis contributes to a deeper insight into how international development programs, such as LAND-at-scale, integrate gender perspectives.

The present study was designed to answer the following research question:

“How does the LAND-at-scale program incorporate strategies to enhance women's land rights and access to justice to address gender inequality, and what challenges emerge for project implementers during the implementation process? The LAND-at-scale (LAS) program demonstrates a commitment to integrating gender considerations throughout all phases of the projects (design, implementation, and evaluation) and requires their projects to be gender sensitive and ideally gender transformative. LAS has chosen to refrain from providing specific requirements, so projects can adjust their objectives and strategies to the local situation. However, the analysis reveals inconsistencies and ambiguities in LAS's gender strategy and the guidelines it provides. Key basic concepts are missing such as what is meant by 'gender' or 'gender transformative change' and when it is or is not preferable to pursue this approach within a project, lacks thorough exploration. The lack of clarity in definitions and guidelines raises questions about the program's ability to effectively implement intended gender-focused outcomes.

The LAS projects in Uganda, Burundi, Chad, and Mali share common goals of improving land governance, aiming to enhance women's land rights, and addressing country-specific challenges. The projects tailored their objectives mostly to the specific context of the country. Namely, objectives largely conform to existing land-related laws, or it is aimed to revise them to make them more inclusive of women's land rights. Enhancing gender-sensitive land registration was also frequently discussed as an objective. Projects seek to ensure that land registration processes become more gender sensitive and addresses the unique local challenges that influence women's access to land. While the projects emphasize the importance of strengthening women's land rights in the interviews, this focus is not

always explicitly reflected in general project objectives. The integration of gender components into general project objectives varies and indicates that women's land rights may not always be the primary focus. The objectives outlined in the project proposals are somewhat abstract, lacking specificity regarding what the projects aim to achieve in terms of enhancing women's land rights. It remains unclear which types of men and women or actors the projects intend to include and the specific methods they plan to employ to attain these objectives.

The findings showed that eight different categories of strategies are by the LAS country projects to translate these objectives into practice. This implies that a diverse range of strategies is applied in the LAS program. The interventions applied mostly focus on 'raising knowledge and increasing awareness about land rights and gender roles.' Furthermore, the projects explained that they engage several stakeholders and actively involve men, to foster structural change for women and to avoid potential backlash or resistance from community members. Other strategies relate to the categories of increasing representation of women in land committees, lobby, capacity building, promoting land registration, empowerment and using tools and applications to facilitate effective implementation.

However, a notable observation is that the strategies discussed in the interviews remain abstract and lack a well-defined and coherent direction regarding target audience, goals, anticipated outcomes, and methods. This ambiguity makes it challenging to determine the primary focus of the projects and how they intend to bring about the intended change as formulated in their objectives.

In terms of strategies for access to justice, projects commonly work at the community level to enhance women's access to justice. The main strategy used to enhance women's access to justice is alternative dispute resolution (ADR). The primary reason to use ADR mechanisms is to address land-related disputes within local communities through mediation and other alternative methods, avoiding the complexities and challenges faced by women, that are normally associated with formal courts. They aim to train ADR mechanisms to be more gender-sensitive and capable of providing gender-responsive justice. This training is crucial to ensure that the specific issues and rights of women are considered and respected. By using ADR mechanisms, the projects aim to enhance women's access to justice by tackling some of the barriers that women face when they assert their rights in higher courts. Other key approaches include awareness campaigns on women's land rights, increasing representation of women in land committees, lobbying, and advocacy and the use of trained paralegals for education and dispute resolution. The projects recognize the importance of a multifaceted approach, combining legal reforms, lobbying, and advocacy to influence policy changes. However, less attention has been devoted to changing structures that may hinder women's enforcement of their rights in higher courts. Furthermore, in some instances it remained uncertain to what extent strategies were implemented across various levels and how different stakeholders were considered.

Project implementers faces several challenges during the implementation of strategies that are focused on enhancing women's land rights and their access to justice. They highlighted the gap between laws and their practical implementation, patriarchal societal norms, and resistance from various stakeholders. Despite the potential impact of the strategies that are selected, cultural norms deeply rooted in traditional societies may act as barriers to their effective implementation. Cultural perceptions that are predominantly view men as land actors can hinder the acceptance of joint registration initiatives, necessitating culturally sensitive approaches for meaningful change. Furthermore, striving for transformative change was explained to be a challenge, due to limited duration and the complexity and sensitivity of addressing gender dynamics. Due to the challenges above, some projects consider any discussion about gender as a noteworthy achievement.

The case study in Mozambique highlights additional challenges with the implementation of strategies. Namely, the findings show that local factors influence the implementation of intervention in practice and affect the possible results of the interventions. Local factors, such as limited state capacity, cultural norms, vast geography, and poor infrastructure significantly hinder the implementation of strategies to enhance women's land rights. These challenges, including diverse priorities of stakeholders and the need for extensive investments in cultural understanding, underscore the complexity of effective implementation. The study emphasizes the importance of tailoring strategies to the specific context, the need for significant time and resource investment, and involvement with diverse stakeholders to overcome these challenges and achieve successful project outcomes. The findings emphasize the importance of acknowledging the complexity and sensitivity involved in implementing strategies for enhancing women's land rights.

In summary, although the LAS program expresses a dedication to tackling gender inequality and promoting women's land rights, persistent challenges in defining and implementing gender-related concepts, objectives, and strategies, and the challenges that emerge with implementation, underscore the ongoing efforts that are needed to realize structural change. The strategies employed show promise but need clearer direction and a more comprehensive understanding of their impact on women's lives.

6. Discussion

Concluding the analysis, the subsequent discussion delves into the broader significance of the findings by exploring their broader meaning.

Integration of gender by the LAS program

A critical finding from the analysis of the gender strategy of LAS is its lack of clarity and consistency in crucial definitions. For example, the term 'gender' lacks a distinct definition, creating an impression that it predominantly refers to 'women' and does not adequately reflect the involvement of men. This ambiguity often results in the conflation of gender with women's rights, creating confusion about the primary focus. Questions arise, such as whether the emphasis is on gender or solely women, women's rights, or gender equality.

Moreover, the gender strategy does not provide clear definitions for key concepts, such as 'gender transformative strategies.' The lack of clarity extends to how these strategies can be applied and in what project situations they are feasible. Assuming a universal understanding of these terms may lead to a fragmented approach, with different projects pursuing divergent objectives. This fragmentation could eventually diminish the collective impact on gender equality and women's land rights, as projects may inadvertently deviate from the intended gender-focused outcomes.

Furthermore, LAS as a program, often uses the term 'gender transformative' approaches when gender related strategies come up. This might give the impression that projects always have to be gender transformative. If projects interpret the term 'gender transformative' differently than intended by LAS, it may result in these projects believing they are implementing transformative approaches while achieving a different effect. For instance, interventions may only result in 'reaching' women, without achieving broader transformative goals. This observation aligns with the findings of Quisumbing et al., (2023), who argue that projects frequently encounter difficulties in realizing their intended outcomes.

LAS explains the need for gender integration everywhere and emphasizes the importance of addressing gender to prevent discrimination against women in their communication and LAS urges its projects not to be gender blind. However, the significance of fully integrating gender is not explicitly stated, and the phrase 'implementing gender throughout the program' introduces ambiguity. This can imply that incorporating gender considerations can be merely an 'add-on' to existing strategies, which may not be accurate; the impact is significantly greater when they are thoroughly integrated from the outset of a project (Quisumbing et al., 2023). The lack of consensus in literature about effective strategies further complicates selection of suitable strategies for implementation (Quisumbing et al., 2019). Projects are left to devise their strategies, while lacking resources or time to do so as is often the case according to Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel (2006). Without clear guidelines or a cohesive strategy, project implementers may eventually encounter challenges aligning their efforts with the overarching goals of the LAS program. Following this reasoning LAS projects will potentially benefit from more guidance and resources from LAS to identify suitable strategies within the project's timeframe and budget (Johnson et al., 2018).

However, it is questionable to what extent these extra guidelines are desirable. Namely, the Mozambique case study explicitly underscores the importance of customizing strategies to local needs. Given the varied influence of local factors on strategy implementation, the ability to adapt these approaches to the specific local context becomes essential for effectively tackling gender inequality. This was also underscored by the analysis of the objectives of the country project that show a clear alignment between objectives and specific context of the country. The importance of involving and adjusting interventions is essential for success of interventions as was highlighted by Chu (2011). These findings prompt an important question: To what extent is it beneficial to provide clarification at the program level, and where does the boundary lie between clarification and contextualization? Additional investigation into this matter would be beneficial to provide more concrete insights.

Aligning objectives, strategies and intended outcomes

In evaluating how LAS country projects work to actualize the core gender-related objective of the LAS program—to be gender-aware—some noteworthy observations emerge.

All projects highlight the significance of gender and dedicate attention to the integration of 'gender' into their projects. However, as indicated in the findings, the stated objectives come across as somewhat abstract, lacking specificity in terms of tangible actions and the practical execution of gender-inclusive measures. There is no mention of the intended benefits for women, and the objectives do not provide clarity on which women are being referred to. This abstract nature, particularly the ambiguity surrounding what it means to "make the land registration process more gender-sensitive," poses challenges in implementation and achieving the intended benefits for women. A similar impression is derived from the strategies chosen by projects to enhance women's land rights and translate their objectives into practice. The strategies employed within projects appear to be divergent. Instead of adopting a clear 'gender approach' with well-defined, aligned, and specified objectives and strategies regarding their intended outcomes, projects seem to integrate gender into various aspects to some extent and apply it wherever possible in their projects. Consequently, defining consistencies becomes challenging, and a lack of clear direction is apparent in certain projects. This complexity makes it difficult to discern the 'gender approach': what exactly the projects are doing in practice, the actors involved, the activities undertaken, and the reasons behind them.

The mentioned implication may pose challenges for successful implementation. Johnson et al. (2018) advocate for inclusivity in both project design and policy implementation and the formulation of those, emphasizing that the focus should not only be on attaining end results, such as land rights. Quisumbing et al. (2023) suggest that equal importance should be given to understanding and executing the

necessary steps to achieve these objectives. Thus, it is imperative to establish a clear gender approach with transparent and well-defined objectives, strategies, and the formulation of the intended change. Whether the goal is solely to enhance land rights, address the root causes of gender inequality, or a combination of both, a transparent and comprehensive approach is essential for effective implementation.

This highlights an opportunity for enhancement within the LAS program, suggesting the need to refine objectives by identifying specific areas of change and selecting clear, feasible objectives and strategies tailored to the project's context, timeline, and budget for a particular target area.

Barriers to access to justice for women and ADR mechanisms

The findings highlight ADR as the primary method for access to justice, which seems to be advantageous within project timelines as it provides opportunities to enhance women's access to justice at a local level. By using ADR mechanisms, the projects reduce barriers of women's access to justice that relate to long travel distances and financial burden. Furthermore, the country projects have can increase the gender sensitivity by providing trainings on women's land rights to these ADR mechanisms. However, the long-term application of ADR may not fully ensure equal access to justice (IDLO, 2020). To comprehensively address the barriers that women face in accessing justice comprehensively, it is crucial to approach access to justice from a broader perspective, fostering structural changes for women and to address other barriers that women face in asserting their rights. Namely, projects unveiled a concerning trend wherein if women resort to higher courts for justice, the projects experience a loss of control. There's an expectation that these higher courts lack sensitivity to women's rights, thereby impeding women's ability to seek justice. The prevailing notion is that women may struggle to withstand the power imbalance in the higher courts. This challenge is increased by the courts being discriminatory due to their patriarchal values. These aspects are not addressed by using ADR mechanism or the other strategies of the projects, that mostly focus on the local level.

To make progress in addressing these barriers to women's access to justice, attention needs to be directed towards various aspects to other barriers that women face in accessing justice including power structures at play in higher courts and the lack of gender sensitivity in these courts (IDLO, 2020). It is crucial to thoroughly address all barriers to women's access to justice, as highlighted by data from interviews with country projects. These factors may not be fully considered by current projects.

Moreover, recognizing the existence of additional barriers for women in accessing justice, it is recommended to conduct a thorough gender analysis to understand what specific factors exactly impede women's access to justice in each country project. This involves a detailed analysis of power structures, discriminatory practices, and gender insensitivity within the legal framework (Quintero et al., 2014). Tailored guidelines should be developed to specifically address these challenges, taking into account the unique socio-cultural context of the region under consideration.

Applying gender transformative approaches into the LAS program

The findings showed that LAS requires from the country projects to be at least gender aware and preferably apply gender transformative strategies. If we compare the findings of the analysis of the objectives and strategies with elements needed to realizing gender transformative change it becomes apparent that to a lesser extent on aspects that important for a gender transformative change (GTC). For effective GTC, the application of specific methods like gender analysis, a systems approach, and diverse metrics for measurement are crucial. While some of these aspects emerged in the data analysis, strategies often do not address the structural barriers necessary for transformative change, as suggested by Hillebrand et al. (2015). This indicates that projects may be gender-aware but not necessarily transformative.

Projects themselves also highlight the complexity of integrating gender perspectives and achieving transformative results, due to patriarchal norms, law enforcement challenges, and limited budgets and timeframes. Challenges in 'reaching' and involving women, as seen in Mali, underscore the difficulty of implementing gender-transformative strategies. It is crucial to recognize that processes for transformative change, such as changing gender norms, take time and cannot be rushed (McDougall et al., 2021). Careful handling is essential, rushed implementation can make women more vulnerable, potentially leading to violent backlash. Gender transformative change is a timely process that requires careful consideration and sensitivity (Hillebrand et al., 2015) Therefore, caution is needed in using terms like 'gender-transformative' within the program to avoid creating a misleading impression about the feasibility of intended outcomes.

While achieving gender-transformative results within project timelines may pose challenges, adopting a transformative approach and creating a supportive environment for change could prove effective in the long term. The LAS program could benefit from embracing a transformative approach, incorporating gender analyses tailored to the local situation or emphasizing an intersectional lens. Facilitating the GTC approach and associated methods may lay the foundation for more effective and sustainable outcomes over time. Therefore, the LAS project might consider a more thorough integration of these aspects within implementation, such as adjusting indicators to measure change (Guijt, 2008).

Local factors and their impact on the implementation of strategies

The Mozambique case study exemplifies the complexity of achieving objectives and executing strategies. It underscores that while having well-defined objectives and strategies is essential, numerous external factors can significantly impact their translation into practical outcomes. These factors can encompass a variety of aspects such as resources such as roads, financial means, and time, alongside the government's capacity to enforce and implement policies. The multitude of challenges involved in the overall implementation process further complicates matters, impacting initiatives aimed at enhancing women's land rights, such as gender mainstreaming by CTV. This proves challenging to implement in practice and ensure the intended outcomes due to the diverse aspects demanding attention throughout the implementation process. Consequently, strategies must be tailored to the specific context to ensure success. In practical terms, this entails a concentrated focus on aspects that actively contribute to the implementation process, meaning that it is crucial to acknowledge that effective implementation might necessitate additional resources or the active involvement of other stakeholders. Thus, Mozambique case underscores the need for tailored strategies, within land related initiatives, acknowledging the diverse challenges inherent in local contexts. Lessons learned of the effect of local context on project implementation can be extended to other projects by emphasizing the significance of stakeholder engagement, optimal resource allocation, and contextual tailoring for comprehensive and successful implementation.

As we delve further into the examination of local factors, drawing insights from the Mozambique case study, it becomes evident that the dynamics at the local level reveal varying priorities among the stakeholders. Namely, concerns of the state, the implementing organization and the women involved in the project can differ. Notably, the findings have shown that women in Mozambique may prioritize having food on the table over formal rights registration—it is not a pressing issue for them. Chu (2011) and Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel (2006) emphasize that next to considering the local context, it is essential to ensure that women's specific needs are thoroughly considered and addressed in both land policies and development programs. A nuanced understanding should be gained of how women are uniquely affected within each community engaged in interventions. Overlooking the needs in strategies

to empower women's land rights can yield negative consequences, such as a lack of relevance and effectiveness in addressing the specific challenges faced by women in that context (Chu, 2011).

The diverging priorities of the women involved, and the project and the implementing organization raise a crucial question, to what extent do projects and donor-driven requirements align with the needs of local women? Whom do these projects serve – donors and intended outcomes, or do they harmonize with cultural norms and values of the communities involved in the project?

Yet, this is a complex matter since, on the one hand priorities may diverge, but on the other hand land rights may contribute to meeting the local needs of women who seek improved access to food and financial opportunities. Still, it should not be assumed that interventions automatically align with women's priorities and will contribute to their needs. Rather we should pose the question where do we draw the line between expanding knowledge on a subject, such as gender equality, and imposing a particular value based on Western knowledge? Projects should strive to include the vision of the people involved in the intervention and adapt to the diverse socio-cultural elements influencing gender-specific land rights within each community they engage with (Giovarelli & Lastarria-Cornhiel, 2006).

Recommendations for future research

Future research should investigate the balance between providing clear guidelines and allowing for customization to local context in gender-related strategies. Understanding the challenges faced by projects in aligning their efforts with LAS program goals in the absence of clear guidelines is also crucial for improving project outcomes. Additionally, research should explore the extent to which strategies currently engage the visions of the communities involved in the interventions and how this can possibly be improved. Exploring ways to better involve women in communities and understanding the impact of external factors, such as resources and government capacity, on translating well-defined objectives and strategies into practical outcomes in other LAS projects, are recommended future research efforts. Comprehensive research is needed to address structural changes and barriers that women face in asserting their rights, particularly in contexts dominated by patriarchal values. Striking a balance between the timely implementation of gender-transformative approaches and the need for careful consideration and sensitivity is an area that requires further exploration. Furthermore, future research should focus on the extent to which it is desirable to strive for timely process of transformative change, within projects with limited times frames. Lastly, transformative approaches in projects comparative studies evaluating different development programs and their outcomes are essential for identifying effective methods and best practices, building on the work of scholars like Gioverelli & Lastaria-Cornhiel (2006).

Limitations of the research

While this study has provided insights into the incorporation of gender perspectives in land interventions, it is essential to acknowledge and address certain limitations that may impact the generalizability and scope of this study.

- Firstly, in this thesis four out of ten of the LAS country projects are included. Due to time limitations this selection has been made and not all country projects of LAS are included. The sample size is not sufficient to cover the perspectives of all country projects which means that results cannot be generalized to the whole program. Furthermore, the projects involved differ in their outset and have varying budgets and durations. This nuance of individual projects must be considered, recognizing that the outcomes may not universally apply across all initiatives. While the sample size may not be extensive, it is sufficient to provide an impression and indication of the main objectives and interventions implemented and the data offers insights and indications into how projects integrate gender perspectives.

- Secondly, for each country project that is involved into the project only two interviews were conducted (despite for Mali, where only one interview was conducted). The reasons for this are the limited scope of this research, but also the limited available time of the project managers and members, making it sometimes challenging to establish contact. Language barriers also influenced the possibilities of conducting interviews. This was especially the case in Chad and Mali, where most project members do not speak English. This limited interview scope may impact the comprehensiveness of the gathered information and its representation of each project's nuances. The limited time of the interviews (one hour) further restricts the data gathered per project. Consequently, there is a restricted understanding of whether all aspects are being adequately addressed. Some projects may have implemented more extensive or different approaches than suggested by the findings. Nevertheless, with this data a general understanding of the strategies in place has been gained. Especially the second interview for each project proved valuable as it allowed for a more thorough discussion of topics that were not adequately addressed or clear during the initial interview.
- Thirdly, the interpretative nature of qualitative research can influence the data collection, analysis and interpretation. The researcher's personal beliefs, experiences, and values may impact the findings (Hennink et al., 2020). To reduce this bias and to enhance validity, member checking was used for the analysis of the projects objectives. Member checking provides participants with the opportunity to clarify or challenge potential biases in the analysis (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Another criticism of qualitative research relates to the interaction between the researcher and the respondents during the interviews and fieldwork. This interaction may lead to socially desirable responses and could influence the results (Bryman, 2012). To enhance critical reflection, a reflexive journal was during the data collection, to improve self-awareness as recommended by Hennink et al (2015).
- Lastly, constrained by time limitations, the decision was made to spend five weeks in Mozambique for fieldwork. This timeframe, although brief, was the allotted period for on-site research. The researcher relied on CTV project members to facilitate entry into the field and conduct interviews with stakeholders. The researcher relied on CTV project members to facilitate field visits and conduct interviews with stakeholders. Only two field trips were scheduled during the fieldwork, each spanning 3-5 days and involving LAS program activities. Consequently, there were limited opportunities to visit communities and participate in activities.

Moreover, language barriers presented significant challenges, as CTV project members had to translate from Portuguese or the local language to English during field activities. However, translation was not always feasible, as they were often occupied with organizing meetings or unavailable during community dialogues. As a result, there were instances when I couldn't fully comprehend ongoing discussions or might have missed crucial information. Nevertheless, in most cases, CTV members provided brief recaps of the discussions afterward. However, in most cases, CTV members provided brief recaps of the discussions afterward.

Additionally, the researcher had limited control over how questions were precisely formulated during translation, raising concerns about accuracy. In some instances, community members, who may not fully understand English, served as translators, making it challenging to verify comprehension. Additionally, the presence of a male translator or a nearby chief might have influenced the willingness and expressed opinions of women, who may not feel at ease speaking freely in the presence of men due to vulnerability concerns.

Furthermore, being unfamiliar with Mozambican culture and norms due to the brief fieldwork duration hindered the researcher's ability to fully comprehend them. This limited familiarity could have led to potential misinterpretations. The researcher's positionality, as a white, highly

educated woman from Europe, further created a power imbalance between her and the community members, potentially influencing their willingness to share perspectives. By conducting interviews with several stakeholder an attempt was made to gain a comprehensive understanding.

The results of this case study are context specific and are not applicable to other projects. Thus, while the case study offers valuable insights and understanding within the context of the studied case, findings cannot be generalized (Hennin et al., 2020). Despite these limitations the case study provides an impression of how similar dynamics may potentially exist in other LAS country projects. Thus, the study serves as a valuable starting point for understanding how local factors may influence the implementation of strategies aimed at enhancing women's land rights.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Result indicators of the LAS program to measure change related to women’s land rights and gender equality.

Indicator	Explanation
Number of individuals with strengthened competencies to advance women’s rights and gender equality*	Definitions: States parties agree to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Women’s rights to land are a fundamental aspect in achieving gender equality.

	<p>Capacity is the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully.</p> <p>The 5C approach (is used:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The capability to act and commit 2. The capability to deliver on development objectives 3. The capability to adapt and self-renew 4. The capability to relate to external stakeholders 5. The capability to achieve coherence <p>Calculation: The proposed indicator is a direct quantitative indicator. The qualitative changes/results included in the quantitative indicators will be measured and described in the narrative reporting. The results measurement starts at the moment the Dutch financing begins. The baseline is considered 0 at that point. To be counted as capacity change, at least 2 of the 5 Cs need to show improvement.</p>
<p>Number of organizations with strengthened capacity to advance women’s rights and gender equality*</p>	<p>Definition:</p> <p>Contributions are specifically defined as effective changes in the enabling environment for promoting women’s rights and gender equality. This is measured through 5 elements, composing the enabling environment: 1. laws, 2. policies, 3. practices, 4. norms and values, 5. networks/ movements and resource allocation.</p> <p>Calculation method:</p> <p>Quantitative measurement: : Quantitative measurement: Number of organizations with strengthened capacity to advance women’s rights and gender equality (including both first and second tier partners with increased lobby and advocacy capacities). The proposed indicator is a direct quantitative indicator. The qualitative changes/results included in the quantitative indicators will be measured and described in the narrative reporting.</p>
<p>*Gender equality</p>	<p>Definition: Women’s rights and gender equality: realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life -- including the right to vote and to stand for election -- as well as education, health and employment.</p>

Appendix B

Interview guides for the interviews with the country projects. This provides an indication as in practice the guides were iteratively adapted.

Interview Guide

Introduction

This research is being conducted to describe and evaluate the objectives, strategies, and tools utilized in LAND-at-scale projects that relate to improving gender equality and access to justice for women. I am conducting this research for my master's thesis at Utrecht University in collaboration with LAND-at-scale. I am especially interested in what objectives and strategies are used in your project that related to gender and access to justice. But also in challenges, successes, and best practices related to the implementation of these strategies. The questions I would like to ask you therefore mainly relate to these topics. Everything you tell me will only be used for this research project and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team. Also, your name will not be used, to make sure that no one can identify you with any answers. You have already consented to the interview with the consent form. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Definitions:

- Strategies: Strategies are the specific plans or approaches used to achieve a particular objective or goal.
- Actions: activities are specific actions or steps that are taken to implement a strategy.
- Gender: gender in terms of the position/perspectives of women in land governance

No. of interview:

Date and place of interview:

Opening questions and general information

1. Could you introduce yourself? What is your name, function and field of expertise?
2. Could you tell me about Oxfam in Chad?
3. What are some of the challenges faced by women in terms of land rights/ access to land / A2J in the country of the project?

Questions about objectives

4. How would you describe the role of gender and improving women's rights in the project?
5. Why (to what extent) is gender important in your project?
6. How would you define gender within the project? En gender equality?
7. What are the specific objectives of the project in terms of improving gender equality? (and women's rights).
8. Which objectives have a priority and why?
9. Summary: How would you define the gender approach of your project?

Questions about strategies – Strategies chosen and reason for selection.

10. What strategies do you use to achieve the objectives?
11. Could you explain why you have chosen these strategies/approaches?
12. Which strategies have priority and why?
13. Who are the strategies aimed at? And why?
14. What could be a limitation of these strategies?

Questions about strategies – Difficulties and success within implementation process

15. How would you describe the whole implementation of women's rights and gender equality in the project? How do you experience it?
16. What difficulties and challenges do you encounter in terms of improving women's rights in general?
17. What difficulties and challenges do you encounter in terms of improving women's rights within the project?
18. What things would you describe as being 'successful' in the implementation process within the project?
19. What could be a limitations?
20. What would you need to improve the implementation of approaches for gender equality in your project?

Success and monitoring

21. What kind of things are you doing related to gender issues to ensure the project's success?
22. How do you assess the effectiveness of the strategies?

Closing questions

23. How do you view the future of the project? (in terms of implementing gender approaches)
24. What would help you in that process?
25. Is there anything else you would like to add or share?

Access to justice:

26. In what way does access to justice play a role in your project? (and why)
27. In your experience, what are some of the challenges faced by women in accessing justice related to land rights/land issues?
28. What strategies do you apply to improve access to justice?
29. What activities do you apply to improve access to justice?

Appendix C

Overview of the interviews that are conducted during the fieldwork in Mozambique and the main topics discussed.

In-depth semi structured interviews conducted	Topics discussed during the interviews:
<p>Interviews with CTV</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several employers CTV • Gender expert/focal point CTV (2 in-depth interviews) • Director CTV • Founder CTV • Project manager CTV 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is CTV working on in general? • What are CTV's objectives in terms of gender/women and why? • What strategies and activities are implemented by CTV for women and why?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the implementation of these activities experienced by implementers? • What successes and difficulties are encountered? • How are these activities received and perceived by participants?
<p>Interviews with other stakeholders and experts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender expert National Union of Mozambican Peasants (UNAC) (2 in-depth interviews) • Professor (PhD) in Anthropology and Land governance from Eduardo Mondlane University • Member from the Dutch Embassy in Mozambique 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land governance system Mozambique • Legal framework and related prospects and challenges • Women’s position in land governance and women’s land rights in Mozambique • Perspectives on CTV • Perspectives on gender strategies implemented by CTV.

Appendix D

Locations of fieldwork and the research activities conducted during the fieldwork.

Fieldtrip locations	Activities
<p>Manhica district In Gaza province</p> <p>Zavala area in Inhambane province</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building: The goal of these meetings is to empower paralegals and Civil Society Organizations by enhancing their understanding of the law, enabling them to assist in dispute resolution and educate communities. This training aimed to equip them with the knowledge and skills to address various issues, including land climate change, Duat, conflict resolution within the legal framework of land regulations and related matters. • Engaging in community dialogues* with community members (including leaders, women, associations, and extensionists) in four distinct communities within the Manhica province. <p>Research activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant observation during capacity building for paralegals • Participant observation during community dialogue • Short conversations with paralegals • Focus group discussions with women after community dialogue in four different communities.

***Community dialogues** involve meetings that typically last for a few hours, held beneath a significant tree in each community. These gatherings serve as a platform for both men and women to come together and engage in discussions on various topics. These discussions encompass current land disputes, issues related to land rights, the concept of DUAT (as discussed in Chapter 4.6), climate change, the process of asserting DUAT, the promotion of gender equality in accordance with the law, and the sustainable management of natural resources."

Appendix E

Overview of the documents used for the analysis and provided by the RVO after signing a confidentiality agreement.

LAND-at-Scale gender framework

Project proposal Mozambique

Project plans CTV 2023

Project proposal Burundi

Project proposal Mali

Project proposal Chad

Project proposal Uganda

Appendix F

This annex shows observations from the field during an activity implemented by CTV. The aim is to provide a specific example of implementation and put the aspects described above in the local context and to provide an example of the implementation of a specific strategy from CTV: 'facilitating community dialogue'. It underscores how cultural norms can prevent women from speaking and actively participating in discussions (Bichieri, 2022).

Observations from the field – Community dialogue

This week community dialogues are organized by CTV in four different communities. These gatherings serve as a platform for both men and women to come together and engage in discussions on various topics. These discussions encompass current land disputes, issues related to land rights, the concept of DUAT, climate change, the process of asserting DUAT, the promotion of gender equality in accordance with the law, and the sustainable management of natural resources. CTV collaborates with local partners who have a deep understanding of community challenges. The meetings often occur in the shade of a massive tree, allowing people from the surrounding areas to gather. To accommodate community members' schedules, especially women who engage in early morning fieldwork, timing is adjusted, and meetings are kept short to ensure people can meet their daily needs.

Most meetings had more women than men. Men typically sat on chairs or tree trunks, while women, accustomed to sitting on the ground, gathered in groups, reflecting cultural norms and individual status within the community. In these meetings, the local community discusses ongoing land disputes, justice challenges, and the importance of securing DUAT for land protection. While some are familiar with DUAT, most are not. Those aware emphasize the importance of securing DUAT to safeguard their land. It was noteworthy that in most cases, community leaders or other men tended to speak first before certain issues, like ongoing conflicts, were opened for discussion by others. Women, however, did not always speak or were sometimes heard only after the men had voiced their opinions. Some

women, particularly the younger ones, seemed to be reserved and hesitant to respond when questions were posed to the entire group. In one specific instance, a younger woman was encouraged by a member of CTV to share her thoughts, but this encouragement had the unintended effect of making her feel so uncomfortable that she chose to leave the meeting. In a few cases the gathering concluded with dancing and singing, reflecting the community's happiness. They expressed their gratitude about the presence and knowledge shared by CTV.

