Implementing the Land Investment for Transformation (LIFT) Programme in Ethiopia

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LIFT
LAND INVESTMENT FOR TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME

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Contents

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Abstract

The UKAID-funded Ethiopia Land Investment for Transformation (LIFT) programme, implemented by DAI, aims to improve the incomes of the rural poor and to enhance economic growth, through the second level land certification of up to 14 million parcels and improving rural land administration over the next 5 years. To ensure that the benefits of certification are maximised, and land productivity increased, the programme has a market facilitation component that will use the Making Markets Work for the Poor (M4P) approach to address the constraints present in the rural land markets in Ethiopia and that may prevent farmers from fully capturing the benefits of land certification.

This paper outlines the LIFT programme's ambitious targets for delivery. Currently in the early stages of implementation, LIFT is starting to demonstrate results in terms of the delivery of Second Level Land Certification and the development of a sustainable rural land administration. This paper reports on LIFT's progress to date and explores some of the challenges involved in replicating and scaling-up systematic land registration methodologies in the Ethiopian context. It examines how programmes can work through decentralised government systems, and comments on the difficulties of deploying a programme with a large and diverse geographical coverage.

Introduction

In recent years there has been a shift in the way that mass registration programmes can be carried out. The previously accepted approach driven by professional surveyors and legal officers has given way to a new, nimbler and easily scale-able approach. New developments in GPS and computing technology, the availability of low cost satellite and aerial imagery, and a wider acceptance that the land holding community itself can conduct and officiate the demarcation and adjudication of property have led to some innovative, low-cost approaches to systematic land registration.

Systematic registration projects in countries such as Mozambique, Tanzania, Lesotho and Namibia have deployed these technologies and principles, and demonstrated that large-scale, low-cost, land registration is possible. Rwanda became the first country to use this technology and these techniques to complete systematic registration of the whole country in 2013. Further initiatives in systematic registration are embracing the possibilities presented by mobile devices and applications, with some promising results emerging from Tanzania.

This paper examines the progress to date, and anticipated challenges involved in the delivery of a large ongoing systematic land registration programme in Ethiopia. The Land Investment for Transformation (LIFT) programme is funded by UKAID under the UK Department for International Development (DFID), and builds on the success of the previous UKAID-funded land registration programme in Rwanda.

About LIFT – Programme Objectives and Expected Results

The UKAID-funded Ethiopia Land Investment for Transformation (LIFT) programme, implemented by DAI, aims to improve the incomes of the rural poor and to enhance economic growth, through the second level land certification of up to 14 million parcels (approximately 6.1 million households, with women accounting, jointly or individually, for 70 percent of land holders) and improving rural land administration over the next 5 years. To ensure that the benefits of second level certification are maximised and land productivity is increased, the programme has a market facilitation component that will use the Making Markets Work for the Poor (M4P) approach to address the constraints that are present in the rural land markets in Ethiopia and that may prevent farmers from fully capturing the benefits of second level certification.

The programme is implemented in partnership with the Government of Ethiopia, through the Ministry of Agriculture's Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate (RLAUD).

The four outputs of the LIFT programme which will lead to the desired outcome are-:

Output 1: 2nd level certificates issued recognising rights of joint, polygamous and FHH land holders

Output 2: Land administration system implemented and operational in targeted Woredas

Output 3: Improved supporting functions for the rural land market for women and poor farmers

Output 4: Improved policies and institutions for the rural land market

The LIFT Programme will operate in approximately 140 woredas across four highland states: Amhara, Oromia, the Southern Nations, Nationalities People's Region (SNNPR) and Tigray.

The LIFT Programme was developed under the terms of reference for a consortium led by DAI Europe[11] of the UK, who were contracted in March 2013 to develop the Business Case for the programme and the Inception Report, and subsequently for the implementation of the programme.

Programme Objectives and Results

The objective of the Programme is to improve the incomes of the rural poor and to enhance economic growth, through second level land certification (SLLC), improved rural land administration, development of land market systems and cross-cutting policy reviews in line with international good practice and human rights obligations.

LIFT will be implemented in a stepped approach, with 3 million parcels certified in the first 2.5 years. Experience and evidence at that point will establish whether a further 5 million parcels will be certified at a total cost of £45 million, or whether a scaled-up trajectory of a further 11 million parcels at a cost of £68.2 million will be pursued after the completion of the mid-term review. Complementary interventions will be implemented to ensure that the benefits of second level certification are maximised through an M4P approach. The third component of the programme will address cross cutting policy issues in co-operation with the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) with the objective of improving security of tenure for communal land holdings, pastoralists and customary land use and improving the transparency of land allocation, in line with international good practice and human rights obligations.

The results expected of LIFT in the maximum investment scenario, attributable to DFID, include:

- Second level certification of up to 14 million parcels in approximately 140 woredas for approximately 6.1 million households (around 70% of parcels being jointly or individually owned by women), contributing to the DFID global result on access to land/property rights
- Land administration systems implemented in the same 140 woredas
- Number of land rental agreements increased by 13%, particularly benefiting female headed households
- Up to 1.36 million smallholder farmers increase their income by at least 20.5% as a result of programme activities, contributing to this headline result in DFID E's Operation Plan
- Percentage of households involved in land-related disputes reduced from 21.1% to 15%
- 40 regulations, strategies and plans drafted and approved to improve the functioning of the land market and,
- 25 research and evidence-based land policy reports produced to allow the GoE to make informed decisions on land governance.
- Ethiopia's domestic resource mobilisation enhanced through an increased rural tax base and more effective land tax system.
- Mechanisms developed that will provide allow GoE to provide formal land tenure security to customary and communal land rights holders.
- Land governance systems are aligned with international good practice and human rights obligations. (Adapted from LIFT Inception Report, DFID, 2013)

The achievement of the expected results will be monitored through a robust M&E system including independent annual, mid-term and end of programme reviews which will inform decisions as to whether the programme spend size will go to the upper limit or not.

The sustainability of the impact will be safeguarded through strengthened institutions, increased awareness of rights and upward pressure from beneficiaries. Interventions in the land market will be aimed at catalysing change for longer term impact. This will be verified by the independent impact assessment planned five years after the programme has been completed.

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[1] The DAI consortium also includes NIRAS Consulting (Finland), Nathan Associates London Ltd (UK) and Generation Integrated Rural Development Consultants Ltd (Ethiopia).

change for longer term impact. This will be verified by the independent impact assessment planned five years after the programme has been completed.

DAI and Land Registration

DAI have been at the forefront of systematic land registration, undertaking successful projects in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Central. DAI's in-house land expertise worked with the Government of Rwanda to develop a systematic road map for land reform. The team went on to support the Government of Rwanda in implementing the road map, registering all lands in Rwanda – some 10.4 million parcels – in just three and a half years.

Teams from DAI are currently engaged in large-scale systematic registration work in Cape Verde, Ethiopia and Tanzania, and undertake varied land sector assignments worldwide. The activities and progress described in this paper are not second-hand observations but draw instead upon the experience and reflections of active practitioners currently implementing an ambitious and complex programme.

Brief Terminology

First Level Land Certification - in the Ethiopian context, this the process of recording occupancy and user rights on a parcel or parcels of land. Certification involves the recording of these rights in: i) a register maintained at woreda level; and ii) a 'holding book' held by the right holder.

Second Level Land certification (SLLC) - second level certification adds an additional spatial component to first level certification. This is in the form of a parcel map, supplied to the right holder in hard copy and maintained digitally at woreda level. The dimensions of the parcel are demarcated in the field and digitised into a GIS. This spatial information forms the cadastre.

iMASSREG – digital database used for the massive systematic entry of land registration records, correction and approval of those records, and batch production of land holder certificate documentation

iWORLAIS – an interim Land Information System (in place of NRLAIS, below) designed for the maintenance of the land register at woreda level only.

Kebele - smallest formally defined administrative unit in Ethiopia

NRLAIS – National Rural Land Administration Information System. A Land Information System designed for maintenance of the land register, reporting of land information, and sporadic registration

RLAS - Rural Land Administration System.

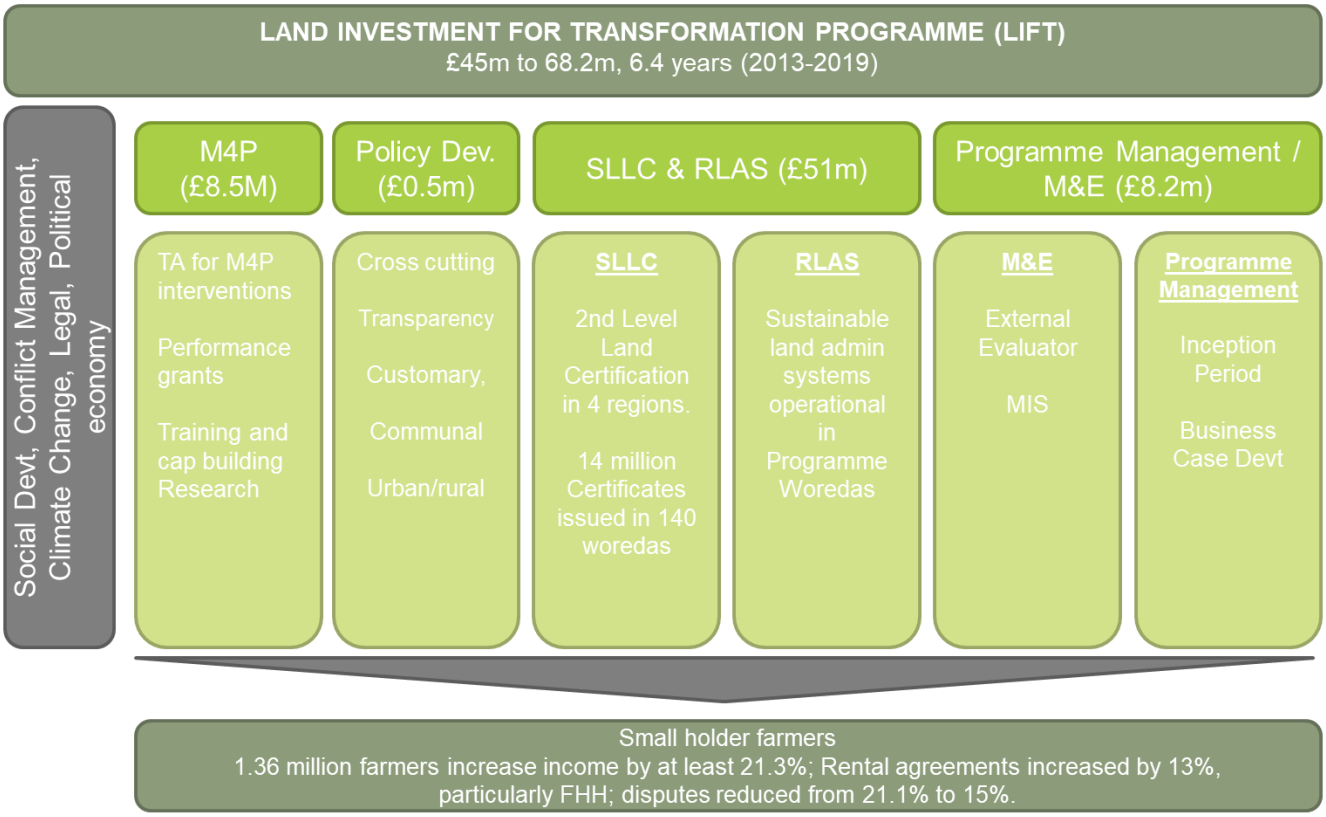
RLAUD - the Rural Land Administration and Use Directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture. Federal level agency institution with overall oversight for the delivery of land administration in rural Ethiopia.

Woreda - third-level administrative division of Ethiopia. Comprises a number of *Kebeles*.

LIFT Programme Components

The programme components are summarised in Figure 1 below. This paper focuses principally on the Second Level Certification, Rural Land Administration and M4P components.

Figure 1: Land Investment for Transformation Programme Components



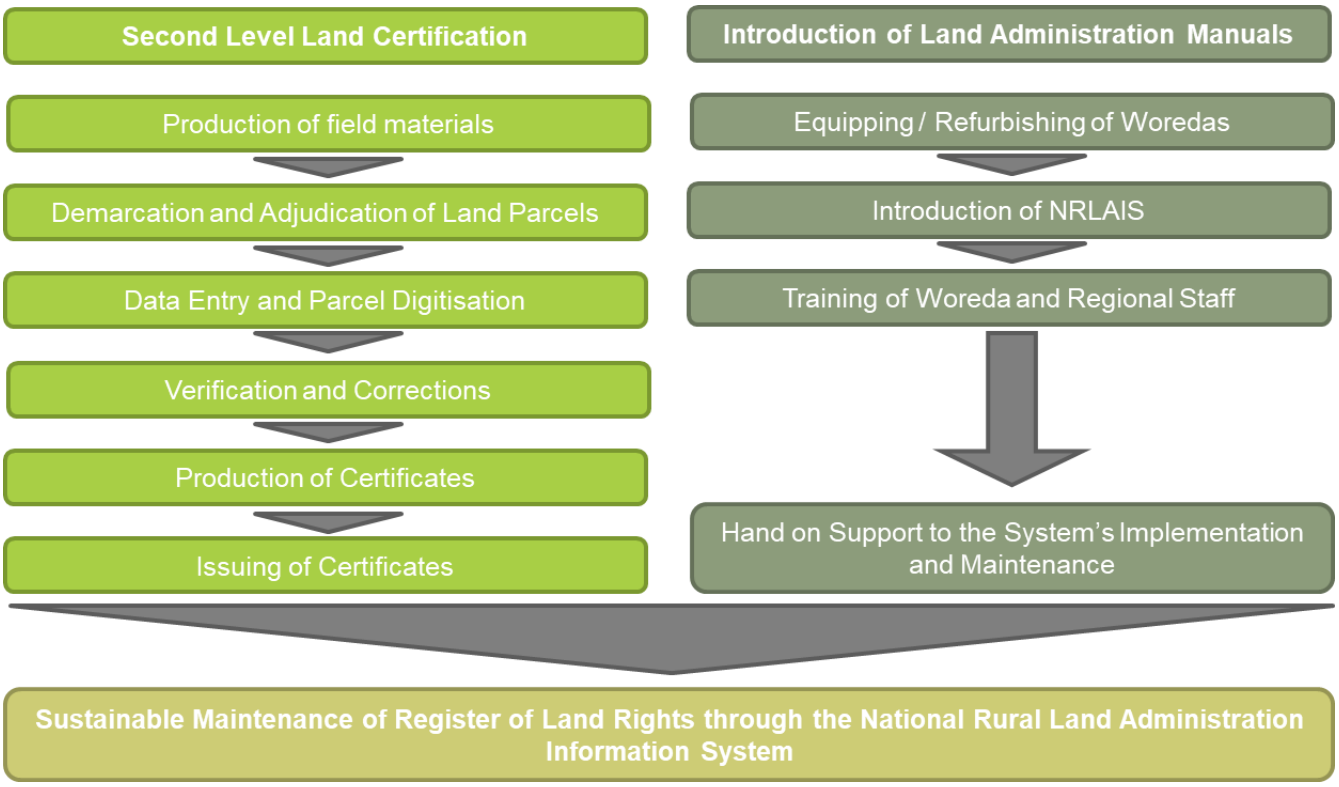
(Adapted from LIFT Inception Report, DFID 2013)

Second Level Land Certification (SLLC)

The primary component of the LIFT programme in terms of both activity and cost is the second level land certification which will take place in 140 programme woredas. It is estimated that these 140 programme woredas will cover some 14 million parcels. In the event that the number of parcels in the 140 woredas is lower, the number of woredas will be increased, to achieve Second Level Certification of 14 million parcels.

The SLLC process and the implementation of the Rural Land Administration System will take place concurrently, so that the one-off SLLC and the processes for the sustainable maintenance of the register of land rights are established simultaneously. This is outlined in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: SLLC and RLAS processes



The SLLC process combines geographic information systems technology and data with participatory field techniques. Ortho-photography is used to produce high resolution maps on which land holders, assisted by trained field teams, will identify their parcel boundaries. This takes place in the field in, on the parcel, in the presence of their neighbours and members of a locally nominated Kebele Land Administration Committee. The resultant *"crowd-sourced"* boundaries and occupancy data are digitised at Woreda Offices by LIFT technical support teams. After a period of public display and verification, this data is further processed and approved for inclusion on a register of land rights. Hard copy certificates demonstrating the parcel boundaries, occupancy and land rights will be printed and made available to land holders. Figure 3 briefly summarises the process below.

Open Source software applications are used to prepare field maps, process textual and spatial data, and for the production of Second Level Land Certificates. Operating systems used by LIFT technical support teams are also Open Source. This is the first time a large-scale registration process has been undertaken using entirely Open Source software. As well as the significant cost savings this approach brings, our IT is less exposed to viruses and malware.

Initially, readily available ortho-photography is being used for field map production, but the programme is currently procuring up to an additional 200,000 square kilometres of additional aerial photography. The LIFT team are also examining the changing and improving technology in this field to ensure that the latest opportunities in satellite imaging are deployed if they are demonstrated to be cost-effective and fit for purpose.

The SLLC process builds on an existing methodology developed and implemented in Rwanda by DAI and the Government of Rwanda under the UKAID-funded Land Tenure Regularisation Programme (LTRSP). The LTRSP

registered all the land in Rwanda (10.3 million parcels) for the first time at a cost of less than $7 per parcel. Leaders and decision makers in the Ethiopian land sector quickly realised the potential for applying an adapted version of the Rwanda methodology in Ethiopia, and the approach was successfully piloted by the REILA project (funded by the Finnish Ministry of Finance). Regional Government and the Ministry of Agriculture subsequently supported some scaling-up of the SLLC. The methodology is now supported by Federal level regulations on Adjudication and Survey procedures currently awaiting approval by the Council of Ministers.

Land demarcation and second level certification have not been carried out on this scale in Ethiopia before. With this in mind, a relatively lower volume of certificates will be processed during the initial 2.5-year implementation period of the programme (approximately 3 million certificates) to ensure that all processes are smoothly operating and securely established. The work will then be scaled-up to process approximately 11 million parcels in the remaining 3 years of the programme.

The primary considerations for the design of large scale SLLC were:

- The need to ensure quality of outputs at the lowest practical cost.
- Linkage of the SLLC to the land administration system to ensure sustainability.
- Building from the work carried out to date and the piloted processes, using a parcel-based approach.
- The recognition that it is a replicable process that can be financed and implemented by GoE to ensure sustainability.
- Involvement of RLAUD, regions, zones and woredas in the implementation to facilitate ownership and skills transfer.
- The mainstreaming of social and environmental considerations into the processes.

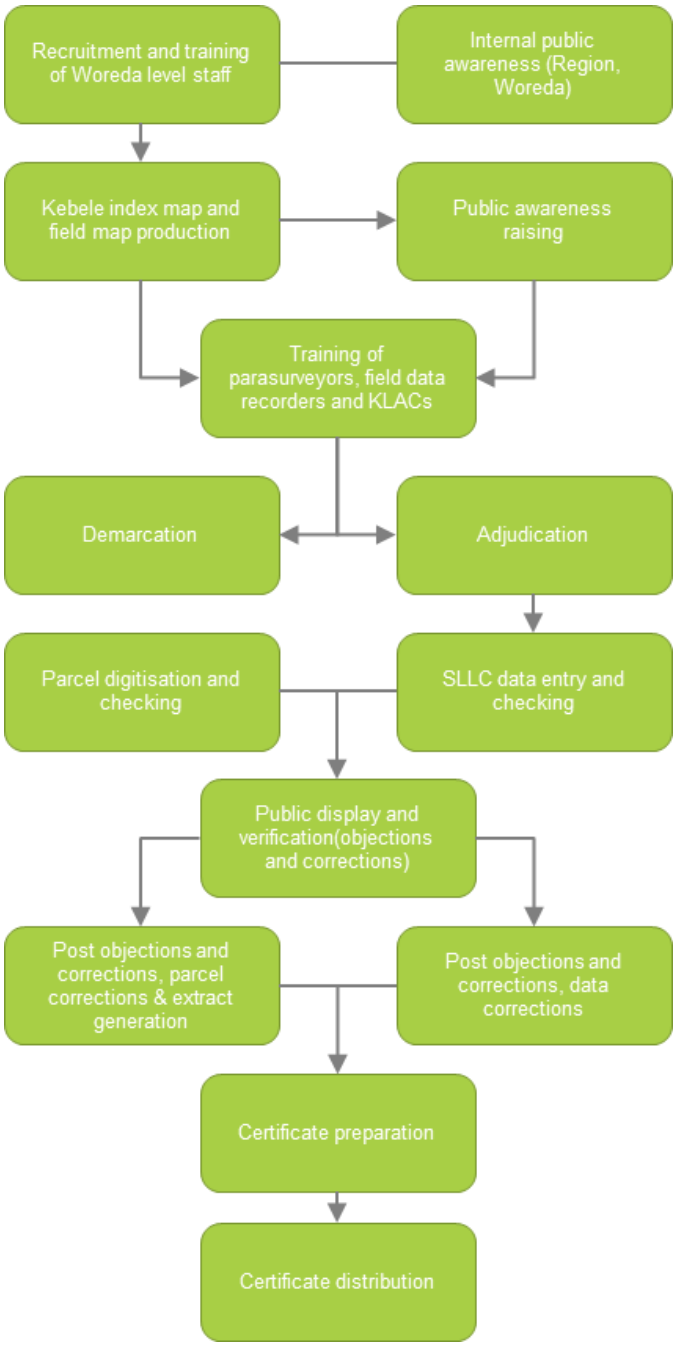
Progress to Date

At the end of 2015 (Figures taken from December 2015 LIFT Monthly Progress Report):

- LIFT is active in 19 Woredas (5 in Oromia, 4 in Amhara, 4 in SNNP, and 6 in Tigray)
- A total of 1,193,764parcels have been demarcated and adjudicated
- 996,004 parcels have been digitised using GIS
- 883,210 parcels have had their land holder data entered into iMASSREG database
- 97 kebeles have commenced or completed the public display period (62 complete)
- 194,960 parcels have been approved for printing
- 164,750 land holder certificates have been produced

The first certificates were issued at a ceremony in Emba Alaje Woreda, Tigray in November 2015 at a ceremony attended by national, regional and local level officials, DFID representatives, LIFT staff, and land holders.

Figure 3: Second Level Land Certification Process Overview



Developing and Implementing the Rural Land Administration System (RLAS)

Any investment in land certification must be supported by a functioning land administration system. Land records can quickly become out of date without systems for maintenance of the land register. One of the many challenges facing Rwanda post-LTRSP is the correct maintenance of the land register (Buckle and Gillingham, 2013). In the Rwanda case, the IT infrastructure and digital registry was not fully rolled out across the country at the completion of certification activities leading to the use of undocumented procedures and inchoate software solutions. The LIFT programme implementation aims to avoid a similar scenario by programming land administration inputs earlier and developing the RLAS concurrently with SLLC.

Once land certification is complete it is vital to ensure that the land administration is properly equipped at all levels to process land transactions efficiently. The RLAS will include the processes of (1) maintenance of the Land Register (initially populated through SLLC) for continuous updating of the land records from transactions; and (2) dissemination of land information for planning purposes.

Each of the four programme regions currently has in place land administration procedures legally derived from proclamations. The programme will review those procedures and proclamations in the light of good practice

and support the development and implementation of a sustainable RLAS, harmonising it with GoE's policies, regulations and institutional framework, as well as aligning it with international good practice and human rights obligations

Maintenance of the RLAS will be the responsibility of the Government of Ethiopia, which (at all levels of decentralisation) will be closely involved in the RLAS development and implementation.

The RLAS will be introduced at woreda level during the implementation of SLLC to allow on-the-job training with immediate impact. Staff will work with live data as kebeles complete SLLC, with support from the LIFT technical team.

National Rural Land Administration Information System (NRLAIS)

At present, the land administration system is generally held on paper register which are maintained, and which are not appropriate to act as an effective land registry through which land rights can be safeguarded and changes recorded. Amhara regional state holds records on a basic electronic system, however this also not maintained, with records differing from the paper register and also the de facto ownership.

RLAUD, with the support of Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is implementing the recommendations of the IS/IT Strategy and Detailed Implementation Plan for NRLAIS in Ethiopia (REILA,2012) by implementing a computerised NRLAIS which will be the template for the regions to implement for rural land administration and will be the basis for RLAUD and LIFT Management Information Systems.

NRLAIS will be a comprehensive software system handling both systematic and sporadic registration throughout Ethiopia. Its scope is limited to dealing with land transactions in rural areas. The system will have 4 modules:

- Woreda Module: This is the core of the system that will be used to record second level registration and handle maintenance transactions. The data in this module can come directly from sporadic transactions or through mass registration.
- Regional and Federal Modules: These two modules will use the data from the Woreda modules as input and provide regional and federal reporting.
- Mass Registration (MassReg) Module: This will be used for the mass data capture under second level registration and will feed data into the Woreda module.

(DFID, 2013)

The system will have a textual component integrated with the spatial components and will be flexibly designed to allow regions to customise it for local needs. Each region will, however, adhere to a common data model and a set of standards that will allow sharing of data between regions and with the federal government.

LIFT will mainly use the Mass Registration Module and the Woreda Module in the SLLC and LA activities.There have been severe delays to the tendering of the contract to develop NRLAIS, with a contractor only in place in late 2015. Given the critical need for the Woreda Module, and in particular the MassReg module to the success of the LIFT programme, LIFT has built its own software using Open Source tools. LIFT data entry activities are performed using iMassReg software, which supports double-keystroke date entry, record approval and batch processing of certificate printing.

An alternative to the Woreda module – iWORLAIS- has also been developed. This module will handle maintenance transactions in the Woredas where certification under the LIFT programme is complete.

Progress to Date

The RLAS team have completed organisational capacity assessments for all current programme woredas, zones and regional offices, identifying the training needs of the personnel required to operate and manage RLAS. A training of trainers delivered primarily to regional level staff has been delivered based on this training needs assessment.

The team have also undertaken an assessment of office facilities and conditions of the current programme woreda offices. These offices have been refurbished and rehabilitated and equipment provided for SLLC activities will be repurposed for RLAS.

The existing procedures and manuals and support to the development of regional level RLAS have been reviewed, and a new RLAS manual prepared in consultation with Federal and Regional Government. This

manual has now been regionalised to better and more clearly address regionally specific laws, procedures and institutional arrangements.

RLAS Communication Strategy

A communication strategy and accompanying materials for RLAS have been finalised. This will ensure that woredas offices have the appropriate materials and guidance for communicating the RLAS process to members of the public and other stakeholders. This includes clear guidance for land holders on their rights and obligations.

In the absence of the NRLAIS land information system, the LIFT alternative iWORLAIS has now been developed and is being deployed in active programme Woredas. Training of trainer sessions for iWORLAIS have been held and roll out to the woredas will take place during January and February 2016.

The M4P Component – Making Markets Work for the Poor

A recent systematic review of the impacts of land tenure reforms identified disproportionate productivity impacts of land tenure registration in Sub-Saharan African countries as compared to Latin American and Asian countries. The study found that while registration generally led to increased productivity and investment, only 5 to 10 percent average gains were observed in Sub-Saharan Africa, while gains of 25 to 35 percent were observed in Latin America and Asia (Lawry *et al,* 2014).

The study suggests that this is driven by (Adapted from Baldwin et al, 2015):

a) **Pre-existing institutions**. Do pre-existing customary systems undermine formalised registration of land rights? It is possible that accepted customary systems can provide the necessary protection, with support.

b) **The wealth effects**. Farmers in Africa operate closer to the subsistence level with fewer resources to capitalise on their tenure rights.

c) **Absence of complementary institutions or reforms**. Investments in African land reforms have not been coupled with complementary investments in public institutions, infrastructure, or the private sector.

In the Ethiopian context in which LIFT is operating, the issue of pre-existing customary institutions is less likely to be a driver as a formalised tenure system is already in place (although some informality may persist). The wealth effect and absence of complementary reforms are more apparent.

With this in mind, LIFT has a market facilitation component that will use the Making Markets Work for the Poor (M4P) approach (see text box below). This is the first time the M4P approach has been deployed on a large-scale land reform programme. This approach will work to improve the effectiveness of the land sector to maximise the productivity and hence the incomes of the farmers, especially women and vulnerable groups. The M4P component will address the constraints that are present in the rural land markets[2] that prevent farmers from fully capturing the benefits of second level certification. Using the M4P approach will allow the programme to develop complementary interventions in the rural land market and other closely related markets (e.g. finance) that will enable LIFT to maximise the benefits of its second level land certification activities and the accompanying improvements to the rural land administration system (DFID, 2013).

LIFT's M4P team have conducted an in-depth analysis of the rural land market in the four programme states in order to identify constraints. This market assessment analysis informs the development specific interventions aimed at addressing these constraints, and improving market efficiency, for example through addressing problems such as the lack of information on available land for renting or regulations governing the rental market. These approaches will specifically encourage environmentally sustainable practices and improved benefits for women, girls and the disadvantaged (DFID, 2013).

These interventions are designed using direct and indirect instruments, including:

- Technical assistance grants to support pilot studies and technical know-how;
- Performance grants to incentivise investment in innovative business models and technologies;

[2] In this context and throughout this paper, the term "rural land market" refers to the market as constrained by constitutional provisions and in no way suggests rural land sales or other activities contrary to the constitution will be considered or advocated by LIFT

- Capacity building to key stakeholders identified through the market analysis; and iv) actionable research that will be used to influence public/private dialogue and policy making processes.

Indirect instruments include:

- The use of evidence to influence key stakeholders;
- The use of communications/advocacy to communicate the results of new research; and
- The use of networks to generate change.

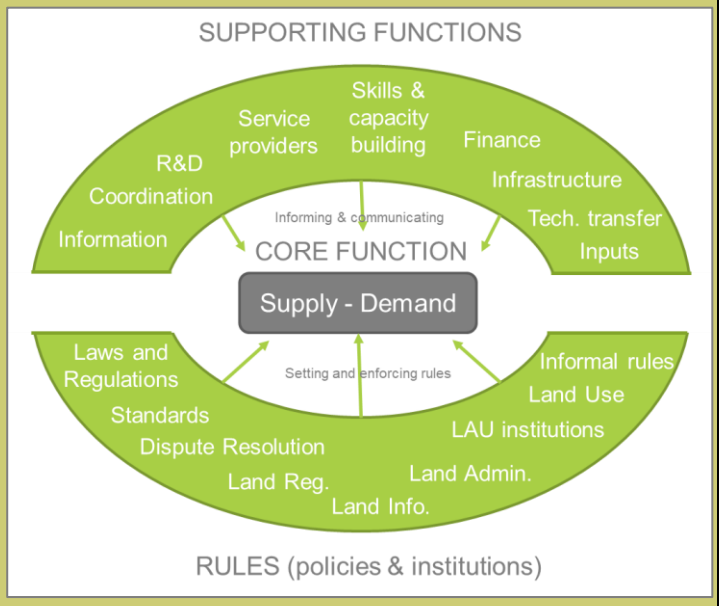
The interventions to be directly undertaken by the LIFT programme are related to the land market in the programme areas and not into related agricultural markets. Where these related markets are seen to be the source of major constraints on farmers' productivity growth, LIFT works with other programmes and agencies (such as the DFID PEPE programme, and the Agricultural Transformation Agency) working in those markets to address them, rather than becoming directly involved.

Interventions are continually monitored against their projected results and will be terminated or refocused where these are not being achieved.

The M4P Approach

Using the M4P approach means that the programme will be characterised by:

- A focus on the poor, underpinned by a thorough analysis to establish the underlying causes/ systemic constraints rather than the symptoms of sub-optimal market performance for farmers. This detailed analysis of the rural land market will take place during the early stages of the programme and will help identify the list of interventions to be implemented by the programme.
- An iterative methodology, with continuous M&E, in which analysis and research constantly inform the programme's interventions. As a result, the interventions will be flexible as they will be adjusted in line with the findings of the programme as it is being implemented. This flexibility allows us to be sensitive to local market conditions, and to adapt and respond to emerging opportunities.



LIFT will act as a 'facilitator' – analysing and establishing the incentive structures of the key participants in the rural land market and getting them to work together more effectively. The approach makes room for direct service provision in the short-term when it is clear that others cannot provide a service, but such interventions will be temporary and have a clear exit strategy. The approach explicitly avoids introducing any distortions into the market.

- An emphasis on developing a sustainable system that is scalable, so that by the end of the programme, it will be demand-driven and self-financing. The fundamental aim is to change the way the system works in a way that will affect the whole market and therefore bring about large scale, sustainable impacts. The incentives the system provides to participants must be altered to achieve this; otherwise the system will revert to the status quo.
- Attention to gender, the disadvantaged and climate change are essential to the fundamental improvement of the way that the market operates.

(Adapted from LIFT Programme Inception Report, DFID, 2013)

Progress to Date:

As of early 2016, the regional market assessments are complete, with intervention plans finalised for Oromia and Amhara regions.

Interventions currently being implemented in Amhara and Oromia fall under three main themes: rural land rentals, access to credit, and environment and conservation agriculture. They are summarised as follows:

Rural Land Rental Interventions:

Intervention 1 – Facilitate systems that generate and distribute information on land availability Intervention 2 – Increase awareness on functioning of land rental system

Intervention 3 – Improve regulatory framework for rental transactions

Intervention 4 – Undertake research on relevant and actionable land issues and disseminate finding (to promote policy change)

Access to Credit Interventions:

Intervention 5 – Promote development of new agricultural individual loan products linked to SLLC

Intervention 6 – Promote development of new products in agriculture finance (credit related) Intervention 7 – Promote partnerships in finance to overcome risk and market limitations Intervention 8 – Improve knowledge and information on supply and demand of rural credit services

Environment and Conservation Agriculture

Intervention 9.1 - Use of compost, inoculant and bio-fertilisers

Intervention 9.2 - Promotion of small irrigation systems

Intervention 9.3 - Promote “clean” agriculture to reduce the use of chemicals and increase access to higher value markets

Intervention 9.4 promotion of adapted machineries

Intervention 9.5 - Facilitate the development of contract farming systems

Intervention 10 - Facilitate sharing knowledge and information of agricultural technology and markets

These interventions are currently incipient, with recruitment of consultants and co-facilitators complete.

Draft intervention plans for Tigray and SNNP regional states are currently under review, with the final intervention plan for all LIFT regions expected to be finalised in March 2016. (LIFT, 2015 - 2)

As the Team’s understanding of the market deepens it is likely that new opportunities and challenges will become apparent that will require new interventions. By following this iterative process, whereby the team reviews the portfolio and, when needed, designs and invests in new interventions, LIFT will ensure that the programme resources are deployed for greatest impact (DFID, 2013)

Next Steps and Challenges Ahead

LIFT is currently on track to meet ambitious targets but must continue to scale-up operations in order to meet them.

In terms of Second Level Land Certification, one of the biggest challenges is working through decentralised offices across such a wide geographical area. Reaching field teams from Addis Ababa can often take more than one day, involving travel by air, road and finally by foot. Even within regions it can be time consuming to visit field teams who are working several hours away from the nearest road.

In addition, cell phone and internet coverage of rural Ethiopia is patchy, and services are inconsistent. Communicating progress and results back to the regional or national level offices can be difficult.

AS LIFT scales-up, it will be become more difficult to manage operations and maintain quality control under these conditions. To maintain performance levels the LIFT programme is recruiting additional management resources at the Regional level with the specific purpose of quality control of fieldwork and back office tasks.

In addition, a Management Information System is in development to make the task of reporting and analysing performance data simpler and more efficient. The development of this system has suffered severe delays to date as IT resources have been diverted into developing interim software systems for mass registration (iMASSREG) and land administration maintenance (iWORLAIS).

SLLC performance has varied between regions, with two regions significantly outperforming. This is likely related to the political will demonstrated at regional level, and LIFT is engaging with formal Government structures in order to overcome this. Some progress is already evident.

Some of the biggest challenges the programme faces will be in properly implementing the Rural Land Administration System. The main issues are:

Ensuring that the RLAS is securely implemented. RLAS needs to be supported not just in terms of training of staff and provision of equipment, but in maintaining good procedures and ensuring that the system doesn't lapse into informality. LIFT will deploy an on-the-job approach to much of the RLAS training, which will be beneficial in the short term, but for long-term sustainability the Government of Ethiopia, and regional Governments must continue to commit to supporting RLAS.

One way to maintain this commitment is to ensure that RLAS is financially self-sustaining. LIFT will develop revenue strategies for each region, to ensure RLAS sustainability, based on experience in the target woredas and international best practice. These will look at potential commercial, fee and tax revenues in order to maximise revenues without being a deterrent to compliance by land holders. The generation of revenue streams that will at least offset land administration costs will help to ensure woreda administration's commitment to sustaining the system.

Successful implementation of iWORLAIS and subsequent migration to NRLAIS. Given the severe delays to the contracting and development of NRLAIS, LIFT's interim iWORLAIS system needs to meet the challenge of supporting the RLAS until at least the end of 2016. While the system is currently operational, and training has begun for users, it will only be properly tested in the field with live data. LIFT are committed to support this as they realise the impacts of SLLC depend on its continued operation. If successful, it may prove economically and practically sensible to continue to support and invest in iWORLAIS as a permanent solution, replacing part of NRLAIS.

This issue is not unique to LIFT and is in many ways similar to issues which threatened the sustainability of the LTRSP efforts in Rwanda. Using separate contractors (and in both cases separate development partner funding agencies) to deliver programme components which are mutually dependent on each other risks the failure of the whole programme if one component fails. Roles and responsibilities between contractors and partners can become unclear, and disagreements and disputes can arise. A strong lesson from both of these programmes is that future programme interventions in land reform should consider contracting registration and land administration outputs, including software development through one contractor or a consortium. This increases the accountability of the organisations responsible for delivery, and also reduces the management burden for the client.

While the M4P component of LIFT has been subject to delays related to the delayed signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between DFID and the Government of Ethiopia, it is now gaining momentum. Intervention Plans for the remaining two regions of Tigray and SNNP will be finalised in early 2016, and work has already commenced in Oromia and Amhara.

There has been some resistance to the M4P approach in the Ethiopian land sector. This has perhaps been due to the difficulty involved in understanding some of the concepts behind M4P without proper training and discussion. To address these challenges, the LIFT team have held several high-level meetings to increase the awareness of Government stakeholders on the work being carried out by the M4P component, including a better understanding of the specific interventions. LIFT will continue to engage at this level.

By its very nature, M4P is a somewhat experimental approach. It is experimental in that this is the first time this approach has been applied to a large-scale land reform programme, and also experimental in its approach to interventions. Some interventions may fail or have poor results. Others may be enormously successful, leading to further interventions and a better understanding of the market systems around land. There is room for optimism about what the M4P interventions will reveal, and how this might add to the discourse around land reform. By 2017 there will be much of interest to report on this component.

This paper has focused on the more technocratic aspects behind the delivery of LIFT, but another key component of the project which is vital for delivery is the approach to monitoring and evaluation. This aspect is covered in more detail by another paper presented at the 2016 World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty: The Importance and Use of a Monitoring System in Delivering and Upscaling Land Registration and Administration Programmes by Owen Edwards.

Given the overall size and strategic importance of the programme there is a need for a rigorous approach to monitoring and evaluation. LIFT's M&E Framework not only measures programme performance against the programme logframe, value for money matrix, theory of change assumptions and other indicators, but also includes a detailed description of the Management Information System (MIS) and elaborates capacity

requirements for the Government of Ethiopia to sustainably monitor performance in land certification, and the operations of the land administration system.

To implement the M&E framework, LIFT has established its own M&E team and is investing significantly in developing robust supporting data systems as well as developing its own supporting research and evaluation activities. M&E activities undertaken by LIFT are also complemented by external evaluation of the programme through an External Evaluation Technical Service Provider, contracted and managed by DFID to provide an additional layer of safeguards as well as specifically assessing the impact of the programme.

Our programme logframe and other monitoring tools are informed by a comprehensive household-level baseline survey. Following the baseline survey there will be annual, midline, and endline evaluations as well as an impact evaluation, 5 years after the end of the programme. The baseline survey has suffered early setbacks due to the delay in contracting the External Evaluation Technical Service Provider but was conducted in late 2015.

The results of the baseline survey will be presented in March 2016. As well as populating the programme logframe, these results will provide both strong recommendations for improving the implementation of LIFT, and deep insight into the profile of land holding in Ethiopia. Together with the emerging results of the M4P interventions, this data will provide a valuable resource for land practitioners and researchers in Ethiopia and elsewhere.

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