

Land Rights and Poverty – Revised Power Analysis

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Introduction

The aim of this Power Analysis is to guide the development of Oxfam's land rights and poverty campaign strategy in Pakistan in the light of existing knowledge about prior social, economic and political situation, power relations, and partner consultation. A campaign strategy covering a period over the next five years needs to be both challenging and realistic. It must be based on a strategic prioritisation of possible areas and methods of actions in the light of an understanding of the most effective ways of changing power relations in favour of the poor and poverty reduction with respect to land rights, within the limited available resources.

The process of the Power Analysis consisted of three stages. First, a Situation Analysis was conducted to take an overview of the range of pertinent issues with respect to land rights and poverty. The Situation Analysis was revised following stakeholder consultation. Second, a draft Power Analysis was prepared based on the revised Situation Analysis addressing a sequence of six sets of questions:

- i. What are the main areas of activism with respect to land rights and poverty, and what are the main methods?
- ii. What are the overall objectives of a land rights and poverty campaign, what are the objectives in each of the identified areas of activism, and how might they be achieved?
- iii. What are the salient power relations in each of these areas?
- iv. What are the specific opportunities, obstacles and models of change in each area?
- v. What are realistic challenges and worthy outcomes?
- vi. What are the components of a balanced campaign strategy?

Finally, the draft Power Analysis emerging from answering this set of questions was used as a point of departure for a consultation involving Oxfam staff and partner organisations in order to strategise on key possible areas and methods of action. The revised Power Analysis reports the results of the consultation and the prioritisation of areas and methods of action achieved in the consultation.

1. Main Areas of Activism and Methods

The main areas of activism were identified in the Situation Analysis. These can be clustered into four groups:

- a) Agriculture
- b) Residential security
- c) Collective entitlements
- d) Gender and land

The Situation Analysis provides a detailed account of the relationship between land rights and poverty in Pakistan. Briefly, it was argued that the conventional focus on agrarian land reforms needed to be broadened to explicitly include non-agricultural aspects of land use, access, ownership, and entitlement. It was also found that in agricultural and non-agricultural entitlements to land resources social structures and social marginalisation play key intermediary roles. Activism on land rights, therefore,

must be cognizant of specific issues in social structure and social marginalisation in areas of intervention.

The three main areas of activism besides agriculture are residential security, collective entitlements, and gender and land. These are all broad areas of activism in themselves. Within agriculture too, the traditional focus on redistributive land reforms needed to be augmented with consideration of access to land through tenancy on the one hand, and the issues raised by corporate farming on the other. The main methods of activism and intervention included law and litigation, activism on policy-making and implementation, and direct interventions in the form of pilot projects.

For convenience, the summary matrix of areas of activism and methods is reproduced below for ready reference. The four broad areas of activism (in rows) are colour coded for ease of identification, while the methods of activism are classified in columns.

Table 1: Matrix of Activism and Methods

	Law/Litigation	Policy/Programme	Pilot Community action	Project, level
Agricultural land ownership	Challenges to constitutional hiatus on ceiling laws Intervention with pro-reform political actors	Allotment of state land or acquired land with CS oversight		
Access to land	Tenancy legislation in Sindh – regulation Tenancy legislation in Punjab – deregulation		CS pilots for land market intermediation	
Corporate farming	Use of new right to information clause in constitution for fuller disclosure and debate	Lobby/mobilisation for policy debate and policy change		
Residential security	Lobby implementation and extension of existing laws on regularisation Lobby for legal changes for extension of residential rights to non-owners of cultivated land	Revival of marla scheme in Punjab with CS oversight Revival of Sindh Goth Abad with CS oversight Programme for rural homestead land using state land or acquired land	Pilot schemes for landless poor	
Collective rights	Debate on acceptance of collective rights through local democratic institutions Lobby for transition from hierarchical to inclusive collective entitlements	Interventions in land conversion policies, mineral policies		

	Specific attention to concerns of indigenous communities		
Gender and land	Benami law Lobby for proactive implementation of inheritance laws	Lobbying for further programmes for allotment of state land to women with safeguards	CS projects for women's land rights

Source: Adapted from Situation Analysis

Each row in the above matrix corresponds with a potential area of activism while each column corresponds with a method. Three distinct areas of activism are identified in agriculture: land redistribution, access to land through tenancy reform, and corporate farming. Besides agriculture three other areas of activism have been identified, viz. residential security, collective entitlements, and gender and land.

Three broad types of methods of intervention or action area identified here. These three broad types – law/litigation, policies/programmes, pilot projects – are not mutually exclusive. Often, laws are required for framing policies and programmes, and the implementation of policies and programmes might take the aid of litigation. Pilot projects can be useful not only for demonstrating on a small scale, interventions which might be generalised through laws and/or programmes. The choice of method might also depend on broader questions of political feasibility. If an area of activism, for example, is considered to be extremely sensitive, it might be possible to breach the issue through small scale pilot programmes.

The range of possible interventions is quite broad to begin with. The matrix above identifies at least 22 distinct types of actions (8 in agriculture, 6 in residential security, 4 with respect to collective entitlements, and 4 in the area of gender and land). Many of these actions themselves encompass several types of activities. It is useful to recall these 22 types of actions represent a filtering of themes through the Situation Analysis. These will need to be further refined to get to a realistic and results-oriented strategy, which does nevertheless challenge existing power relations.

Twelve of the 22 identified actions come under law/litigation, 8 are related to policy/programme interventions, and the remaining 4 are pilot projects or direct interventions. The remainder of this paper subjects these areas of activism to a power analysis. It might be stated at the outset that a balanced campaign strategy should include some elements from each of the cluster of areas of activism as well as methods of intervention. The relatively small number of pilot projects or direct interventions is suggestive of the overall emphasis of this power analysis towards more general, policy and political oriented interventions with scaled-up impacts.

2. Objectives and Instruments

The overall objectives of the land rights and poverty campaign is to achieve poverty reduction through the expansion and strengthening of rights of the poor and the socially marginalised to land resources. Since the relationship between land rights and poverty is complex – as explored in the Situation Analysis – it is important to

spell out the specific objectives, poverty linkages and possible strategies in the four areas of activism.

Table 2 provides an outline of the areas of activism, specific objectives in these areas of activism, the precise linkage with poverty reduction, and the type of instruments which might be used by government and other stakeholders to achieve the objectives. This table attempts to simplify the results of the Situation Analysis by making relatively straightforward linkages between objectives, poverty reduction and the ‘technical’ instruments of change. The emphasis here is on proximate technical instruments rather than the politics of change which are examined further below. Technical instruments of change help us to focus on the specific levers of policy where change is required.

Table 2: Objectives, Poverty Linkages and Instruments

Area of Activism	Objectives	Poverty Linkages	Instruments
Agriculture	Access to agricultural self-employment	Livelihoods	Asset transfer, market access
Residential security	Residential rights for poor	Asset creation, autonomy in employment, political participation	Asset transfer, regularisation of existing settlements
Collective entitlements	Formal recognition of poor people’s collective entitlements to land resources	Participation of poor in economic development	Legal and political changes
Gender and land	Equal rights to land for women	Countering feminization of poverty	Legal and political changes

Agriculture

In the area of agriculture the simple objective is to expand the access of the poor to agricultural self-employment. Conventionally, it has been assumed that this can happen through redistributive land reforms. Other routes are state land allotments, but also improved access to tenancy markets. On the negative side, market access of the poor to land is threatened by concessions to corporate farming. The linkage between land rights and poverty in this area is primarily through improved livelihood opportunities, though there are also other benefits in the form of reduced social inequalities. The main instruments through which access of the landless poor to agricultural self-employment can be expanded are asset transfers and market access.

Residential security

The objective in this area is residential rights for the poor. Its linkage with poverty reduction is through asset creation – as residential rights have an immediate effect on the asset positions of the poor. Other important linkages are autonomy and independence of the poor in employment and political participation. The former is of critical importance where residential insecurity combines with social marginalisation to produce coercive outcomes like bonded labour. The latter is of medium to long term significance in poverty reduction as the poor and socially marginalised gain agency. The main instruments in this area are asset transfers, and regularisation of existing settlements.

Collective entitlements

The formal recognition of collective entitlements of poor and socially marginalised groups to land resources is the main objective in this area. The main positive poverty reduction linkage is the participation of the poor in economic development. On the negative side, the linkage is to protect the poor and the socially marginalised from dispossession caused by economic development. The economic development in question might be the development of land for settled farming, infrastructure, and commercial and industrial activity, and mineral exploitation. All these dimensions of economic development have led to dispossession and expropriation of the poor in the past. The main instruments will be legal and political changes that allow the landless poor – individually but also collectively – to be recognized as stakeholders. Legal and political changes that recognized the status of indigenous communities will also be key instruments.

Gender and land

The main objective in this area is equal rights for women to land. The poverty linkage is through the notion of the feminization of poverty. Women increasingly represent a large proportion of the poor, and the poor are disproportionately likely to be women. Intra-households inequalities are often ignored in conventional poverty analysis at the expense of women. The main instruments as in the case of collective entitlements are legal and political changes.

Further insights from stakeholder consultation

While the stakeholder consultation broadly endorsed the view that issues in land rights and poverty in Pakistan could be summarized under the four broad themes of agriculture, residential security, collective rights and gender and land, there were a number of further insights that enriched the analysis. These are noted below.

Technology

There is a close link between land inequality and further linkages in agriculture which determine the choice of technology, market structures for output, and environmental sustainability. There are outstanding questions about the comparative efficiency of large and small holdings. In some areas and under some conditions small farms can be as efficient or indeed outperform large farms. In other areas the technological advantage of large farms is overwhelming, at least within existing market structures and technological incentives.

Military and government departments as large landlords

Besides our conventional understanding of monopoly power in land, we must consider the salience of military and its related organisations as large landlords. There are also numerous government departments, particularly in Punjab, which on various pretexts control large tracts of agricultural land.

Dangers of corporate agriculture

The promotion of corporate agriculture is likely to be a sure recipe for increasing unemployment and underemployment among the poor, and will further reduce the poor's access to land. The link between technological advance and corporate and multi-national dominated agriculture needs to be addressed.

Archaic system of land administration

The existing system of land administration carries forward concepts and definitions inherited from history, but has lost the capacity for maintaining impartial records. Government land allotment programmes, for example, give discretionary powers to land revenue officials to classify individuals and families as cultivators or non-cultivators. This issue becomes salient if there is a programme for land allotment, and the very identity of a person – say a ‘hari’ – becomes contested and subjected to administrative manipulation.

Another archaic feature of the land administration system is the virtual absence of women from the machinery, particularly at the local level. The land revenue departments which are universally responsible for maintaining land records and implementing government's land policy are among the most male-dominated segments of the bureaucracy. Their very composition creates serious hurdles for women's assertion of their rightful claims. In addition, many of the allotment policies have been overtly biased against women, and the Sindh government land allotment programme is an innovative change in this regard.

3. Power Relations and Challenges to These

Table 3: Power Relations at Different Levels

Area of Activism	Global	National/provincial	Local
Agriculture	Corporate farming Market forces	Political elites Corporate interests Military's corporate interests Judicial system	Existing landowners Land administration
Residential security	International property developers	Corporate interests Political elites Military's corporate interests	Locally dominant groups Corporate interests Party cadres/land mafias
Collective entitlements	International mining and petroleum companies	Federal government and its commercial interests Military's corporate interests Inter-provincial issues	Locally dominant groups
Gender and land	No significant issues	Patriarchal political, judicial and bureaucratic leaders	Male property owners

Table 3 identifies the power relations at the global, national/provincial and local levels which are likely to resist pro-poor changes and the achievement of objectives outlined in Section 2. At the global level these range from corporate farming, international investors in property development and mineral sectors, and market forces in general. In agriculture, although corporate farming has been identified as an important global factor, its expected incidence in relation to the size of the agrarian economy is likely to be small in the medium term. Market forces in general, however, play a stronger and more influential role in determining outcomes. In residential security international investors are likely to be important in some urban and peri-urban areas. International players are likely to be important stakeholders with regard to collective entitlements, particularly in the mining and petroleum sectors. There are no significant adverse global power relations with respect to gender and land – though influences from Pakistan’s wealthy interlocutors in the Middle East are known to have a retrogressive effect on women’s rights.

At the national/provincial levels the main power relations are with respect to political elites, corporate interests and the military’s corporate interests in particular. This is the case in all areas with the possible exception of gender and land, where the dominant power relations with respect to pro-poor change are embedded in patriarchal ideologies justified on the basis of tradition and/or religion. Local level power relations are very much constructed around existing power-brokers – namely groups that own and control land at the present moment.

There is a close correlation in Pakistan between economic self-interest and ideological conviction. While it is true that many global ideological imperatives – such as the promotion of market-based economic arrangements – do find ideological supporters among the Pakistani elite, policy consensus is generally forged out of economic interest or the perception that there is little choice. The main source of the notion that there is no choice but to follow paradigms promoted by international donor organisations is the idea that Pakistan desperately needs foreign investment, and such investment is only possible through pro-market economic reforms. Land, however, is one clear case where pro-market reforms have been piece-meal and fragmented. In the case of women’s rights to land, for example, the persistence of the institution of benami will be considered an anomaly in any liberal private property rights regime. Similarly, the largely unreformed system of land administration – as documented in the Situation Analysis – has proved resilient to repeated World Bank attempts at modernisation.

Economic self-interest in Pakistan cannot be interpreted in a narrow individual sense. Power relations operate through group perceptions of interest. The dominant groups in question at the national/provincial level are political, bureaucratic, military and judicial elites which share some perceptions while pursuing their own group and institutional interest at the expense of others and of the poor.

In the case of residential security local dominant groups – landowners in rural areas of Sindh, dominant castes in Punjab rural areas, land developers connected to political groups in urban areas, as well as bureaucratic and military elites – are important power centres.

Results of Group Work on Power Analysis

Group work was conducted on each of the four main thematic areas in land rights and poverty in order to identify the main blockers, champions and swingers. The results of group work by each theme are summarised below.

Agriculture

Champions	Blockers	Swingers
Media	Big Landholders	Small Landholders
Civil Society Organizations	Parliamentarians	Lawyers
Landless people	Bureaucrats	Media
Labour movements	Corporate and multinational companies	
Small and socialist political parties	World Bank / IMF, ADB	
Writers	Major Political Parties	
Anjuman Muzareen	Military Corporations	
Sindh Hari Movement		

The group on agriculture which focused on the redistribution of land to the landless poor – either through redistributive reform or allotment of state land – identified a formidable list of blockers in the shape of landholders, members of parliament, military and bureaucratic elites, corporations, international organisations, and major political parties. Champions, on the other hand, were landless people themselves, labour movements, smaller parties, civil society organisations and media. Small landholders, lawyers and media were seen as swingers.

Since the group focused exclusively on land redistribution – rather than the broader goal of access to land – it framed the power analysis in extremely challenging terms. The champions it was able to identify in this framing of the issue were all relatively small and weak compared to the blockers. The swingers too were clearly not decisive groups. The power analysis of land redistribution policies, therefore, suggested that while it was important to strengthen the champions, there would need to be innovative approaches in order to have high chances of success in the medium term. Innovative approaches concerning state land allotment, tenancy reforms and other sources for the poor gaining access to land may prove to be more realistic avenues.

Residential security

Champions	Blockers	Swingers
Indigenous/ oppressed leading movement	Local occupiers (local landlord/ Dominant Group)	Parliamentarians / Policy Makers
Progressive smaller landlord	Land Mafia (Mostly urban areas + semi urban)	Patwari, Revenue Officers
Like-minded civil society organizations	Corporate /multi-national interests	Party cadre
Democratic / Progressive Govt.	Mainstream religious opposition to women landownership and minority religious groups	

The thematic area of residential security straddles a wide range of geographic, institutional and socio-economic conditions, as it applies to rural as well as urban

areas in all provinces and economic zones. The range of champions and blockers too was diverse. Group work identified a number of promising champions in the form of existing political and social movements, and democratic elected governments with a progressive mandate. Blockers in this case included localised interest groups, but also corporate interests in some cases. There was also a promising list of swingers including parliamentarians/policy makers, land administration officials and possibly even local cadres of political parties.

Collective entitlements

Champions	Blockers	Swingers
UN / UN Resolutions On Indigenous Communities	Oil and Gas Exploration Firms	Multilateral Donors
INGOS	Agriculture Business Related Multinational Corporations	Provincial Land Revenue Department
Local NGOs	Governments of Rich Countries [especially Middle East]	Media
Communities	World Bank	Lawyers
Local traditions	Asian Development Bank	Political Parties
Civil society alliances / networks	IMF	Religious Leaders
Political Parties	Military Corporation	
	Ministry of Privatization	
	Interprovincial	
	Political Parties	
	Feudal/ Jagirdars/ Sardars	

While collective entitlement to land was considered a key and emerging issue for poverty reduction in Pakistan its medium term impact was likely to remain localised in most cases. Group work led to a comprehensive identification of champions, blockers and swingers. It was found that a number of political movements, particularly those with ethno-nationalist ideologies were already using the concept of collective entitlements in their political mobilisation. It might also be considered that some of these movements and parties also tend to suppress discussion and mobilisation on issues of intra-group inequality either on the basis of class, kinship or gender.

A key source of support would be international covenants on indigenous communities, though it was acknowledged that invoking such covenants would first require the uphill and complex task of creating a political consensus or coalition within Pakistan on indigenous group recognition. Many global stakeholders such as petroleum companies, corporate agriculture entities, and multilateral economic organisations that privilege individual title were identified as blockers. Swingers consisted of a wide range which might support collective entitlements for specific groups under particular circumstances.

Gender and land

Champions	Blockers	Swingers
Peasants Movements	Religious leaders at local levels	Media
CSOs Working with women	Male and female family of householders inheritance members	Political Parties

Female Parliamentarians	Govt officials	Religious leaders at national level
Women wings of political parties	Feudal lords	Middle class mercantile and urban population
Women network/ alliances at Tehsils, Districts, Provincial and National levels	Provincial Govt. civil & Military Bureaucracy in the context of forest and military land.	Trade Unions
Female elected councilors in Local Govt. System		Labour Unions
Male becomes champions when issues of state land focused		

For gender and land the main champions identified in the group work consisted of women's organisations as well as women in politics. The latter included women's wings of political parties, but also elected women parliamentarians and local councilors. Crucially, men were identified as champions if the issue was one of women's entitlement to state land, but not if the issue at hand was the transfer of land entitlements from men to women. In the latter case, particularly in the case of inheritance, in fact, it was discussed that women themselves might act as blockers since they wanted to prevent their husband's families from gaining control over the resources of their parental families.

4. Opportunities, Obstacles and Models of Change

This section outlines the opportunities, obstacles and models of change in the four areas of activism with reference to land rights and poverty. In agriculture, opportunities for land redistribution through the allotment of state-owned land are provided by the political process. In Sindh, for example, there is an ongoing programme for state land allotment. The main obstacle in the path of such programmes achieving their objectives is elite capture at the local level. The change agent in this case is civil society involvement in monitoring and social mobilisation in the implementation of ongoing programmes.

The main opportunity with respect to tenancy reform, particularly in Sindh, lies in the existence of partner organisations that are already involved in a reform campaign. Political stakeholders have already been mobilised to effect pro-poor tenancy reforms. The main obstacle in this case is the complexity of the process and implementation. Change can be realised through leveraging the momentum for reform, and through pilot projects which can demonstrate the potential for using tenancy to expand access to land for the landless poor. In the case of corporate farming the main opportunity is public apprehensions of the corporate sector, while the main obstacle is the imperative for economic managers to attract foreign investment. The main model of change is through influencing the policy debate.

Table 4a: Opportunities, Obstacles and Models of Change - Agriculture

Agriculture	Opportunities	Obstacles	Models of Change
Land Redistribution	Political process, particularly with respect to state land allocation	Local elite capture	CS involvement in monitoring and social mobilisation of existing programmes

Tenancy Reform	Partners already engaged; potential for mobilising landless poor	Complexity of issues and implementation	Leverage momentum for legal reforms and implementation; pilot projects
Corporate Farming	Public mistrust of corporate sector due to recent political and economic past	Economic imperatives to attract foreign investment	Influence policy debate

Table 4b: Opportunities, Obstacles and Models of Change – Residential Security

Residential Security	Opportunities	Obstacles	Models of Change
Residential security in urban areas	Increasing salience due to urbanisation	Existing propertied and corporate interests	Leverage politics of regularisation – provincial level
Residential security in rural Sindh	Partners already engaged in similar issues	Existing landowners	Reform and renewal of Goth Abad
Residential security in rural Punjab	Partners already engaged, increasing salience due to agglomeration of rural settlements	Dominant castes, land administration	Reform and renewal of Marla Schemes

For residential security the main sources of opportunity lie in the fact that urbanisation will increase the salience of residential security in urban areas as well as in peri-urban areas and rural agglomerations, particularly in Punjab. The impact of promoting residential security for the poor, therefore, is likely to continue to increase. The main obstacles are existing land-owning interests, and political and corporate elites that stand to gain from their control over residential land. In rural areas the dominant classes and castes are likely to resist security title for the landless poor, as it will reduce their power over them. The models of change are around the extension and implementation of existing schemes for regularisation, and the reform and renewal of homestead land allotment and regularisation programmes in the provinces.

Table 4c: Opportunities, Obstacles and Models of Change – Collective Entitlements

Collective Entitlements	Opportunities	Obstacles	Models of Change
Legal and political recognition of collective entitlements	Economic change and salience of collective entitlements	Entrenched political, military and bureaucratic elites	Influence policy debate
Legal and political recognition of indigenous rights	Existing mobilisation by political and civil society groups including partners	Entrenched legal and constitutional positions Corporate interests	Influence policy debate and facilitate mobilisation
Inclusive and democratic collective entitlements in place of hierarchical and patriarchal ones	Engagement of democratic and rights-based activists in movements for collective and indigenous rights	Dominant groups within indigenous communities	Rights-based interventions within communities

The models of change in the area of collective entitlements are around influencing policy debates, and in rights-based interventions within communities. The opportunities in this area, like with respect to residential security, are linked to economic diversification and change, and the increased salience of land resources that might be of low agricultural value. Urban expansion, investment in infrastructure and mineral exploitation are all likely to become more important in Pakistan. In the absence of legal and political recognition of collective entitlements, indigenous rights, and more inclusive and democratic entitlements within communities, the poor are likely to face expropriation. The main obstacles to change are likely to emerge from entrenched positions and thinking among segments of the political, military and bureaucratic elites. Segments of the political elite – particularly regional and ethnic political elites – however have already mobilised for collective entitlements in many areas.

Table 4d: Opportunities, Obstacles and Models of Change – Gender and Land

Gender and Land	Opportunities	Obstacles	Models of Change
Benami	Liberal discourse on property rights	Entrenched institution	Initiate policy debate
Implementation of inheritance laws	Political space for rights-based arguments – women’s caucus in parliament etc Partial support from religious texts	Social norms	Policy debate on legal reform Advocacy campaigns
Affirmative action in state land allotment	Some key political parties overtly committed to affirmative action	Local elite capture	Social mobilisation of potential and actual beneficiaries

In the area of gender and land there are three disparate sources of opportunity. First, the political process has opened up some room for attention to gender issues in parliament through the presence of women parliamentarians and their caucus. Relatedly, some leading political parties are committed, at least in terms of rhetoric, to affirmative action for women. Existing schemes for women-focused cash transfers (BISP) and programmes for the allotment of state land to women attest to this opportunity. Second, the liberal private property rights framework which at times poses threats to the entitlements of the poor is in this a source of opportunity. Third, social norms regarding women’s property ownership and inheritance lag behind agreed religious injunctions and there is scope for some limited use of religious texts in this regard. The main obstacles are entrenched institutions, social norms, and in the case of state land transfers, local elite capture. Models of change include influencing policy debates, advocacy to counter social norms (as in the case of women’s inheritance rights), and social mobilisation in the allotment of state-owned land to women.

5. Realistic Challenges and Worthy Outcomes

The power analysis needs to classify possible interventions according to their probability of success within a time frame, and their significance to poverty reduction. The time frame selected here is around 5 years, or the medium term. The actions identified in Section 1 above are classified here in a simple two-way matrix according to the probability of success within the medium term and their significance in terms of poverty reduction. Poverty significance is judged not only on the basis of the number of the poor affected but also if particularly entrenched forms of institutional behaviour are challenged.

The quadrant with medium or low poverty significance and low probability of success remains empty as a matter of choice. Of the other three quadrants the one that includes actions with high poverty significance and high probability of success within the medium term are obvious candidates for adoption. The other two quadrants are nevertheless important since the high poverty significance/high probability of success actions are relatively rare. The real choices and dilemmas are likely to be located in situations in the other two quadrants.

Table 5: Poverty Significance and Probability of Success

	High poverty significance	Medium/Low poverty significance
High probability of success within medium term	<p><i>Agriculture</i> Social mobilisation for pro-poor allotment of state land</p> <p><i>Residential security</i> Reform and revival of existing government schemes</p> <p><i>Collective entitlements</i></p> <p><i>Gender and land</i></p>	<p><i>Agriculture</i> Pilot project for access to land</p> <p><i>Residential security</i> Pilot project for residential ownership</p> <p><i>Collective entitlements</i> Recognition of collective entitlements of local/indigenous groups in favour of local/indigenous elites</p> <p>Successful mobilisations, affecting many poor in local context</p> <p><i>Gender and land</i> Formal legal changes without implementation mechanisms</p> <p>Social mobilisation for pro-women allotment of state land – high significance within local context</p>
Low probability of success within medium term	<p><i>Agriculture</i> Redistributive land reform Insulation from pressures of market forces</p> <p><i>Residential security</i> Comprehensive reform of non-agricultural land titles</p> <p><i>Collective entitlements</i> Collective and democratic ownership of common land resources</p> <p><i>Gender and land</i> Strict implementation of inheritance laws and significant increases in women's ownership of land</p>	

6. Proposed Template for Constructing Campaign Strategy

Table 6: Action Areas by Poverty Impact – Incidence, Depth and Institutional Change, and Early Impact

	Number of people affected – poverty incidence impact	Poverty relevance – poverty depth impact and institutional change	Probability of quick actual poverty impact
Redistributive land reform – legal/constitutional challenge	High	Medium	Low
Pro-poor allotment of state-owned land	Medium	Medium	Medium
Tenancy reform: deregulation and regulation	High	Medium	Medium
Access to land: pilot interventions	Low	Medium	High
Use right to information for fuller debate on corporate farming	Medium	Low	High
Lobby implementation and extension of existing laws on regularization of residential rights of poor	High	Medium to high	Medium
Legal changes for rights to homestead to non-owners of agricultural land	High	High	High
Revival of existing schemes for homestead/village regularization in favour of poor, with CS oversight	High	High	Medium in Sindh, given evidence of policy interest Low in Punjab
Pilot homestead schemes for landless poor	Low	Low	High
Promote idea of collective rights through democratic local institutions	High	High	Low
Replace hierarchical collective rights with inclusive ones	High	High	Low
Specific recognition of indigenous community collective rights to land and related resources	Medium	High	Medium
Pro-poor implementation of resettlement policy	Medium	Medium	Medium
Benami law reform	Medium	High	Low
Proactive implementation of inheritance laws in women's favour	Medium	High	Low
State land for poor women	High	High	Medium (high in situations where already accepted policy)
Pilot women's land rights projects	Low	High	High

Table 6 refines the activities identified in Section 1 and assigns ranks to them in three dimensions: poverty incidence impact, poverty depth and institutional change impact,

and probability of quick poverty impact. This is done in order to facilitate the choice of priority areas and methods of action in a campaign strategy.

There are four specific recommendations in arriving at a pared down list of actions for a balanced campaign strategy based on the power analysis.

First, it is recommended that a balanced campaign strategy should cover at least three of the four broad areas of activism identified here. Resources permitting, it will be useful to cover all four areas. If not at least three areas need to be covered in order to ensure that the focus on land rights does not remain too narrow. It is expected that given the historical importance of agriculture, this area will be included. The other three areas may be covered severally or in combinations. It may be possible, for example, to campaign on residential security with a specific focus on women's rights to property ownership.

Second, it is important to include in the campaign strategy a mixed portfolio of actions to include both actions with a high probability of quick success, as well as actions with a high poverty impact but low to medium probability of quick success.

Third, in selecting actions for the campaign strategy it is important to include at least some actions with a high expected impact on poverty incidence, and some which have a high expected impact on poverty depth and institutional change. The latter are typically actions which affect social structures and social marginalisation, and are therefore likely to have stronger second round impacts than those actions which simply have first round effects on poverty reduction.

7. Towards a Campaign Strategy Based on Power Analysis

The analysis of sections 4-6 above was used as a starting point for group work on prioritising a campaign strategy. Groups were asked to come up with one main campaign idea, alongwith two possible sub-ideas. The main campaign idea could be within a particular thematic area (agriculture, residential security, collective entitlements, gender and land) or it could address issues in more than one thematic areas. In addition, groups were asked to brainstorm on possible actions and methods for overcoming power relations in their proposed areas of actions.

There was considerable overlap the conclusions reached by each of the (three) working groups. The following common ideas were identified:

- Women's right to land and farming
- Right to rural homestead
- State land distribution to the poor

After plenary discussion it was agreed that these ideas could be merged into one overall campaign idea with two sub-themes.

Main campaign idea

Promotion of state land distribution for poor and marginalised rural communities with a particular focus on women

The main campaign idea and the two sub-themes within it creatively address each of the four thematic areas (agriculture, residential security, collective entitlements, gender and land) identified in the Situation Analysis and developed further in the Power Analysis.

The Power Analysis was substantively used to focus attention on a campaign idea for which there was a high probability of success in the medium term, and which also directly benefitted a large proportion of the poor in Pakistan. It had been found in the Power Analysis that any interventions around state land distribution will have stronger champions and will face less resilient blockers. Moreover, such an intervention had the potential for mobilising significant swingers. This contrasted with interventions that required the redistribution of privately owned land from large landlords to the landless, or inheritance rights from men to women.

The formulation ‘marginalised rural communities’ had the advantage of allowing mobilisation for collective entitlements with a specific focus on the poor and the marginalised. In this case too, the introduction of the state as a critical party meant that power relations could be confronted within a given institutional framework rather than in a head-on confrontation between the landless poor and socially marginalised on the one hand and a range of powerful interest groups on the other. For each of the two sub-themes two further objectives, key messages and action plans were proposed in group work.

Sub-theme 1

Promoting state land distribution of productive land for agriculture for landless farmers, especially women

It was considered that this component of the campaign will also include key messages of the issue of water, corporate farming, low-input practices with distribution of state land.

Objective 1

Promoting productive state land distribution for landless local rural communities especially women

Key Messages

1. Land for ending hunger
2. My land my right

Objective 2

Recognition of historical rights and collective entitlements of local landless communities

Key Messages

1. Save our land, save our food
2. Save land for our food
3. No water, no agriculture, no life

Overall campaign goal - slogans

- Act now for women's right to land and end hunger
- *Bhook mitao naya nizam/samaj banao* (eradicate poverty, construct society)
- *Zameen ka maalik aurtoN to banao* (make women owners of land)
- *Apna mustaqbil bachao, naya samaj banao* (save your future, construct new society)
- Land for women, land for empowerment

Sub-theme 2

Promotion of the right to residential land ownership for all, especially women

It was considered that this component will include messages for recognition of the rights of ownership of socially marginalised and indigenous groups on state land as well as state intervention for privately owned land.

Objective 1

Residential security situation and use of land is comprehensively documented and information available to all

Key Messages

1. Know your rights to housing

Activities

1. Field survey
2. Consultation with stakeholders, experts, informants, at different levels
3. Analysis
4. Dissemination – at national/regional, provincial, local

Timeline

Need 18 months to report launch, further 3-6 months for dissemination

Objective 2

Residential land security legal framework proposed and adopted with focus on women, marginalised, and indigenous communities.

Key Messages

1. Home for all
2. Home is state's responsibility
3. My country, my home
4. *ghar gharwali kay naam* (home in the name of the home-maker)

Activities

1. Consultation forums
2. Develop draft recommendations (ongoing activity), based on review of existing laws and policies
3. Network/alliance building
4. Advocacy/lobbying
5. Mobilisation
6. Media interaction throughout

Timeline

Start during status report preparation, some overlap in time

Revisiting the Political and Policy Context

One among other clear advantages of constructing a campaign around state land and the recognition of the rural socially marginalised and women as key target groups is the presence of existing government schemes and programmes that claim to address similar concerns. It is therefore expected that rather than act as blockers, key constituents of the political and policy processes could be persuaded to act as champions. The existing of the Sindh government land grant to women programme as well as other similar schemes and programmes can be leveraged to mobilise broad support. There is also an opportunity for the campaign to influence the implementation of existing interventions, as some partners are already doing.

On the geographic scope of the campaign it was considered that while stronger action could be taken in areas where existing organisations and networks are already in place and working on these issues – namely Punjab and Sindh – the perspective needed to be country-wide. This means that there should be the possibility of partners in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (as well as FATA and Gilgit Baltistan) joining the campaign and developing their own programmes over time.