



EVALUATION

Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project Evaluation

This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development by Social Impact, Inc.

TAJIKISTAN LAND REFORM AND FARM RESTRUCTURING PROJECT EVALUATION

USAID/Central Asia

AID-176-TO-16-00006; AID-486-I-14-00001

REQ-176-16-000030

Final report submitted February 6, 2017

This publication was produced at the request of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It was prepared independently by Marc D. Shapiro, Ph.D. and Genowefa Cahill with Mirzoev Iskandar Haidarovich and Muminova Dilbar Ismoilovna on behalf of Social Impact, Inc.

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PHOTO CREDIT

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DISCLAIMER

The authors’ views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The evaluation team would like to acknowledge the support it received without which it would have been unable to undertake this evaluation under a compressed timeline. The team would like to acknowledge support from Daler Asrorov as well as from Aigul Berdygulova, Stephen Scott, Laura Cizmo, and Manuchehr Sultanov from USAID/Tajikistan and USAID/Central Asia Regional Missions. The team also would like to acknowledge Nodira Siddikova, former Deputy Chief of Party of the Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project, who was willing to speak twice including a many-hour-long wrap-up interview session to help clarify for the team unanswered questions that had accumulated through the course of the interviews and desk reviews. Finally, no acknowledgement list would be complete without indicating the tremendous up-front preparatory work in developing the inception report and in coordinating logistical arrangements by the Social Impact team of Jean-Camille Kollmorgen, Jennifer Mandel, Carina Rosado, and Sierra Frischknecht.

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ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil society organization
EQ	Evaluation question
ET	Evaluation team
FGD	Focus group discussions
FtF	Feed the Future
FtF/T	Feed the Future Tajikistan
GI	Group interviews
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
IMWG	Inter-ministerial working group
IP	Implementing partner
KII	Key informant interviews
LAC	Legal Aid Center
LMDA	Land Market Development Activity
LRFRP	Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project
MoES	Ministry of Education and Science
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PMEP	Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Plan
PMP	Performance Monitoring Plan
SOW	Statement of Work
SUERIP	State Unitary Enterprise for the Registration of Immovable Property
TAWA	Tajikistan Agriculture and Water Activity
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

GLOSSARY ON TERMS

<i>Dehkan farm</i>	Worker/peasant farm
Farm restructuring	Process of moving from Soviet-era collectives to family- or individual-managed farms
Feed the Future	Feed the Future is the U.S. Government's global hunger and food security initiative.
Focus group discussion	Interviews by the evaluation team with a small group of selected stakeholders not representing a single organization or institution
Group interviews	Discussions by the evaluation team with more than one stakeholder representing the same organization or institution
<i>Hukumats</i>	City councils
Inter-ministerial working group	Set of individuals across ministries and departments organized to support land reform and farm restructuring efforts
<i>Jamoats</i>	Third-level administrative divisions, similar to municipalities
Key informant interviews	Discussions by the evaluation team with a single stakeholder
Khatlon	Province of Tajikistan in which Feed the Future/Tajikistan project is focused
Legal Aid Centers	Nongovernmental organizations contracted by LRFRP to provide a variety of legal support services to farmers.
Registry offices	District-level branches of the State Unitary Enterprise for the Registration of Immovable Property
Single-window offices	Registry offices operating with one-stop principles, where farmers visit only one location for all services and forms
State Unitary Enterprise for the Registration of Immovable Property	Quasi-governmental organization established to register land
<i>Tashabuskors</i>	Rural land activists
Theory of change	Product of critical-thinking exercises that provides a comprehensive picture of the changes needed to reach a long-term goal

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides findings from the end-of-term performance evaluation of the Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project (LRFRP) in Tajikistan. This independent evaluation was conducted by a Social Impact evaluation team, supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

PROJECT BACKGROUND

In October 2013, USAID launched the LRFRP, a three-year project funded by Feed the Future (FtF) and covering 12 districts in the Khatlon region of south-western Tajikistan. The LRFRP aimed to support a process of *dehkan* farm restructuring and recognition of property rights, leading to a market in land-use rights. The project focused its efforts on four key components: 1) legislative reform, 2) building the capacity of Tajik officials, farmers, rural stakeholders, and civil society, 3) increased public information and awareness, and 4) provision of legal advice and assistance to rural farmers. Across the 12 districts, Legal Aid Centers (LACs) and rural land activists (*tashabuskors*) engaged with beneficiaries through consultations, legal support mediation, and training. At the same time, LRFRP engaged with legislators on the national level to put in place the required legislation and regulations.

EVALUATION PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of this end-of-project evaluation is to assess the effectiveness of the design and implementation of LRFRP and to use those insights to inform activity work planning and implementation of the follow-on activity, Land Market Development Activity (LMDA). The primary audiences for this evaluation are USAID Mission to Central Asia, including USAID in Tajikistan, the USAID Bureau for Food Security/FtF, and the future implementing partner of the follow-on activity in Tajikistan.

The evaluation has three evaluation questions:

- EQ 1. According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the LRFRP led to quality impact, or were a challenge for achieving quality impact?

By “quality impact,” USAID refers to the following aspects at a minimum:

- Results achievement - effective performance of the project in achieving progress toward its goals;
 - USAID contribution incremental benefit to various stakeholders (e.g., from USAID team, host government, beneficiaries, other donors);
 - Operational performance of the contractor and USAID team (particularly their management effectiveness and efficiency);
 - Gender integration;
 - Sustainability; and
 - Unintended consequences, for better or worse.
- EQ 2. What are the remaining policy and operational challenges in creating a working land market in Tajikistan, according to stakeholders?
 - EQ 3. What critical assumptions in LRFRP have changed given the current context? What risks or critical assumptions are missing from the LRFRP given the current context?

EVALUATION METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

The evaluation’s methodology is qualitative, consisting of desk review and qualitative data collection and analysis. The team used desk review materials to understand the context as well as to triangulate primary qualitative data collection findings. The evaluation team conducted primary data collection in Dushanbe, the regional capital Qurghonteppa, and five out of twelve activity districts in the southwestern Khatlon

province. Qualitative data collection methods included semi-structured key informant interviews (KIs), group interviews (GIs), and gender-segregated focus group discussions (FGDs) with farmers. By the end of data collection, the evaluation team (ET) completed ten in-person KIs, two remote call KIs, nine GIs, and twelve FGDs. For EQ 3, the team gathered critical assumptions directly from LRFRP materials as well as the “Tajikistan 2011-2015 Multi-year Strategy for FtF.” Data from stakeholders were analyzed both within and across stakeholder types.

A number of limitations apply to this evaluation. Given limited time and with the activity closed, the team relied on implementing sub-partners to facilitate focus group participant involvement, leading to potential for selection bias toward positive findings as well as self-selection bias on the part of participants most interested in participating. The evaluation had insufficient time to hold interviews with some national- and regional-level stakeholders who required a diplomatic note from the Government of Tajikistan (which the team received with only limited time remaining in country). The evaluation team met with only one group of teachers. School was out of session during the visit, so no students were interviewed.

CONCLUSIONS

Evaluation Question 1: Design and operational aspects leading to quality impact

The following section highlights key design and operational aspects that were viewed widely across stakeholders as having contributed to or hindered quality impacts of achieved results, effective performance, gender integration, and sustainability.

Operationally, stakeholders found that the LRFRP was well designed, executed, and managed. The following specific design and operational aspects were noted for contributing to or hindering quality impacts:

- The LRFRP used the large contrast in agricultural market development across provinces to conduct efficient and effective **study tours** domestically, for female farmers to the Sughd region, and with neighboring countries for model registration offices and the inter-ministerial working group (IMWG).
- Forming an **inter-ministerial working group**, per the original Statement of Work (SOW), was a critically important programmatic element of an inclusive, consensus-building approach to land reform efforts.
- The **model registration offices**, featuring a single-window system, reduced time costs considerably for registration services and for closing opportunities for corruption, albeit also potentially reducing opportunities for farmers to receive support from other governmental entities, such as on-site advice from the district agronomist. Further consolidation under LMDA appears required to ensure sustainability.
- By **directly facilitating and paying for registration** processes for 1,200 individuals, the LRFRP greatly reduced those farmers’ time cost and unofficial side payments. An unintended consequence was that “free-for-service” provision may undercut the goal of creating sustainable fee-for-service models due to farmers’ decreased willingness to pay for services.
- Stakeholders saw the LRFRP’s use of a variety of **communications** pieces and media and direct targeting of farmers as particularly key to facilitating outcomes.
- The model of using **tashabuskors** was efficient and effective in communicating broadly to communities and in providing female role models for outreach. An unexpected consequence was growing differences in the expectations of appropriate *tashabuskor* roles and reimbursements given social norms, as well as shifting cost of some direct costs onto volunteers.

- **Legal and mediation services** were a significant success of the LRFRP, providing a legal foundation for the protection of farmers' right under the new laws and regulations. However, given changes in what the government allowed non-governmental organizations to charge to recover costs, the LRFRP was unable to overcome the challenge of creating a sustainable model of using legal aid centers to continue land reform activity.
- The successful integration of the LRFRP's **interventions within the education system** at the secondary level in the Khatlon region and tertiary levels nationally creates the longer-term potential for more-sustainable and broader outputs and future outcomes with respect to citizens knowing their land rights.

The LRFRP promoted women into non-traditional leadership roles, changed perceptions with respect to **gender roles** in farm management, and encouraged female farmers to protect their rights successfully. Although inequalities in the knowledge about and protection of women's land use rights persist, improvements thus far seem sustainable or poised for further progress. A seemingly overlooked, gender-related issue that does not seem to be addressed is that men's gender-based role in moving abroad creates risk that the land held in their names is not cultivated for two years.

While the challenge of having overlapping or conflicting sub-activities within the Tajikistan FtF project was avoided, there also appears to have been very modest **coordination or integration of efforts** between the LRFRP and the other FtF/T activities or with other donor projects, representing a potential missed opportunity for FtF/T.

All interviewee groups indicated knowledge about USAID's activity and all had highly positive **perceptions about USAID's efforts**. These perceptions were not tied to specific aspects of design or operations. The only apparent negative among farmers interviewed in the five districts is disappointment that the LRFRP did not provide integrated farm management support.

Evaluation Question 2: Remaining policy and operational challenges

Remaining policy and operational challenges, *as expressed by stakeholders*, can be categorized in two groups: 1) technical functional requirements for the operation of a smoothly flowing market in land, and 2) operational challenges to land and agricultural markets.

The remaining policy and operational challenges that represent **technical functionality requirements for a working land market** follow.

- **Additional legal and regulatory reforms** in the form of laws, resolutions, and regulations, and procedures and mechanisms for settling disputes.
- **Registration technology and process shortcomings** include a lack of modern survey equipment and operating skills; a computerized, country-wide land registry; and updated satellite imagery.
- **Older registration offices**, which require long processes to visit multiple offices for processing land use rights creates significant time cost burdens and discourages some applicants from seeking their rights.
- **Increasing disputes among farmers** over access to water, inaccurate boundaries, or right-of-way.
- **Mortgage, leasing, valuation, and information distribution deficiencies** in the form of soon-to-be-passed legal foundations, infrastructure to conduct consistent appraisals, information about the risks and responsibilities of taking on loans, and mechanisms for distributing information about pricing also represent challenges currently.

Stakeholders also raised a variety of mostly operational challenges to land and agricultural markets working inclusively toward land's productivity potential and toward poverty reduction. These include the following:

- **Insufficient information on rights** for some farmers, especially among women in less-central locations;
- Farm **start-up costs and challenging management issues** for farmers new to managing;
- Continuing encroachments by some lower-level governmental representatives and fellow farmers on farmers' **freedom to farm** and land rights;
- High **debt** from existing larger farms inherited by new individual or family farms and opaque, complicated **tax** calculations for new farms;
- Persisting negative **attitudes toward development of a market in buying or selling land** with the inherently greater risks perceived relative to just leasing or having land use certificates;
- Continued **gender-related differentiation in rights and roles**, reducing overall productivity and inclusiveness; and
- **Unclear sustainability** and continuity of some processes initiated or structures supported by USAID under the LRFRP.

Evaluation Question 3: Critical assumptions that changed during the LRFRP

Most critical assumptions from the LRFRP and the “Tajikistan 2011-2015 Multi-year Strategy for FtF” have remained the same since the LRFRP's inception. Only a few critical assumptions relevant to the LRFRP's outputs and outcomes are missing or could have been more explicitly represented in the performance monitoring and evaluation plan. A number of others from the Multi-year Strategy could have been included as well.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following section summarizes key recommendations for USAID to address in the planning and implementation of a follow-on activity for land reform activities in Tajikistan.

1. Beyond continuing work with the IMWG on approving and implementing the remaining 11 laws and regulations that are needed to advance the program of land market reforms, LMDA also needs to focus on overcoming conflicts generated with existing civil code by creating new laws.
2. USAID and LMDA should consider experimenting or acting creatively, and perhaps attempting multiple venues for promoting greater continuity of land and agricultural market reform support, such as free-lance lawyers; farm service centers; or registration offices, to the extent that such services are allowable within their mandate.
3. LMDA should reinforce efforts to engage and co-opt officials at the *jamoat* and *hukumat* levels to reduce the extent to which rights are broached and to which farmers need to go to court to protect rights.
4. USAID should encourage its FtF/T-funded activities to actively coordinate with LMDA to provide more seamless assistance across activities to newer farmers, especially single women, potentially passing along specific farms or managers in cohorts, to improve ability to manage farms including access to start-up capital, extension services, and input supply and care, which are important complements to any land reform program.
5. The LMDA implementer should attempt interactively to better align implementer and *tashabuskors*' expectations on roles and remuneration. Agreement should be found on

geographic boundaries and travel remuneration rates that align with local social norms and expectations of assistance to fellow farmers and remuneration for direct expenses, especially on additional printed materials.

6. USAID should revisit the “free-for-service” delivery model and consider means-tested cost sharing to reduce crowding out more-sustainable fee-for-service models of service delivery.
7. LMDA should try to address men's as well as women's gender-based issues in its materials and programming to make sure both are conscious of issues they are most likely to face.
8. LMDA should pay additional attention to increasing transparency in farm land taxation. In the short term, LMDA might provide direct assistance to new or prospective farmers to provide information specific to each property on taxation amount and timing when shifting land use rights (or ownership) type as well as generalized tables by common changes if not already generated. LMDA also should suggest and support longer-term systemic changes in procedures to 1) provide this additional information by local level governments and 2) better align tax payments with the agricultural calendar.
9. If USAID wants to emphasize poverty reduction, special attention should be given to more-frequent direct contact and land rights-related support in more-remote villages to spread assistance to many of the poorest areas. For example, this could be done through the addition of more *tashabuskors* or higher remuneration for travel to remote areas.
10. In the event that the World Bank loan is not signed, USAID might consider, through LMDA or a future FtF/T-funded activity, addition technical assistance to the State Unitary Enterprise for the Registration of Immovable Property (SUERIP) in line with FtF/T's scope.
11. Attention should be paid to whether registration office operating budgets are set to sustain the current equipment and the advisability of including within the revised single-window service a step that involves receiving advice from other governmental entities, such as the district agronomist and consider assisting with setting rates appropriately.
12. LMDA and other FtF/T activities should develop products and training and round-table sessions on additional subject matter to include information on potential problems faced by new farms; finances and risks to smaller-sized farms and farms seeking credit lines, including risks of loans, options to avoid problems with mortgage repayment, and resiliency measures. These issues might be addressed through discussing cooperative models of farming and presenting not just success stories but also cautionary tales. The idea would be to focus farmer attention on both opportunities and risks and how to avoid pitfalls.
13. Although the issue of method of distributing information on sales and leases is not yet salient to stakeholders, to promote a smoothly functioning market, LMDA may still consider exploring how to improve information flows on sales prices, leases, and loan terms under task 2.

I EVALUATION PURPOSE AND EVALUATION QUESTIONS

I.1 EVALUATION PURPOSE

The purpose of this end-of-project evaluation is to assess the effectiveness of the design and implementation of the Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project (LRFRP) and to use those insights to inform activity planning and implementation of the follow-on activity, the Land Market Development Activity (LMDA). The evaluation is designed to reveal what components and project aspects worked well and why, which did not and why, what are the gaps to achieving a working land market, and what contextual changes occurred throughout the project that are relevant to land reform and land market development. Recommendations from this evaluation are intended to inform the continuing progress towards land reform and the establishment of a land market in Tajikistan, as well as provide insights for other countries in these topics.

The primary audiences for this evaluation are USAID Mission to Central Asia, including USAID in Tajikistan, the USAID Bureau for Food Security/Feed the Future (FtF), and the future implementing partner (IP) of the follow-on activity in Tajikistan. USAID/Central Asia may share this evaluation with other USAID offices as well as other donors, including the World Bank, to inform the development of future land reform efforts in Tajikistan and other countries.

I.2 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

Table I lists the evaluation questions (EQ) from the Statement of Work (SOW) as well as clarifying interpretations based on the evaluation team's (ET) understanding of the questions, evaluation purpose, and intended use. When relevant, the ET has broken out the components of the primary questions into separate interpretations. The questions as originally represented in the SOW are found in **Annex A**.

Table I: Evaluation Questions and Interpretations

Evaluation Question from the SOW	Social Impact Interpretation
EQ 1. According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the LRFRP led to quality impact, or were a challenge for achieving quality impact? By "quality impact," USAID refers to the following aspects: - Results achievement - effective performance of the project in achieving progress toward its goals; - USAID contribution incremental benefit to various stakeholders (e.g., from USAID team, host government, beneficiaries, other donors); - Operational performance of the contractor and USAID team (particularly their management effectiveness and efficiency); - Gender integration; - Sustainability; and - Unintended consequences, for better or worse.	According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the LRFRP led to or were a challenge for: - Achieving results? - Achieving effective operational performance?¹ - Achieving gender integration? - Achieving sustainability? According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the LRFRP led to positive or negative unintended consequences?² What is stakeholder awareness of and attitudes towards USAID contribution in land reform and farm restructuring?³

¹ The evaluation team was not made privy to relevant programmatic financial information to speak to efficiency of the LRFRP. With verbal agreement of the Contracting Officer, the team examined only efficacy and not efficiency.

² This interpretation captures both the positive and negative aspects of unintended consequences, assuming "negative unintended consequences" are the opposite of quality results.

³ Upon review of USAID's definition of quality impact, the ET found that results relating to "USAID contribution incremental benefit to various stakeholders" did not differ significantly from the other aspects. Based on input from USAID, the ET interpreted this component as "What is stakeholder awareness of and attitudes towards USAID contribution in land reform and farm restructuring?"

Evaluation Question from the SOW	Social Impact Interpretation
EQ 2. What are the remaining policy and operational challenges in creating a working land market in Tajikistan, according to stakeholders? ⁴	No differences
EQ 3. What critical assumptions in LRFRP have changed given the current context? What risks or critical assumptions are missing from the LRFRP given the current context?	No differences

2 PROJECT BACKGROUND

In Tajikistan, agriculture remains a disproportionately large portion of the national economy, providing nearly half of household incomes. However, issues involving land reform significantly impede productivity in the sector. These include endemic corruption; limited arable land (only seven percent); the long legacy of direct government control over farming operations, dating from the Soviet period; continuing government pressure to cultivate cotton; farmers' low awareness of their legal rights; continued existence of large and inefficient collective-style farms; government ownership of all land; and the lack of a functioning market for transferring land use rights. In this context, a robust and well-implemented land policy is essential to the revitalization and health of Tajikistan's agriculture sector and the wider rural economy.

USAID has been supporting the government of Tajikistan in land policy reform and legislative development since 2003 through implementation of land reform projects to improve land legislation and land use. The theory of change underlying Feed the Future/Tajikistan's (FtF/T) strategy begins with developing land policy and legislative framework, increasing awareness and protection of land use rights and strengthening the capacity of stakeholders to capitalize on land reform. Thereafter, with farm land restructured and property rights strengthened to give farmers greater control over land use and choices, then farmers would increase agricultural productivity by diversifying crops, improving their farming techniques, investing in increasing yields. This increased productivity would be done inclusively to improve livelihoods and sustainably reduce poverty and hunger in Tajikistan.

Building upon the successful initiatives implemented by the USAID Land Reform Project of 2010-2013, in October 2013, USAID awarded the three-year, \$5.5 million FtF-funded LRFRP in Tajikistan to Chemonics International. Project implementation was initiated in Dushanbe on Nov. 15, 2013 and in Qurghonteppa on Jan. 29, 2014. The project worked in partnership with district *hukumats* (city councils), local land committees, 67 *jamoats* (third-level administrative divisions, like municipalities) and 67 *tashabuskors* (rural land activists), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and 12 Legal Aid Centers (LACs).

The goal of this activity was to improve agricultural productivity through strengthened property rights and more efficient use of land. Target beneficiaries included women and rural farmers, who were assisted to increase their awareness of freedom to farm principles, land-use rights, and the benefits of land reform and farm restructuring. The LRFRP supported the continued process of *dehkan*, or peasant/worker, farm restructuring and improved recognition of property rights, leading to a market in land-use rights through three main objectives: 1) supporting the development of land policy and legislative framework; 2) building the capacity of government officials, farmers, civil society organizations (CSOs), and other rural stakeholders to capitalize on land reform; and 3) raising public awareness and information regarding land rights. The LRFRP's sub-activities focused on national-level policy and regulation support based out of Dushanbe, and localized capacity building, awareness building, and provision of legal services throughout 12 of 24 districts⁵ in the Khatlon province of Tajikistan. Across the 12 districts, LACs and *tashabuskors*

⁴ Stakeholders are defined to include, at a minimum, farmers, sub-contractors and grantees, business associations, SUERIP and its local offices, the State Land Committee and its local offices.

⁵ Since districts have different names in Russian and Tajik, English word "district" will be used throughout the report.

engaged with beneficiaries through consultations, legal support mediation, and training. The LRFRP builds off the overall results framework of the FtF/T strategy rather than using its own theory of change.

LRFRP ended in September 2016, and USAID is planning further support to the government of Tajikistan's land reform initiatives through the follow-on activity, the LMDA, expected to be awarded in December 2016. To be effective in the follow-on project and to assess the outcomes of the LRFRP, USAID commissioned an evaluation of the project to determine which components and aspects worked well and why, and which perhaps did not and why, allowing more informed decisions regarding work planning and implementation of the follow-on activity.

3 EVALUATION METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

The evaluation utilized a qualitative, mixed-methods approach consisting of a desk review and qualitative data collection and analysis. The team, whose composition is described in **Annex B**, used desk review materials to understand the project context and triangulate with primary data collected. Qualitative data collection methods included semi-structured key informant interviews (KIIs), group interviews (GIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs). The ET conducted primary data collection in Dushanbe, the regional capital, Qurghonteppa, and five activity districts in the southwestern Khatlon province. See **Annex C** for the full evaluation design matrix.

The ET worked in Tajikistan from Oct. 24 – Nov. 24, 2016, with data collection occurring over approximately three weeks. Before data collection, the ET prepared logistics for meetings, refined the data collection tools, and conducted an inbrief with USAID. Upon completion of data collection, the team conducted preliminary analysis and gave an outbrief of preliminary findings, conclusions, and recommendations to USAID.

The ET collected data in a sample of 5 of 12 LFRP districts; these districts were purposively sampled to maintain a balance among identified selection criteria. See **Annex D** for the district selection criteria and justification. The five selected districts were: Jilikul (Dusti), Nosiri Khisrav, Sarband, Vakhsh, and Yovon. Based on document reviews and consultation with USAID, the ET identified a broad range of project stakeholders and partners as data sources. Table 2 provides a summary of data sources.

Table 2: Data Sources

Data Collection Method	Data Sources (Stakeholder Groups)
KII	USAID, IP, LRFRP, public officials, LACs, business associations, CSOs, other activities and projects
GI	USAID, IP, <i>tashabuskors</i> , public officials
FGD	Female farmers, male farmers
Document Review	Documents sourced from USAID Central Asia or literature review

The ET conducted a complementary set of KIIs, GIs, and FGDs with stakeholders at national and district levels to assess project accomplishments within the context of overall land market development in Tajikistan. The ET developed interview protocols for each stakeholder group, with questions designed to answer the three evaluation questions. To the extent possible, similar questions were asked across stakeholder groups to triangulate results. **Annex E** includes the data collection tools in English and Russian. Qualitative interviews were conducted by the evaluation Team Leader and two technical/sectoral specialists in either Russian or Tajik with a few in English, based on the preference of the stakeholder. A local interpreter provided support as necessary. All interviews and focus groups ranged between one to two hours. The evaluation team took notes during the qualitative interviews and reviewed findings daily.

KIIs were conducted in person or remotely via a telephone call with stakeholders. GIs were conducted with informants from the same organization to maximize efficiency or when more than one informant in the same organization joined. The ET conducted gender-segregated focus groups for farmers⁶ in four of the five sampled districts; in Vakhsh, Sarband, and Jilikul, groups were held with both female and male farmers, and in Nosiri Khisrav only one with male farmers was held due to time constraints. With the assistance of implementing partners and sub-partners, convenience sampling was used to select FGD participants. The FGDs were held in private meeting areas at locations accessible to both men and women. All qualitative interviews were semi-structured to encourage free and open responses on many aspects of the evaluation questions. By the end of data collection, the ET completed 10 in-person KIIs, 2 remote call KIIs, 9 GIs, and 12 FGDs, for a grand total of 33 data collection events across the national and district levels. See Table 3 for a summary and **Annex F** for full list of stakeholders conducted. **Annex G** displays a list of references, including all documents from the desk review.

Table 3: Summary of Qualitative Interviews Conducted

Level	Stakeholder Types	Method			
		KII	KII (call)	GI	FGD
National	USAID, IP, LACs, business associations, public officials, other activities and projects	9	2	5	0
Vakhsh	Public officials, <i>tashabuskors</i> , male farmers, female farmers	0	0	1	3
Sarband	Public officials, <i>tashabuskors</i> , male farmers, female farmers	0	0	1	3
Jilikul	Public officials, <i>tashabuskors</i> , male farmers, female farmers, teachers	0	0	1	4
Nosiri Khisrav	Public officials, <i>tashabuskors</i> , male farmers	0	0	1	2
Yovon	Public officials	1	0	0	0
Total		10	2	9	12

3.2 ANALYSIS

For each interview, the ET entered responses to questions in a spreadsheet to conduct content analysis, identifying key themes and patterns of similar responses within and across stakeholder types. When the same question was relevant to and asked of multiple stakeholder groups, the team generally characterized something as a finding when multiple stakeholders or stakeholder groups made a similar observation. When the team did not find an expected pattern of responses or a single interviewee or interviewed group observed something of high consequence, this too is noted.

For EQ 3 (critical assumptions in LRFRP that have changed), the ET gathered critical assumptions underlying the project's theory of change directly from the "LRFRP Performance Monitoring Plan of December 2014 (PMP)"⁷, which listed some assumptions concisely in bullet format and presented other assumptions indirectly through narratives. Assumptions that were not presented in a concise format were reformulated by the ET. The team also reviewed the list of risks from section six of the "Tajikistan 2011-2015 Multi-year Strategy for FtF." Risks were reformulated as critical assumptions for consistency during review. Included in this report are only those risks that were most directly relevant to the LRFRP rather than those focused on achieving the broader FtF/T outcomes. The ET developed additional assumptions

⁶ While the number of farmers were intended for a focus group size of six to ten individuals, the number of focus group participations was consistently less than six. Thus, the ET adjusted the format to blend a focus group discussion style and a group interview.

⁷ ADS 201 now calls for "performance monitoring and evaluation plans" at the activity level, such as the LRFRP, with "performance management plans" at the project level now representing what the Agency calls PMPs.

or clarified assumptions if necessary. For clarity of presentation, the team grouped the assumptions into four categories: 1) stable political, social, and economic environment; 2) consistent government support of promoting rights at multiple levels; 3) sustainably functioning partners; and 4) appropriate market conditions for positive longer-term outcomes.

3.3 LIMITATIONS

Due to the qualitative nature of the evaluation design and the small stakeholder sample size, the ET is limited in its ability to generalize findings. The 5 out of 12 project districts were sampled to be representative of the larger population of stakeholders.

The team was successful in meeting with respondents from all target stakeholder groups except for public officials at the regional level. Regional- and national-level stakeholders indicated they were unable to meet until after the team received official permission letters.⁸ By the time the ET received the diplomatic notes from the Government of Tajikistan, the ET did not have the opportunity to interview the regional-level land committee and State Unitary Enterprise for the Registration of Immovable Property (SUERIP) office. Given the number of district-level stakeholders interviewed plus the information collected at the national level, however, the team believes little information is lost. The ET met with only one group of teachers. School was out of session during the visit, so no students were interviewed.

The ET encountered several challenges regarding FGDs with male and female farmers. First, the team was unable to systematically coordinate with the implementing sub-partners (LACs) to randomly select focus group participants from lists of farmers who had received training. Instead, the ET used convenience sampling, with LACs providing assistance to organize and select focus group participants. Second, while the ET provided guidance to LACs on the mix of farmers to recruit for focus group discussions, these guidelines were not always adhered to. The ET requested farmers who were 1) not neighbors or to have helped in implementation; and 2) who either a) received direct assistance from the LRFRP, b) participated in events but did not receive direct assistance, or c) neither participated nor received assistance. However, LACs sometimes sent neighbors, *tashabuskors*⁹, only those receiving direct assistance, or only those never having participated in the LRFRP sub-activities. Third, even though the ET provided travel reimbursements for participants, the number of farmers willing to participate in each FGD was smaller than anticipated (fewer than six). The first two challenges introduce the risk of two types of bias: first, there is the possibility of self-selection bias on the part of participants interested in participating in focus groups, and second, there may be selection bias due to implementing sub-partners facilitating focus group participant involvement.

For stakeholder groups other than farmers, including one LAC in particular, response bias among participants was apparent. Specifically, the ET observed some stakeholders were projecting positive results in the hopes of receiving future income, thus limiting responses with respect to challenges.

As almost no stakeholders interviewed could speak directly to the USAID team's direct operations, the ET focused on identifying which overall design and operational aspects led to effective operational performance, while not separating out the roles of the LRFRP from USAID.

The use of a real-time translator poses the risk that translator bias may affect participants' statements in translating from Tajik to English. To mitigate this risk, Social Impact asked each interviewee or group if they were willing to conduct the interview or at least ask questions in Russian. As two of the technical team members spoke Russian, no potential for bias was expected when the discussion was in Russian.

⁸ While USAID submitted a diplomatic note to the Government of Tajikistan to facilitate interviews with officials on October 26, 2016, the ET did not receive word that the diplomatic note was received until November 14, 2016, after the ET returned to Dushanbe from the region.

⁹ *Tashabuskors* are farmers.

4 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 EQ 1: DESIGN AND OPERATIONAL ASPECTS LEADING TO QUALITY IMPACT

Evaluation Question 1:

According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the USAID Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project led to quality impact, or were a challenge for achieving quality impact?

This section addresses key project design and operational elements and how each contributed to achieving quality impact. Three components of quality impact (results achievement, unintended consequences, and sustainability) are integrated across this section. Gender-related issues are both integrated within the section and also highlighted as a separate sub-section because of their importance to many design elements of the LRFRP. Since perceptions about USAID's contribution were not found to align with specific design or operational elements, they are presented as a separate sub-section.

4.1.2 Organizational Design and Approach

4.1.2.1 Overall Design and Operational Performance

Findings: No stakeholders noted significant issues with operational performance of the LRFRP. All five LACs and four *tashabuskor* groups noted the accessibility of top LRFRP management as well as their ability to work with stakeholders ranging from top officials to field-based staff and even farmers. Two national-level stakeholders, all representatives of registration offices and land committees, and all LACs also indicated they found both top and middle management effective in responding to field-based concerns. This finding is reinforced by those in section 4.1.2.6. on how the LRFRP adapted communications and outreach based on field-based input. Public officials noted that the LRFRP's operational performance such as implementation speeds and results) exceeded their expectations from donor programs (see section 4.1.4.). No stakeholders expressed problems with the overall activity design. The LRFRP's design at the district level included interventions that, according to stakeholders, involved all significant local governmental representatives relevant to land use, taxation, and agronomy. Two stakeholders at the national level, as well as all three model registration offices, land committee offices, and three of the five LACs at the district level also noted the complementary nature of the LRFRP working on both national level laws and policies and on operational changes with districts and farmers.

Conclusion: Overall, stakeholders noted no major problems in operational performance of the LRFRP contractor or their working with the LRFRP. The interconnection of interventions at different levels and across the most relevant stakeholders appears to have reinforced outputs and outcomes.

4.1.2.2 Inter-Ministerial Working Group

Findings: The LRFRP's formation of an inter-ministerial working group (IMWG) was lauded by SUIERIP and a member of the IMWG as being central to consensus-building efforts to promote land reform. The IMWG led efforts on policy reform, amending existing laws, creating new legislation, and implementing regulations in support of creating a land-use rights market. Stakeholders, including the IMWG member, IP, USAID, and SUIERIP, saw the process of consensus building as slow, but necessary. These stakeholders noted that the IMWG membership changed over time due to staffing changes in the ministries.

One weakness in the operations was that the IMWG's annual work plan had not been shared with all new members when membership changed. One stakeholder noted continued resistance to land reform within "less-progressive" ministries and committees, representing a contextual threat to progress. USAID noted that the objectives for the IMWG already included in-reach within ministries. However, a stakeholder

suggested that this might be better performed by a subcommittee of the IMWG or separate group from progressive ministries under the president to be overseen by the IMWG.

Conclusion: The IMWG was a critically important, successful programmatic element of a slow, inclusive consensus-building approach to land reform efforts, contributing to quality impact. Governmental staffing changes slowed progress periodically.

4.1.2.3 Study Tours

Findings: Study tours were well-received by stakeholders at many levels including women farmer groups, *tashabuskors*, registration offices, land committees, SUERIP, and members of the IMWG. Respondents emphasized that study tours played an important role in learning about new approaches to land reform and farm management. Across respondent groups, both male and female stakeholders indicated that the appropriate stakeholders were included to benefit from learning and cited the study tours, especially for female farmers and land registry-involved public officials, as among the most helpful elements of the LRFRP. The LRFRP indicated that these study tours were low-cost and highly efficient.

The study tours for female farmers to the Sughd region were described as bringing insights from real-life success stories and providing connections for continued assistance for their farms or business progress. Although some stakeholders were interested in their own study tours without well-defined justifications, one LAC suggested that land rights lawyers, and thus the LMDA, might also benefit from examples of how other regions' land lawyers function, and their approaches to and models of serving clients.

Conclusion: The LRFRP used the large contrast in agricultural market development across provinces to conduct efficient and effective study tours domestically and with neighboring countries, contributing to quality impact.

4.1.2.4 Model Registry Offices



Figure 1: Model office. Photo: Marc Shapiro

Findings: The model registry offices (Figure 1), utilized three single-window offices and one-stop principles. All local- and national-level officials, LACs, and farmers who experienced or were closely familiar with the model offices, uniformly expressed high satisfaction with the new offices and processes. Farmers who had been through the process indicated that their time costs associated with the entire process, including visiting offices, had decreased substantially with the model registry offices. Those registering without an updated office or direct assistance from LRFRP required between five months and two or more years for the whole process. With the single window, farmers and registration offices indicated it might still take one to three months to get all papers in order, after which acquiring the land certificate would take only

about a month more, and all from one office. However, two farmers indicated they heard of farmers being asked to collect signatures from other offices even after instituting the single-window process.

The single-window process included common public service interventions intended to prevent corruption, such as separating the payment from the person who delivers the service, posting prices, and printing itemized receipts. All but one stakeholder indicated that side payments were eliminated. Only one farmer suggested that he still had to visit more than one location and was requested to pay a side payment. The

ET could not verify this claim or its exact timing. It is unclear whether the side payment was requested before the reforms were complete or after.

Both older and newer registration offices indicated that they are up-to-date with respect to land reform legislation and rules and could sustain their current trajectory of work. Although the two registration offices whom the ET questioned specifically about operations and maintenance indicated that budgets were sufficient to sustain the new offices' equipment, the team did not have time to confirm this.

SUERIP indicated interest in scaling the reform nationally yet also indicated a lack of resources to do so. The LRFRP staff indicated that SUERIP provided the LRFRP with the cost structure required to provide land registration services and thus to set rates for the LRFRP's reimbursement for registrations it delivered freely to some farmers. As a potential **unintended consequence** of the conservative rates, SUERIP indicated that the amount charged for land certificate registration covered processing costs, but they do not cover other systematic improvements or cross-subsidization among districts outside of the FtF/T target area. It appears that SUERIP did not raise this concern for the LRFRP's consideration.

One registration office representative noted a possible **negative unintended consequence** of the land registration documents being filled directly by the LRFRP and potentially through the single-window process. This potentially reduces opportunities for farmers to receive personalized, on-site advice from the district agronomist from the Department of Agriculture on proper farm management given their site-specific conditions, which a registration office noted had been one of the "multiple windows" to visit prior to the "single window" process.

Conclusions: The model registration offices appear to be largely successful in reducing time costs considerably for registration services and reducing its anti-corruption intent, contributing to quality impact. However, further consolidation of services under the LMDA will be required to ensure sustainability. There is also a potential for the new system to reduce opportunities for farmers to receive support from other governmental entities, such as on-site advice from the district agronomist. Determining service fees for a natural monopoly is complicated. Setting fees for land registration as low as possible increases affordability for farmers but may lead to insufficient funding at the national level to improve registry offices across other provinces.

4.1.2.5 LRFRP Direct Assistance Registering Land

Findings: The LRFRP shepherded 1,200 farmers' applications through the entire registration process to successfully issue land certificates without direct charge to farmers. According to the IP, the goal of this initiative was to train SUERIP staff on recently-simplified registration procedures. The farmers who participated in FGDs and who had received direct assistance confirmed that the time cost reduction was substantial, requiring a minimal amount of time, a waiting period of only one month, and no direct outlays of money.

Two LACs and one registration office noted one **unintended consequence** of the LRFRP (and the World Bank) providing registration, and other services, for free. These stakeholders indicated that free service provision decreased farmers' willingness to pay for land registration-related services generally, be it from LACs, lawyers, or registration offices. The IP indicated they appropriately made public outreach efforts to clarify that the free registration efforts would occur only one time. However, most other assistance from LRFRP remained free, farmers were aware the World Bank's project also was providing free registrations, and there remains evidence that this outreach by LRFRP did not convince all farmers not to expect free services in the future. This is supported by the finding that three farmer groups, three LACs, and one registration office reported that farmers would wait in hope of future projects paying for services rather than paying themselves. It does not appear that the LRFRP was able to fully mitigate the consequences of free registration.

In one district, the district chair refused to approve land certificates for 46 *dehkan* farms for which the LRFRP helped facilitate registrations, although non-project farmers were approved. This was characterized by the LAC as an attempt to continue to seek side payments. Although it represents a small-scale **unintended consequence** of the LRFRP, the LRFRP appeared to respond appropriately by calling on intervention from higher-level public officials, thus far unsuccessfully.

Conclusion: By directly facilitating registration processes for individuals, the LRFRP greatly reduced farmers' time cost and unofficial side payments required, contributing to quality impacts. However, direct provision of free services appeared to undercut the goal of **sustainability**.

4.1.2.6 Communications and Outreach

Findings: All seven of the interviewed farmer groups and four *tashabuskor* groups indicated that the LRFRP materials were helpful in learning about land rights. Stakeholders in the FtF/T target zone cited widespread direct outreach as particularly key to facilitating outcomes with farmers. Two of the national-level stakeholders found multiple methods of communication, including TV, radio, newspapers, information boards, and phones, and programmatic elements as facilitating outreach and outcomes. Books on laws and code with commentary were considered particularly helpful by public officials, LACs, *tashabuskors*, and lawyers.

Farmers in FGDs most frequently cited the following four methods of communication as being personally most important to achieving outcomes: direct contact, the *AgroInform* newspapers, word-of-mouth, and television or radio. Stakeholders indicated that TV, radio, and phone calls were the best way to reach stakeholders in more distant areas to increase their understanding of land rights. No stakeholder identified SMS messages as a communication medium used in the project. No difference in responses was noted between male and female farmer groups. The findings for farmers are in line with those from the assessment survey (Abbot 2016), which notes that 99 percent of farmers have accessed at least one source of information about land restructuring and land use rights, and most have used multiple sources.

All *tashabuskor* and farmer groups as well as IP representatives thought the informational materials were contextually appropriate and read often. Farmers and *tashabuskor* comments indicate, however, that the implementer could consider increasing material supply. In every *tashabuskor* group, someone indicated they would deplete their supply of printed materials and pay for additional photocopies themselves. The LRFRP was responsive to ground-up input from *tashabuskors* and field-based staff, such as when the project translated many materials into Uzbek and wrote up additional books with commentary on legal or land codes on request.

Two of seven farmers' groups and one LAC indicated that the project overcame initial skepticism at the district level about the project and *tashabuskors*, in part through the use of success stories. On the prior project, only 4 percent of shareholders reported having met with *tashabuskors* to discuss land reform (Nekbakhtshoev 2016, p230). Farm managers in the prior project offered discrediting information about the *tashabuskors*' information (*ibid*). Two *tashabuskor* groups clarified that the LRFRP worked with a few managers to prove the value-add of their technical advice on changing crops and then used meetings headed by the district-level chairs to elicit support or reduce resistance from other farm managers. The LRFRP's communications strategy, according to *tashabuskors*, thus targeted farmers directly and co-opted managers.¹⁰

Two of the *tashabuskor* groups and four of the farmer groups raised a few perils for farmers during their discussions, particularly regarding terms of credit. They did not indicate that the LRFRP developed and

¹⁰ "40 percent, that is, ten times as many shareholders, discussed land reform with farm managers" (than *tashabuskors*) Nekbakhtshoev 2016, p230.

distributed information about how to manage credit appropriately or how farmers can avoid credit-related dangers, which suggests these problems likely were not highlighted as a direct focus.

The former IP management team indicates that their monitoring data lists all villages as having been reached. However, at least one *tashabuskor* across each of the four groups interviewed indicated that in the geographically larger districts, they had insufficient time or resources to provide service to more distant villages. Information is unavailable from the desk review to assess the extent to which the IP and *tashabuskors* are using similar implicit definitions of contacting and providing services to villages.

All LACs and *tashabuskor* groups indicated frequent participation of district government officials in farmer-focused events funded by the LRFRP, which helped convince both the officials and farmers of the accuracy and value of information being provided. Three *tashabuskor* groups, however, stated that local government representatives, including at lower levels from *hukumats* and *jamoats*, should have greater participation in seminars. The rationale was to promulgate land reform initiatives to a broader population and to co-opt more local officials to the new laws and code.

Conclusions:

- All stakeholders in the FtF/T target zone generally cited multiple methods of communication and programmatic elements as mutually reinforcing and facilitating achievement of quality impact results with farmers. Mass communication appeared to spark interest in learning more about rights and was helpful in contacting those located in the most remote locations. In-person, direct communication was cited as most useful in resolving issues. Materials were contextually appropriate and adapted as needed based on changing needs and information from the field.
- The LRFRP's **operational approach** contributed to quality impact, effectively overcoming strong resistance from large *dehkan* and collective farm managers, who opposed the breakup of "their" farms during the prior project, to markedly improve on the prior activity's results achievement. The LRFRP did so via a multi-pronged process of co-opting some farm managers, directly communicating with farmers, spreading success stories directly and by word of mouth, demonstrating the inability of managers to oppose reform efforts completely.
- The evidence available is unclear about to the extent all villages actually received direct contact or assistance, as responses provided by *tashabuskor* groups and the IP are at odds; this is perhaps a function of differing interpretations of what outreach constitutes.
- The LRFRP's **design** of including government officials contributed to quality impact by leading to increased governmental support at most levels relative to the status quo. However, some evidence indicates remains that some local representatives persist in behavior contrary to farmers' legal rights or agreed upon procedures, as discussed further as an operational challenge in section 4.2.2.4.

4.1.2.7 *Tashabuskors, Training and Delivery Model*

Findings: The LRFRP was designed to continue the prior project's use of volunteer *tashabuskors* to broaden outreach across villages through roundtable events, meetings, and focus group discussions. The LRFRP indicates that the role of a *tashabuskor* is to channel information to beneficiaries only in their own villages, unless they "knew the farmer" from another area. Their role was envisioned to solve problems within their village or among immediate friends, such as helping fill registration forms, and not to try to serve as mediators. Broader roles were intended for LACs, who are certified to perform such specialized legal services. According to the LRFRP, grant amounts to LACs were set on the expectation of the narrower role of *tashabuskors*, who would receive reimbursement limited to direct costs appropriate for limited travel. The IP reiterated confirmation of this characterization of a narrow, volunteer role that was frequently communicated by LRFRP to *tashabuskors* at quarterly meetings.

However, despite these communications from LRFRP, *tashabuskors'* description of their services generally expanded beyond the narrow role envisioned by the LRFRP. Most notably, across all four groups interviewed, at least some *tashabuskors* appeared to see their role as one of helping fill out registration forms and, sometimes, providing information to accompanying lawyers in field-based mediation or independently mediating smaller disputes. Further, *tashabuskors* noted that, after a while, their circle of acquaintances grew considerably and so even limiting their assistance to those they knew led to helping other farmers frequently. All four group interviews with *tashabuskors* indicated some travel outside their villages to provide services. No differences were noted between male and female *tashabuskors* in these responses. In response to this finding, the IP said they believe these findings are isolated events. As indicated in the limitations section, the ET cannot guarantee that the four *tashabuskor* groups interviewed are representative of all 12 districts or of all *tashabuskors*. However, that the finding was consistent across all groups and that the groups seemed generally in internal agreement and did not argue the point internally suggests the finding does not represent isolated instances.

Dissatisfaction with remuneration levels was widespread among *tashabuskors*. Some indicated their LAC reimbursements did not include all direct costs, such as substantial time using cell phones, travel to more-distant villages or to LRFRP events that were not mandatory but valuable to their perceived roles, and the cost of printing additional materials to meet demand. Remuneration for *tashabuskors* was not set nor intended to offset opportunity cost of time, and often did not compensate for both official LRFRP-funded sessions and direct assistance work with farmers. For example, one of the *tashabuskors* stated that the remuneration provided to her was insufficient to cover costs for the 13 villages she provided service to, but the commitment to help people motivated her to see farmers and provide consultation/advice regardless. One *tashabuskor* indicated that sometimes she and others had to substitute assistance by phone, which reduced what she saw as her role and effectiveness in terms of outreach, though it fits the LRFRP's conceptualization of their assistance.

Given that women represent 53 percent of the farm workforce (FAO, 2011, P9) and increasingly began attending sessions, the LRFRP indicated it adjusted its **operational approach** with respect to *tashabuskors*, in part by replacing some less-effective male *tashabuskors* with females who seemed to better exhibit the desired characteristics and could serve as leadership role models for women. The number of female *tashabuskors* increased from an initial 12 to 29 out of 67. In the opinion of two of four *tashabuskor* groups and one LAC, the additional female *tashabuskors* improved outreach to women farmers and helped encourage them to increase the number of *dehkan* farms headed by women.

All *tashabuskor* groups indicated that the initial series of trainings were useful and substantial but, as two groups noted, did not cover all issues they would have liked to feel confident in the roles they perceived for themselves. Some *tashabuskors* indicated they did not feel they had enough time and opportunities in large-group training settings to voice their questions, clarify, and deal with details. However, *tashabuskors* indicated that the LRFRP staff were generous with their time in working through issues that arose beyond what their training covered and during ongoing monthly training.

Conclusions:

- The model of using *tashabuskor* volunteers was efficient and effective in communicating more broadly to communities, contributing to quality impact. Increasing the number of female *tashabuskors* appeared to effectively increase outreach to female farmers. However, an **unexpected consequence** of the strength of ongoing training and real-world learning was that, in many cases, there were growing differences between the LRFRP and the *tashabuskors* in the expectations of *tashabuskor* roles. This led to broader and higher performance from the *tashabuskors* but also led to dissatisfaction in remuneration for activities *tashabuskors* deemed necessary to reach their goals, yet were not intended by the LRFRP. Informing *tashabuskors* during training the planned limit of their roles appears to have been insufficient to clarify roles.

- Flat or low direct cost reimbursement rates for *tashabuskors* volunteers, who were not envisioned in an expansive role, inadvertently shifted some project costs onto *tashabuskors*, who either absorbed the cost or, in some cases, did not reach more distant farmers, as they believed was in line with their intended role. The **unintended consequence** is an increased risk of *tashabuskors* giving up their roles, potentially reducing **sustainability**.
- While initial training for *tashabuskors* may have been insufficient to manage many issues that arose, the continual training and frequent issue-specific, personalized support from the LRFRP and LAC lawyers led to a highly trained, dispersed volunteer workforce in support of land rights, contributing to quality impact. Efficiency in training a large cohort of *tashabuskors* might have conflicted, to at least some extent, with training effectiveness.

"I cannot see sustainability for the NGO because we need for money. How can we exist without support of donors?"

- LAC Respondent

4.1.2.8 LACs and Legal Consultations

Findings: The LRFRP included from its inception the idea of using LACs and lawyers. According to the LRFRP documents, LACs resolved 132 disputes through formal mediation and representation of farmers in court with 123 disputes ruled in favor of the farmers' new rights. The LRFRP itself submitted 30 claims in court to support female farmers, resulting in returning 750 hectares of land to 830 female land users (USAID/Tajikistan, Aug 31, 2016, p36).

LACs, which were implemented by local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), were encouraged by the LRFRP to incorporate other activities besides land reform to increase organizational sustainability. All LACs interviewed indicated that these other sources of funds were insufficient to cross-subsidize land maintenance and reform work and that they would not necessarily be able to continue those activities. Given that lawyers are paid on a fee-for-service basis, it might be expected that private lawyers will support **sustainability** through their component of the legal work regardless of whether LACs are involved. All LACs indicated that, were they allowed to charge on a fee-for-service basis for training and other assistance, many farmers would lack sufficient funds to pay for assistance. As indicated in section 4.1.2.5, two LACs also note resistance from farmers to paying for services they have previously received for free.

LACs appear unwilling to change their missions from nonprofit to profit-seeking merely to support land reform. LACs and farmers, however, found that farmers faced more legal issues than expected. One LAC interviewed found it required scaling up to include an additional lawyer. The LAC could afford a second lawyer due to the fee-for-service model for lawyers paying for themselves, as LACs collect costs from lawyers to pay for space in their offices. However, although all LACs were ultimately able to identify lawyers who currently have sufficient background on land reforms, two LACs pointed to a continued low supply of lawyers qualified on the updated land law that was not yet resolved despite the LRFRP having developed new training for lawyers on updated land legislation to address this issue.

Conclusion: Legal and mediation services were a significant success of the LRFRP, contributing greatly to quality impact. LACs are involved in other activities besides land reform; however, these additional activities do not appear to cross-subsidize sufficiently land and farm reform activity, only sustaining the legal services and passive support for registration assistance in the near term, as LACs await further donor funds. Given changes to what NGOs can charge to recover costs, the LRFRP thus was unable to create a **sustainable** model of LACs run by NGOs that would continue land reform process.

4.1.2.9 Educational Interventions

Findings: According to former LRFRP staff, an **unexpected positive outcome** from the LRFRP's work on training young lawyers was the positive reception by the Ministry of Education and Science (MoES) to additional educational interventions. These stakeholders describe a project that seized on the opportunity to expand related interventions to increase **sustainability**. According to the IP and USAID, university land law textbooks in Tajikistan were based on legislation in Russia and Belarus until the MoES approved the LRFRP-funded textbook to displace the older textbooks with Tajik land law. Tajik land law was adopted as a special subject across all higher educational institutions following the successful pilot. None of the lawyers interviewed had received this recent training via universities, and therefore couldn't speak to course quality, though one lawyer who had reviewed the textbook had an overall positive opinion.

The secondary school teachers' training was meant to first create a cadre of history and economics theory teachers, who would, in turn, disseminate the land rights message to other history and economics teachers and then to a wider, receptive audience of young people. This educational program was well received by the group of teachers from one district interviewed for the evaluation. LRFRP staff reports an even more positive reception across the region, with the initial pilot of 12 schools expanding to 36 and being approved by the Department of Education to be instituted in 629 high schools across Khatlon Province. Teachers indicated that topics were helpful and absorbed well by students, so much so that occasionally a parent or two would attend class with students.¹¹

The LRFRP's original scope of work did not include scale up of the pilot and insertion of the revised land reform resources into the secondary school curriculum. The 36 selected economic theory teachers, one per school, stated they received six training sessions, which included both technical subjects and pedagogy for training other teachers. The IP reported that 1,256 teachers were trained, mostly through training-of-trainer model, on land issues across all districts of Khatlon, representing 90 percent of all economics theory and history teachers. In total, these teachers taught in classes with 31,570 students.

Overall, the teacher group indicated the subject matter was covered somewhat narrowly and thinly, and that they had hoped for greater depth of information on the subjects to be better able to respond to questions. The one interviewed teacher who had been selected to train others in a training-of-trainers cascade indicated that the training on pedagogy was limited and that she needed additional support from the LRFRP to train other teachers; she received this support from the LRFRP.

Inter-generational learning does not appear to have been a part of the original conceptualization of the intervention, and no plan was found or funding dedicated specifically to reinforce the process of inter-generational learning. The evaluation found limited awareness among stakeholders and examples outside of secondary school teachers of intergenerational learning from students to parents, although data points during the evaluation were few. The teachers, two LACs, and two farmer groups responding, assumed teaching for secondary students was designed mostly for sustainability to help the next generation in the future and not to affect the current situation. Those who indicate that they believe there was frequent inter-generational learning pointed to individual cases and a single success story.

Conclusions:

- The LRFRP's education-focused interventions were scaled up and broadly successful, contributing in the long-run to quality impact. The LRFRP capitalized on the unexpected strength of support among schools and institutions by scaling up the interventions. The successful integration of the LRFRP's interventions within the education system at the secondary and tertiary levels creates the longer-term potential for more-sustainable and broader outputs and future outcomes with respect to citizens knowing their land rights even if the real impact on outputs in the near term

¹¹ The evaluation team did not review the materials themselves to validate this opinion.

is mostly reinforced knowledge. Adoption nationally represents one of the positive **unexpected outcomes** that the LRFRP built on to broaden and deepen potential impacts.

- There is anecdotal evidence of inter-generational learning and students using the land rights knowledge to share with others, but also evidence the inter-generational learning element was modest, as the work plan and funding was not directed toward this element. Stakeholders often relied on anecdotal information and individual success stories as evidence of outcomes.
- Train-the-trainer interventions can be of mixed success if strong plans for reinforcing support are not provided during the second level of training. No indicator is present in the LRFRP performance monitoring plan measuring success of the train-the-trainer element.

4.1.3 Gender

Findings: As indicated throughout this report, the LRFRP's activities helped both men and women. During this period, 6,927 female *dehkan* farms in the target area received certificates of land-use rights. As noted in section 4.1.2.8, the LRFRP used court proceedings successfully in support of women's land rights.

The LRFRP's programming generally was gender neutral and open to all. Three LACs and two *tashabuskor* groups indicated that initially far more men than women participated. The LRFRP adjusted by developing materials targeted toward helping women who lacked confidence to take on a more active farming role. Female farmer success stories were disseminated through written media and at meetings. Two LACs and three *tashabuskor* groups cited success stories about female farmers as inspiring increased participation by women in trainings, serving as farm managers, and applying for land use rights. As noted previously, the LRFRP added female *tashabuskors* for improved outreach, which was noted in both female farmer focus groups and two of four *tashabuskor* groups, as providing an important symbol of leadership.

Two land committees and two *tashabuskor* groups indicated that they eventually saw more women than men participate in the LRFRP interventions.¹² All *tashabuskor* groups and four male farmer groups indicated that, beyond simple representation at events, they found female farmers to be more active as evidenced by their participation, enthusiasm and interest. Some interventions were targeted specifically to women, including two study tours to Sughd, as discussed previously. These tours were cited frequently by participating farmers, LACs, and *tashabuskors* as being among the most personally impactful of the LRFRP's activities. The tour experience reinforced their decision to become farmers by exposing them to best practices in farm management. Tour participants also cited knowledge of continued contact among female farm managers across the two regions, suggesting some persistence, and perhaps **sustainability**, of the links.

All male stakeholders, from registration office staff to *tashabuskors* to farmers, indicated there was no difference between men and women, suggesting they believe a gender-based focus on farming issues may be a lower priority. Women, however, pointed to continuing inequalities in knowledge about and protection of land use rights, especially in remote areas. Further,



Figure 2: Despite progress, traditional gender roles persist on many Khatlon farms. Photo: Genowefa Cahill

¹² This finding is not directly supported by the LRFRP's overall data but suggested from summary data in some districts if most initial beneficiaries were men and given that most farmers are women.

women were noted as less likely to have start-up capital. Single women in particular tend to have smaller plots and less capital (Abbot, p35).

No stakeholder indicated that programming specifically addressed or needed to address concerns related to men's gender-based roles. However, one gender-based issue (noted as well under section 4.2.2.8) was indicated by stakeholders as affecting men more than women. Many Tajiks leave Tajikistan either temporarily or for longer periods to earn more money to send home remittances.¹³ Men emigrate far more frequently than women. Land laws in Tajikistan indicate that land use rights may be forfeited to the district when fields lay fallow for at least two years. Further, two farmer groups interviewed noted they heard of instances where other farmers, including family members, register or attempt to register the land that belong to the emigrated farmer under their own names to receive land use certificates. The evaluation team did not find evidence that this issue was addressed by the LRFRP.

Conclusions: The LRFRP achieved quality impact by capitalizing successfully on the opportunity to promote women into non-traditional leadership roles, change perceptions with respect to women's capacity as farm managers, and encourage female farmers to protect their rights successfully. Direct contacts and success stories through multiple media seemed key catalysts to convincing women not just of their equal rights, but that they can successfully seek and protect their rights. Given the demographic pattern of more women than men remaining in Tajikistan as farmers, it should be expected that these changes should be **sustainable** or even continue to improve slowly. However, there continue to be inequalities in the knowledge about and protection of women's land use rights. A seemingly overlooked, gender-related issue that does not seem to be addressed is that men's gender-based role in moving abroad creates risk that the land held in their names is not cultivated for two years.

4.1.4 Coordination Across Activities and Projects

Findings: USAID directed LRFRP in the original statement of work that the activity “will be closely coordinating its work with other FTF/T initiatives” as well as “with other donor activities” (USAID/Tajikistan, undated, p5). Extensiveness of coordination and interaction with other activities therefore represent operational choices within scope of evaluation question I. Representatives from FtF/T-funded activities meet as a group about monthly to report out on their activities. LRFRP management indicated that the LRFRP worked directly with other activities at the headquarters level primarily in planning separate interventions, thus avoiding duplication of efforts. Sometimes the LRFRP collaborated with the Tajikistan Agriculture and Water Activity (TAWA), managed by the same implementer, by having TAWA-funded experts speak with farmers about farm management or agriculture issues. Two LACs and *tashabuskor* groups confirmed that they coordinated with TAWA for making only one or two presentations.

All farmer and *tashabuskor* group interviews, and some other stakeholder interviews, revealed farmer interest in assistance beyond the types of legal assistance that were narrowly within LRFRP's scope, that the LRFRP provided to a modest extent, and that other FtF-funded activities and other donor projects provide more broadly in farm management training, higher-quality inputs, agro-extension services, credit, and related farm operational needs. Although the LRFRP did not develop its own theory of change, these needs are in line with the broad FtF/T results framework. These services for farmers who have received their land certificates or identified their *dehkan* farm shares increase the capacity to reach or maintain profitability and solvency. However, the FtF/T-funded activities including the LRFRP, TAWA, and the Women's Entrepreneurship for Empowerment Project indicated they did not share beneficiary lists nor work systematically to share specific beneficiaries. A few farmers across two groups, one women farmer

¹³ The Migration Service of the Ministry of Labor, Migration, and Employment of the Population of Tajikistan reports that 552,596 labor migrants, 12 percent of which were women and 88 percent men, left Tajikistan during last year. <http://www.news.tj/en/news/number-tajik-labor-migrants-working-russian-reportedly-decreases-14-percent>

group and one LAC, indicated that they or people they knew had received assistance, such as agricultural inputs or women's entrepreneurial assistance, from USAID through other activities, although farmers could not distinguish reliably among USAID-funded activities.

The LRFRP and the other activities interviewed indicate they coordinated primarily with the now-closed World Bank-funded Land Registration and Cadastre System for Sustainable Agriculture Project to avoid overlap programmatically. Other donors have also worked more directly on relevant agricultural (rather than land rights) issues in the Khatlon province, although the LRFRP did not coordinate with them directly. Examples include the Better Cotton Initiative implemented by Sarob Cooperative and supported by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the Local Market Development Project supported by the Swiss, and Gendered Enterprise and Markets by Oxfam. The latter project is designed to help form women's farmer producer cooperatives in Khatlon and to provide business support so the cooperatives can get a better price for their produce as well as relay their needs to the government. Sarob also indicates they work on many other agricultural support initiatives, such as sourcing certified inputs; working to open two agro-input stores; selling or leasing equipment to farmers at reasonable rates; and providing other advisory services from around 200 agronomists, who are shareholders in the cooperative. Comments from only one farmer group and no other stakeholders interviewed suggested knowledge about the Oxfam project, and only in terms of receiving inputs and not the other potentially useful assistance that could have been coordinated to assist LRFRP-assisted farmers.

Every day, dehkan farmers recognized LRFRP and USAID because they helped them know and defend their rights and helped them solve dispute situations."

- LAC Director

Conclusion: Given the information available, while there seems to be no overlap or conflict across activities with different scopes within the Tajikistan FtF project, there also appears to have been very modest coordination and integration of efforts with the LRFRP, limiting somewhat the potential for quality impact. When beneficiaries did intersect across activities, there is no evidence they had been coordinated more than loosely. This lack of coordination of services for LRFRP beneficiaries beyond LRFRP's specific scope but within FtF/T's scope does not represent a deficiency in LRFRP attending to its contractual scope, but, rather, a missed opportunity for FtF/T.

4.1.5 Stakeholder Awareness and Perceptions of USAID's Positive Contribution to Benefits.

Stakeholders did not differentiate between the LRFRP's design and operational aspects from USAID's overall contribution to achieving results. This sub-section therefore is focused on stakeholders' direct perceptions and feelings toward and about USAID's contribution.

Findings: All interviewee groups indicated knowledge about the intervention and all had positive reactions to it, frequently without a prompting question. The farmers interviewed indicated that they know of other farmers also reached by the LRFRP, who knew the programming was sponsored by USAID, and felt positively about it. Even farmers in the two groups who had received their land use certificates prior to the LRFRP's work indicated that they either had participated in a LRFRP focus group or roundtable session and felt positively or heard positive feedback from others. All district-level public officials interviewed also provided positive feedback with respect to USAID's contributions.

Most stakeholders did not identify specific aspects of design or operations of the LRFRP as the cause for their positive feelings toward USAID or that of farmers they heard from. To the extent they did, the design and operational aspects most frequently mentioned were achievement of results, effectiveness in implementing plans, and support of legal issues and successful court cases.

Farmers indicated receiving assistance to improve yields and farm management, yet had not recognized when this assistance originated from other USAID activities within the same FtF/T project, or even potentially other donors. All three district-level land committee and registration offices as well as one *tashabuskor* group could differentiate USAID's contribution from the World Bank's with equal or more-positive feelings expressed about USAID's contributions and ability to implement quickly and effectively across its portfolio. As will be discussed in section 4.2.2.2, farmers requested greater support from the LRFRP and its follow-up activity, the LMDA, on these farm management-related support services. Those farmers who had not received such support services noted some disappointment that they were not an integrated part of the LRFRP even though they are a part of the FtF/T project.

Conclusion: Stakeholders in the 12 districts of Khatlon within the FtF/T intervention area appear to be broadly aware of USAID's contribution to land reform and have positive perceptions about USAID's efforts but expressed some disappointment that LRFRP did not provide integrated farm management support.

4.2 EQ 2: REMAINING POLICY AND OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES

Evaluation Question 2:

What are the remaining policy and operational challenges in creating a working land market in Tajikistan, according to stakeholders?

EQ 2 asks about the challenges as expressed by stakeholders, whose responses could be categorized in two ways: 1) technical functional requirements for the operation of a smoothly flowing market in land; and 2) the broader interpretation of challenges, including constraints on a fair and inclusively working land market that would help to reduce poverty. Farmers and some other stakeholders interviewed interpreted the concept of a "working land market" broadly to include operational issues for farmers that do not limit the functioning of a land market but that would affect how well, broadly, and evenly it serves its purpose. The second category is less specific to land market functions per se. Through the work of the government and the LMDA, Tajikistan could come to a point where it has created an operating land market that does not seemingly work well and inclusively, in line with the FtF/T Objective 1: Inclusive Agricultural Sector Growth and IR 3: Strengthen the Capacity of Stakeholders to Capitalize on Land Reform. This could happen, for example, if prices do not reflect the latent value of the land serving its intended purpose of reducing poverty and improving lives. Along these lines, the LMDA's Task Four is designed for "more efficient land use and stimulate investments, increase farm incomes, and strengthen economic development in the agricultural sector" rather than just helping technical market functions.

4.2.1 Technical Functionality Requirements for a Working Land Market

4.2.1.1 Additional Legal and Regulatory Reforms

Findings: In terms of leasing, farmers indicate they already have a sense of the relative worth of land. Banks and other financial institutions do not, however, representing a well-known barrier for an actual land market in Tajikistan. Apparent lack of capacity on appropriate ways to evaluate land by the financial industry represents an operational challenge to a well-functioning market in leases, mortgages, and sales.

National-level stakeholders and one land committee and registration office indicated that harmonization is required across new laws and existing laws and code, as further conflicts are to be expected with the promotion of other reforms. National and district stakeholders acknowledge that, with the changes in the registration process, there is a need to improve the law on immovable properties. Three LACs indicated that procedures and mechanisms for settling disputes are required for a working land market. Similarly, the LACs and two *tashabuskor* groups noted that information must be distributed broadly for people to recognize what are valid rights to avoid unnecessary disputes.

One district official noted that the *Law on Dehkan Farms* does not consider local conditions such as strong prevailing winds, which may prevent maintaining temporary farm structures on productive farmland. More-permanent structures are required, although they encroach on agricultural land.

Six farmer groups stated that there already is a functioning lease market, although, being informal, there is no protection for either party. The planned law on leasing is only at the earliest stage of development, stage one (analysis) of five (LRFRP Final report p9).

Conclusion: National-level stakeholders have proposed that the land market requires additional supporting legal and policy documentation (laws, resolutions, and regulations). For example, a new law, amendments to the current law, or a regulation is needed to govern agricultural land leases. These were already in process through the LRFRP, with 3 of the 14 required laws and regulations having passed all stages of the legislative process (LRFRP Final Report, p9). USAID's direction is well advised under the LMDA SOW to introduce amendments to regulations to harmonize them with land code. In addition,

procedures and mechanisms for settling disputes are an important part of the policy and operational framework for a working land market yet to be developed.

4.2.1.2 Registration Technology and Process Shortcomings

Findings: SUEIRIP representatives stated that, from a technical perspective, for land markets to operate efficiently, Tajikistan needs a national registration database that would be linked to all regional registration offices. Stakeholders recognize that, with the introduction of a market in land sales, farm property should have accurate boundaries to avoid disputes, but currently registry offices are unprepared to do this to a verifiably accurate level.

SUEIRIP identified the technical value to a well-functioning market in land of updated satellite imagery to prepare cadastral maps. SUEIRIP considers the imagery available, from 2011, already somewhat outdated given the increase in new settlements and ongoing land subdivision. In addition, all registration offices interviewed mentioned lack of modern survey equipment. This deficiency leads to inaccuracy in farm boundaries and consequent boundary disputes, which hamper the smooth functioning of a land market.

According to a member of the IMWG, registration office officials from four districts, and two farmer groups, the single-window service is not yet fully institutionalized, even where implemented by the LRFRP in model registry offices and even less so outside of pilot districts. Currently, mechanisms are lacking for spreading single-window service where the model has not been implemented directly, although that may be remedied in the pending World Bank loan. Lack of replicability, combined with hints of backsliding discussed in EQ 1, may imply some concerns about sustainability.

Conclusion: Through external assistance, both from USAID, the past and pending World Bank loans, and other donors, Tajikistan is moving toward a more modern, efficient land registry system with all needed technical inputs. Significant impediments remain in achieving that goal: a lack of modern survey equipment and the attendant operating skills; a computerized, country-wide land registry; and updated satellite imagery. The system can continue to function without these upgrades, albeit less efficiently and with greater probability of inaccuracies that could lead to disputes.

4.2.1.3 Offices without Single-window Service

Findings: Stakeholder groups indicate that, for older registry offices or prior to creating the model registry offices, five months to two years was a typical time to undertake the full registration process, to complete all documentation through to land use certificates without assistance from the LRFRP. Three groups of farmers and *tashabuskors* noted that longer timeframes are likely to prevail if the farmer is unable or unwilling to pay unofficial side-payments. Three farmer groups out of seven interviewed and one out of four *tashabuskors* groups indicated long, expensive, and cumbersome processes prevented some farmers from seeking land use rights. They also highlighted the need in districts with older registry offices to visit multiple offices several times, to find officials to process land use certificates.

Conclusion: Older registry offices lack infrastructure for efficient processing of land use rights. Long "multiple-window" operational requirements for processing land use rights creates significant time cost burdens and discourages some applicants from seeking their rights.

4.2.1.4 Offices with Single-window Service

Findings: Two farmer groups that contained members who had worked through the registry offices for their registration, expressed positive opinions about the services obtained there. At the new, single-window registration office, farmers noted that the procedures have been streamlined. The staff explained documentation needed to obtain land certificates. Farmers know what they are paying for, and all payments are made through the bank. Based on the statements provided by the new registration offices, when a farmer has all required documentation, offices can prepare land certificates within two to three days, although one office noted up to five days if a farmer can only afford to pay a lower price.

SUERIP and the registration offices indicate human resources in the FtF/T area are sufficient in quantity but that, given turnover and barring additional training, they lack enough staff with sufficient experience in operation of modern technical equipment (GPS, Theodolite) and geographic information systems and archiving software, in the model offices. This deficiency holds back the introduction of the single-window service model both region-wide and country-wide. SUERIP indicates it has tried to replicate the model of building single-window offices in districts outside of the FtF/T target area with low success.

Conclusions: Single-window service is not yet uniformly well-established, even where implemented by LRFRP in model registry offices. New registration offices greatly reduce, but perhaps not yet eliminate entirely, corruption opportunities. Skills deficiency in land surveying could be addressed by training planned under the World Bank loan that focuses on upgrading survey department staff. The single-window model requires trained staff who understand both the technical aspects and customer-focused service delivery. Currently, mechanisms are lacking for spreading single-window service where not implemented directly, although that may be remedied in the pending World Bank loan. Lack of replicability, combined with hints of backsliding discussed in EQ 1, may imply some concerns about **sustainability**. With the introduction of a market in land sales, farm property should have accurate boundaries to avoid disputes, but registry offices are currently ill-equipped to undertake this work.

4.2.1.5 Disputes among Farmers

Findings: Disputes among farmers over access to water were raised by three farmer groups, two LACs and one *tashabuskor* group. Inaccurate plot boundaries lead to disputes, as was stressed by one group of *tashabuskors* and one out of the interviewed registration offices. Supporting this ET finding, 34 percent of farmers surveyed agreed that having their own *dehkan* farm led to disputes with other farmers or authorities over land allocations (Abbot, p47). The 2016 survey found even more farmers, 44 percent, agreed that *dehkan* farms led to disputes with other farmers or authorities over resources (*ibid*).

Landlocked plots, with no provision for access via right-of-way, become catalysts of disputes. Stakeholders (two farmer groups, one district land committee, and two *tashabuskor* groups) stated that disputes over right-of-way are a common occurrence. Neighbors sometimes are blocked from crossing over neighboring land to undertake field work on their own landlocked plots. Even interventions from the district chair could be insufficient to solve the conflict. Thirty-three percent of farmers agreed that having their own *dehkan* farms created problems concerning the use of paths among land parcels (*ibid*).

All four LACs (and lawyers working in them) emphasized their role of protecting rights through frequently successful court proceedings. Lawyers also discussed their role in mediating disputes, sometimes with the accompaniment of *tashabuskors*, to provide clear enough information to settle disputes informally. Each registration office has a lawyer that oversees legal accuracy of all documents that farmers require to obtain land certificates. One of the model single-window registration offices pointed out that their lawyer is knowledgeable in land rights, having been trained to work for the LRFRP previously, and that he provides consultations to farmers, presumably with respect to registration, to help to reduce land-related disputes.

Evidence suggests a significant number of disputes occur over land rights, whether resolved or not, and through official or unofficial channels. All LACs and *tashabuskor* groups indicated that legal and mediation procedures for settling disputes are in place; however, the mechanisms and human resources to facilitate resolution of disputes are still being developed. As also recognized in section 4.1.2.8, while there is some uncertainty as to the sustainability of LAC model, there is greater certainty in continuity for legal consultations for registry offices that employ lawyers as well as for freelance lawyers currently working with the LACs.

Conclusion: With the increase in formation of *dehkan* farms, land disputes have increased. Most cases involve inaccuracies in plot boundaries, right of way, access to water and insufficient knowledge and understanding of land rights. Disputes were an expected consequence of clarifying land rights, even if the

scale of claimed disputes may be unexpectedly high. As LACs and lawyers remain linked, this information has begun to be transmitted to farmers, in line with requirements for a better-functioning market.

4.2.1.6 Mortgage, Leasing, Valuation, and Information Distribution Deficiencies

Findings: The high interest rates on loans, which all farmer groups, LACs, and *tashabuskors* mentioned, are discussed by USAID and the LRFRP implementer as being a direct result of the lack of clear rules and regulations around mortgages. Stakeholders note that lenders have substantial risk in loans secured by land because, to date, there are no regulations regarding the sale and purchase of land and no clear legal path to satisfying a delinquent mortgage by the sale of land to settle the debt. Thus, three farmer groups, three *tashabuskor* groups, and LACs note that interest rates charged on movable property to cover their risk of non-payment tends to be around 3 percent per month. One farmer group and a member of the IMWG noted that loan repayment timing also is not well synchronized with the agricultural production cycles. Four farmer groups, two *tashabuskor* groups, and one LAC clarified their concern about the potential negative consequences of taking out loans. Annual variation in environmental factors, such as severe weather, crop infestation, or price decreases in the market for their produce could lead to forfeiture of their land use rights, which they see as essential to their livelihoods. Two farmer groups mentioned others who had lost their farms by defaulting on repayment of their loans due to loss of harvest.

National-level stakeholders indicate that banks provide loans only on movable property and do so with the government playing no role and receiving no income from the exchange, a point raised to governmental stakeholders by the LRFRP through the IMWG to increase support. However, two farmer groups and one LAC indicate that assessment of land itself by banks already is occurring in some form. As financial institutions had not been included as stakeholders under the LRFRP, the evaluation team could not confirm this information. One farmer group noted that the factors on which banks value the property include arability, water access, distance from market, road accessibility, size, and crop condition. Farmers noted the same factors for leasing land, adding soil quality to the list of factors. Six farmer groups, two land committees, and one registration office, in addition to national-level stakeholders, noted the lack of professionally trained appraisers and a regulated process of relevant factors and approaches to appraise the value of land fairly and systematically. USAID is planning to develop this under the LMDA Task Two with legal foundations for appraisals included under Task 1.

Three groups of farmers, two LACs, and four *tashabuskor* groups indicated that land is already being leased, so they do not recognize leasing as either a policy or operational challenge. Nor did farmers raise, as an issue, consistent valuation for leased lands, although registration offices and three national-level stakeholders did. However, one farmer group discussed a problem happening for one farmer who leased his land and went to Russia to work. On his return, the lessee had registered the land as his own. The farmer could only recover his land through a legal proceeding.

No stakeholders raised the issue of an information mechanism to provide broad data on land pricing. Farmers felt like they understood the relevant factors affecting land value but noted they did not own the land and so could not speak to pricing outside of leases.

Broadly speaking, the LRFRP responded by helping in analysis of the existing *Law on Mortgage* and, with collaboration of the IMWG, drafted amendments to that law and presented it to members of parliament, who then will present it to the government for approval. When the law is passed, banks should have a clear set of operational procedures for underwriting loans and will be able to more-securely provide loans based on land use rights at more-favorable interest rates and perhaps with better repayment terms. The law is expected to be approved soon – an important successful initial outcome.

Conclusions: Reliable land valuation is a key component of a working market in land transactions, whether that be a sale or purchase, a mortgage, or a lease. The Tajik land market is in its infancy, although there already is an informal market both in leasing land and, according to one group of stakeholders, even

in mortgaging land use rights. The government plays no role and receives no income, an argument for gaining intra-governmental support already exploited by the LRFRP. Although farmers generally do not foresee leasing land as potentially contentious, at least one example and the high level of other disputes discussed previously suggest legal resolution for informal contracts could become problematic. Currently, no legal procedures to regulate land pricing have been approved or are in place. Neither are there mechanisms to train or certify those who could serve as appraisers, although work on this is planned under the LMDA. Regarding loans tied to land, it is uncertain if farmers are informed of the risks and responsibilities that they assume when they negotiate loans secured by property or land rights.

The lack of mention of a mechanism for distributing information about sales stands out for an evaluation dealing with challenges to working land markets. Economic theory suggests a properly functioning market cannot exist without "thick" market signals generated by sufficient sales and information distribution about those sales. However, the market is too thin and nascent in Tajikistan for this issue to be salient in stakeholders' minds.

4.2.2 Operational Challenges to Land and Agricultural Markets Working Inclusively toward Productivity Potential and Poverty Reduction

4.2.2.1 Insufficient Information on Rights

Findings: During two farmer group interviews, farmers demonstrated poor understanding of their exact land rights, particularly among shareholders. Notably, some female farmers did not know whether they were listed themselves as shareholders or merely under their spouses' names. Some farmers did not know the exact size of their land share or if they even have one. One farmer focus group pointed out that district officials are not always properly informed about rights of inheritance and deny people their rights, such as when a family member goes to work in other countries. The 2016 survey supported this finding, noting some uncertainty, especially among shareholders, about the exact type of farm and number of shareholders on certificates (Abbot p44).

Conclusion: Continued lack of clarity among farmers with respect to actual land rights increases the probability that farmers' actual rights are not fully and freely taken advantage of.

4.2.2.2 Farm Start-up Management and Costs

Findings: All farmer groups cited insufficient knowledge across some combination of taxation, water, power, and/or accounting as operational barriers to farm formation or farm productivity/ farm management. New farm managers consistently cited lack of knowledge regarding farm management, outdated irrigation structures, lack of access to low interest credits, and lack of access to farm equipment/machinery and inputs. Seven farmer groups and two *tashabuskor* groups claimed that the financial costs for registering more than one hectare were too high for poor farmers at start up, sometimes becoming a disincentive to register. Two farmer groups noted higher costs for farms further from the district center, which were also cited as being less well-off to begin with.

Three groups of farmers and two *tashabuskor* groups also specifically stressed the lack of access to capital in addition to high interest rates. The female farmer groups all noted that single women, especially divorced women, are considered least likely to have access to start-up capital. This finding is in line with the general recommendations in the 2014 gender specialist report that notes improving access to "other resources, such as financial, technological, extension services, input supply and marketing support are important complements to any land reform program" (Brustinow, 2014, Appendix 1, page 4). Farmers requested greater support from the LRFRP and its follow-up activity on these ancillary support services and sometimes noted disappointment they were not part of the LRFRP. Members from seven farmer groups indicated that they have limited information to draw from, relating to farm management.

Conclusion: Farm managers generally, and new managers in particular, face many practical, operational issues and problems once they receive their land allocations that negatively affect FtF/T results, quality impact, and a fully working, correctly priced land market. For example, farmers with land use rights may take loans secured by their houses or, as two farmer groups indicated, also their land. Given the unfavorable terms provided, at rates around 3 percent monthly, and given a lack of laws specific to rights of alienation and mortgages, taking out loans is risky for farmers. High interest rates exacerbate the problem, necessitating quick loan repayment and risking loss of land rights if they have one poor harvest. Thus, farmers may lose their primary or only means of income and return to being farm workers without land use rights. More broadly, all seven farmer groups indicated they have limited information resources to draw from the LRFRP and more generally, with respect to farm management. This could lead to farmers making poor choices regarding investments, loans,¹⁴ and crop choice, and the potential **negative unexpected consequence** of farm bankruptcies.

4.2.2.3 Farm Size

Findings: Stakeholders across four farmer and *tashabuskor* groups interviewed, and one public official, discussed how the ongoing subdivision of larger *dehkan* farms continues aided by Tajikistan's annual population growth rate of 2.2 percent, or over 23 percent per decade (The World Bank DataBank). Farmer groups, when asked about the land divisions, did not see a problem with the fragmentation of the land, tending to see creation of smaller farms as an entirely positive development toward self-reliance and increased well-being.¹⁵ Across most farmer groups, some farmers interviewed, especially those recently receiving subdivided land, indicated the size of their plots as between 0.5 and 1.5 hectares. Two public officials, two national-level stakeholders, and one *tashabuskor* group noted smaller farms are sometimes limited to in their ability to farm efficiently and to use tillage services effectively or at all. The 2016 survey found that those with holdings larger than four hectares strongly agreed that their family had increased its fruits and vegetables consumption, while those with farms of less than two hectares more frequently disagreed (Abbot, p 54). One farmer group had a participant who returned land because his family could not currently use it all effectively; however, they did not consider whether their family members might have in the future.

Farm fragmentation originates as well from taxes combined with limits to mechanization. Stakeholders indicated just three examples of being able to use tillage services hired from other farmers or from service centers. These stakeholders and some public officials and LACs noted lack of tillage and mechanization specifically as a limit to productivity that led some farmers to return portions of land use area to avoid high taxes, reducing size of some farms.

A representative of the IMWG pointed out that small size farms are not economical and that farms should not be fragmented. He noted that many farmers, when restructuring into small farms, do not know how to manage and cultivate land to obtain high yields and productivity. He noted the value of working cooperatively in larger parcels to promote better economic outcomes and facilitate efficient use of machinery. Two farmer's groups mentioned that use of machinery on small land plots led to disputes with neighbors because of encroachment on neighboring land during cultivation. Neighboring farmers in one farmer group noted they found it difficult to use machinery across their separate small farms of no more than one hectare, and so now work cooperatively to align crops for better mechanized harvesting.

Conclusion: Although most farmers overlook the issue of increasing subdivision of land and small farm sizes as a potential future challenge to a working market for land, some of their comments recognize the constraints to productive management faced by increasingly smaller farms. Increase in land ownership

¹⁴ Loans and mortgages are discussed further under section 4.2.1.6.

¹⁵ They noted in abstract terms their increased general well-being, farm investments, diversity of crops and food eaten since farm restructuring began, as discussed more extensively in quantitative terms in Abbot pp 65-68.

initially improves a farmer's livelihood relative to the initial low baseline, but might decrease both efficient farm management, future farms earnings, and competitiveness. Small plots not only make it difficult to use farm machinery, but also can lead to a decrease in cooperation amongst farmers, which can otherwise be important in achieving economies of scale. Free service provision, as discussed in section 4.1.2.5, as well as the LRFRP's promotion of individual land rights might have increased the **unintended consequence** of promoting farm size fragmentation.

4.2.2.4 Limitations on Freedom to Farm and Informational Gaps

Findings: As noted in section 4.2.2.2, the financial costs for registering more than one hectare were cited by stakeholders as being high for poor farmers, especially for those more distant from the district center, sometimes serving as a disincentive to register and exercise land rights. All seven farmer stakeholder's groups interviewed stated they are making their own decisions with respect to growing crops and do not have to, nor do, heed government officials or even farm managers on their shares when asked to grow cotton. In one district, both male and female farmers noted that some local officials have reverted after the LRFRP's end or continued regardless trying to tell farmers what to plant. However, they indicate that by knowing their rights, farmers can be defiant and grow what they want. The 2016 survey supports this set of findings with 83 percent indicating farmers "are free to choose how much land to allocate to each crop" but 53 percent indicating that "local authorities in this region still try to influence farmers to grow certain crops" (Abbot, p22). Across Khatlon and regardless of type of farm,¹⁶ about half (45 percent) say local authorities still try to influence whether and what non-cotton crops to plant and how much cotton to plan (52 percent). Continuing conflicts between laws and land code also were raised by one district land committee chair as creating confusion for local representatives, citing a decree conflicting with newer legislation as a rationale to himself have intervened with what was deemed a farmer's ineffective land use.

Issues restricting shareholder rights on *dehkan* farms also were present. Three groups of *tashabuskors* stated that they were helping farmers to obtain land shares in cases where the farm managers did not want to give them. Similarly, two LACs mentioned instances where they supported farmers in obtaining their land shares. There are still instances, as stated by two LACs, where members of either the collective or *dehkan* farms are not included on the shareholder list. These LACs state that such cases occur more frequently in districts farther from the district center. In cases where the farm manager had not allowed farmers to create their own *dehkan* farm, such conflicts had to be solved through the courts. It is unclear how extensive this issue remains at this time.

District-level stakeholder comments suggested, and national-level stakeholders discussed directly, tax disincentives present for farm managers to list all shareholders for farms. Farmers did discuss frequently the use by farm managers of pre-existing debt to discourage formation of new farms. Data from Nekbakhtshoev (2016) supports this finding. His dissertation research demonstrates that managers of farms most frequently used cotton farm debt to resist land subdivision. Although all farmers interviewed as part of the evaluation, and most farmers surveyed in 2016, knew where they could go to receive legal assistance with respect to land rights, over a third (38.6 percent) still did not know (Abbot p 17).

Stakeholders also indicate that farmers themselves deny freedom to farm to other farmers. In two cases, *tashabuskors* indicated they could help farmers solve the right of way disagreements with help from public officials. However, one noted access was denied again once the officials left.

Building temporary structures in their fields allows farmers access to their land, tool storage space and provides shade during hot summer days, reinforcing the principle of freedom to farm. Five farmer groups stated their positive opinions about the right to build temporary structures, a change brought about by the *Law of Dehkan Farms*. At the same time, they noted problems with having to rebuild or remove the

¹⁶ Information disaggregated by sex was unavailable as was the original dataset.

structures every two years. One male farmer group stated that sometimes government officials still prohibit farmers from building movable structures on their land. One land commissioner suggested a need to allow more permanent structures in his wind-prone district, as temporary structures would blow away.

Conclusion: Continued lack of clarity among farmers and government officials with respect to actual rights, as well as conflicts between new laws and existing land code, increases the probability that one's actual rights in farming are not fully and freely respected or supported. Freedom to farm is being limited from multiple directions. Given that many people still do not fully understand their rights, there remains room for people's land use rights being abrogated or taken from them, not in accordance with actual rights. Some local government representatives still limit farmers' rights, whether it be from lack of clear understanding of those rights, personal gain, or maintaining a sense of control. Right of access is not always widely agreed upon and sometimes not provided regularly by neighbors. Existing limits to constructing only temporary structures on farm land is cited as unnecessarily limiting of land rights by some and worthy of consideration of some variation by geography.

4.2.2.5 Taxes and Debt

Findings: Six farmer groups indicated that farmers have limited information on the highly complicated structure of appropriate tax obligations generally, and even less on the tax implications when land is converted from communal to *dehkan* farms or when existing *dehkan* farms are sub-divided. Stakeholders also note that timing of payments for taxes generally, and pre-standing debts specifically, do not accommodate seasonality of agricultural cycles.

Six farmer groups and two *tashabuskor* groups indicate that unclear tax levels have been an impediment to some farmers forming new *dehkan* farms. Five farmer and one *tashabuskor* group claimed that some farmers are taxed too frequently or at incorrectly high tax rates by local representatives. These may be a mix of accidental and purposeful errors. Two farmer groups claimed incorrect, overly high tax billings have been a threat to solvency for new *dehkan* farms.

Supporting these claims, the LRFRP final report on taxation notes the high complexity of the current tax system in Tajikistan making it "difficult for agricultural producers to determine the exact taxes and even type of taxes they have to pay regularly." Two farmer groups indicated that they had to pay taxes for land that could not be used for production, such as flooded land. They noted that the issue was handled by re-designating the land as unusable for farming and removing that area from their land use certificate. Another tax-related item raised by national-level stakeholders in other contexts is the tax disincentives present for farm managers to list all shareholders that can lead to restrictions on rights.

According to four farmer groups and two *tashabuskor* groups, a related operational challenge to a market that works toward alleviating poverty is pre-existing debt. Existing debt on larger *dehkan* farms and the few remaining collective farms is stated, by most farmer and *tashabuskor* groups interviewed, not just as serving as a disincentive to some people to create their own private farms (as discussed in the previous sub-section) but also as a threat to solvency for poor farmers. Per the four farmer groups and two *tashabuskor* groups, debts for taxes, water, or electricity are sometimes owed by collective farms and are inherited by the successor *dehkan* farms. They indicate these debts can discourage formation of some farms or heavily burden new *dehkan* farm shareholders. Although stakeholders indicated this concern remains, they could not clarify the extensiveness of these concerns presently versus the past.

Conclusions: Clear information up front is important to the function of markets in land and the ability of all to participate. Non-transparent information about appropriate tax levels and timing of tax obligations without account of agricultural cycles sometimes serve as an impediment to forming new *dehkan* farms and other times to farm solvency. Although the LRFRP published rates in its *AgroInform* newspapers, many still see these rates as being unavailable or inaccessible to newly organized farms. Tax disincentives also

exist to listing all shareholders, encouraging abrogation of rights. Currently planned interventions under the LMDA are well advised.

4.2.2.6 Attitudes toward Development of a Land Market

Findings: Views with respect to the legalization of the purchase and sale of land spread across the spectrum from firmly against to supportive. Three LACs, two registry offices and one land committee stated support for the idea of land sales, while three farmer groups, one *tashabuskor* group, two land committees, and another implementer stated opposition. They uniformly state that their opposition comes from the potential for farmers losing their land rights, and some also note the potential for disputes. These findings parallel those of the 2016 survey, which indicated that even within the target region, only one-third of farmers are in favor of being able to buy or sell rights to land. Over half (57.6 percent) of farmers surveyed oppose the right to buy and sell land itself (Abbot, p 26).

Attitudes toward land reform restructuring have changed dramatically in some cases, however, moving from only 17 percent strongly in favor of farm restructuring nationally in 2011 to 79 percent favoring in the target areas by 2016 (Abbot; Aug 26, 2016; slide 17). Among the four districts surveyed in both 2011 and 2016, there appears to have been a move toward somewhat more positive feelings toward sales of land, although insufficient information was available to speak to whether the difference was statistically significant (Abbot, p 27). When it comes to using land as collateral to apply for a mortgage, roughly half those surveyed favored and half opposed the ability to use land as collateral (Abbot, p 28).

Conclusions: Negative attitudes toward a land market could represent an operational challenge to maintaining a functioning land market. Even among the generally pro-reform stakeholders selected for interview for this evaluation, Tajiks have mixed feelings about the purchase of land, fearing the negative consequences that could be triggered by land transactions and not understanding the benefits of land transactions. Negative attitudes toward the land market may not be firmly held, however, as support for reforms more broadly have improved with outreach. There also is stronger support for leasing land or using it as collateral, than for a pure market for sales, which suggests a gateway for Tajiks to think more positively about a fully formal market. Concern with an increase in disputes arising represents an area of caution for outreach and risk for solidifying the reforms' public support.

4.2.2.7 Differentiation in Rights by Gender

Findings: All male stakeholder groups indicated that they believe work related to gender, especially women's issues, is largely complete due to changes instituted in the law and evidence of somewhat increased number of female farm managers. However, as noted in one women's group interviewed, stakeholders indicated that it is difficult for a single woman to obtain land rights, and at times they do not know that they have rights. Widows have a total average farm size of 2.3 hectares, about half the size of female farm heads in general, who average 7.3 hectares (Abbot, p56). Approximately one in five households report that the names of some women were left off the list of shareholders when the farm was created to avoid paying the Social Security Fund Fee. These women will not be eligible for Social Security benefits and may not be able to inherit land, since many lack marriage certificates to show they are legally married to a shareholder (Abbot, pp 60-61). In a meeting with a group of female farmers, one group member mentioned that she is a member of a *dehkan* farm headed by a man but with all other seven shareholders being women, as the women simply were not confident enough to establish their own *dehkan* farm, a clear example of the current knowledge and skills gap. The 2016 survey supports this view, as indicators of women's knowledge about rights were lower than men's (Abbot, pp13, 16-17, 19). Stakeholders interviewed mentioned that women who do not know their rights are taken advantage of by farm managers. For example, one female farmer focus group indicated that some women in their district were incorrectly prevented from their land shares or were not being paid for labor.

Two farmer groups raised issues of officials or other farmers trying to rescind or deny male farmers their land use rights without compensation, for having worked abroad. The law indicates that if land lies fallow for two years, a farmer's user rights can be rescinded, but with compensation.

Notably absent from every stakeholder meeting, even when minorities were present, was any indication of problems or differentiation toward ethnic minorities. Statements from people of Uzbek, Turkmen, and Russian descent supported this finding, among both farmer groups and public officials.

Conclusions: As suggested under EQ 1, gender-related differentiation remains and thus represents an operational challenge to an inclusive working land market accounting for all people's rights. Although women appear to be catching up in terms of information on land rights and farm management, there continue to be needs to increase women's knowledge base broadly as well as their access to training in management and access to other services. USAID already requests its LMDA implementer continue to encourage women's participation in land tenure and greater involvement by women in *dehkan* farm management (SOL 176 p19). Considerable differences remain in gender-related perceptions with respect to current equality of situations between male and female farmers, which, in some societies, could pose some risk of push-back, although no signal of this tension was found. No differentiation was found between treatment of majority and minority populations with respect to land rights.

4.2.2.8 Sustainability

Findings: Stakeholders said that LACs and, to some extent, *tashabuskors* will not be able to continue active promotion of land reform activities, barring further support from donors. LACs appear unwilling to change their missions from nonprofit to profit-seeking, merely to support land reform. Information collected from LACs and lawyers suggests it is possible that lawyers could serve this role independently of the LACs. Many farmers already know the lawyers, they come to them for help, and lawyers have successfully dealt with some land issues on their behalf. Although two LACs noted there currently is a dearth of lawyers trained appropriately on the new laws, future production of such lawyers appears sustainable given the work highlighted in section 4.1.2.9 to create a new tertiary education course with updated materials on Tajik land law.

Three registration offices noted they had at least one lawyer in house. One office director indicated they hired a lawyer who formerly had worked for an LAC on various legal issues, including providing legal consultations on land rights to clients. Two registration offices indicated that they have good lawyers, who have been trained by LRFRP and are up-to-date with respect to land reform process, and could sustain that element of their work without further assistance. It was unclear from their comments the bounds of the legal support with respect to the registration process that falls within their legal mandate, but this could be explored further by LMDA.

As indicated under EQ 1, little evidence was found through this data collection of formal or informal farmer self-help groups formed through USG assistance as foreseen in the FtF/T strategy. However, there is evidence of female farmers forming small producer co-operatives under the Gendered Enterprise and Markets project implemented by Oxfam, as discussed in section 4.1.3. All farmer groups have indicated little confidence in the existing farmer association as a vehicle for sustainable activity. Farmers view farm associations as virtually non-existent, having no interaction with farmers. Promoting local co-operatives to form an association has not been discussed, although could represent a long-term strategy.

All farmer groups gave water user associations poor-to-mixed reviews in interviews and group discussions. Most of the farmers see them as organizations that collect fees and do little to help farmers with water problems. Even TAWA indicates its assistance to the water user associations should not be expected to build them to that level of capacity.

Services under the LRFRP, World Bank, and other FtF/T activities, if not other projects, frequently have been provided free of charge. Consequently, LACs point out that, and as all farmer focus groups confirmed, farmers still expect free legal and other services post-project.

Conclusions: As suggested in various sub-sections under EQ1 and EQ2, a significant operational challenge for promoting a smoothly working land market for all is questions of sustainability and continuity of processes initiated or supported by USAID under the LRFRP. This issue is dealt with mostly within each sub-section. As an overview, LACs are thought to be unsustainable, but legal service assistance by individual lawyers is available. Some registration offices may provide longer-term legal consultations, perhaps narrower in scope within their mandate. Water user associations are viewed as a potential vehicle for assistance in the longer term, but by only a minority of stakeholders, after further capacity building by TAWA to overcome notable current weaknesses.

Stakeholders have not foreseen one solution that developed in other countries to promote services over the long-term, development of farmer associations, which also face the same limitation in charging for funds as other NGOs. For-profit farm service centers, a centerpiece appear non-existent. The “free-for-service” model of free provision by donors of services provides a disincentive to stakeholders to pay fees toward more sustainable, fee-for-service models, increasing operational challenges for sustainability.

4.3 EQ 3: CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS THAT CHANGED DURING LRFRP

Evaluation Question 3:

What critical assumptions in LRFRP have changed given the current context? What risks or critical assumptions are missing from the LRFRP given the current context?

A summary of findings is presented below with the complete findings in tabular format presented in **Annex H**. Most critical assumptions from the LRFRP and the Multi-year Strategy for FtF have remained the same. Only a few critical assumptions relevant to the LRFRP’s outputs and outcomes are missing or could have been more explicitly represented in the performance monitoring and evaluation plan. A number of others from the Multi-year Strategy could have been included as well.

The LRFRP Performance Monitoring Plan (PMP) included as a critical assumption a stable political and economic environment. However, the document could have more specifically noted the assumption that social stability persists along with the FtF/T strategy’s assumption that civil disorder does not spill over from Afghanistan or elsewhere at least in its narrative description of the assumption. These two elements also might have been included as “Stable political, social, and economic environments.”

The LRFRP PMP was thorough in listing the critical assumptions underlying the category of governmental support of promoting rights at multiple levels being consistent. One assumption included in the FtF/T strategy that either was not included or was included only implicitly is that government cooperates at the level of villages or *jamoats*. Two other assumptions not included in either document was that USAID funding remains consistent, an assumption that holds, and that there is strong coordination across USG-funded activities, an assumption that does not appear to hold given evidence collected in section 4.1.4.

Within the category the ET categorizes as “partners in implementation can function sustainably,” one missing critical assumption is that implementation sub-partners will be able to maintain their core land rights support functions after the end of the LRFRP or the FtF/T project more generally. This assumption does not seem to hold true uniformly, as discussed in section 4.1.2.8.

Finally, one category of critical assumptions for long-term outcomes that is present in the FtF Strategy that the evaluation calls market conditions are appropriate for positive longer-term outcome, is not listed at all in the LRFRP PMP. Under this category, the Strategy includes “regional trade not interrupted” and “no value chain development difficulties.” This category, however, was less relevant to the LRFRP as the

project's other activities, as even internal trade was sufficient to drive economic improvements seen under the LRFRP. It may be worth considering including under the LMDA.

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The ET presents the following recommendations organized by project design or operational element.

1. IMWG/Legal and Regulatory Reform

- 1.1 In continuing work with an IMWG to move forward passage and implementation of the remaining 11 laws and regulations needed to advance the program of land market reforms, the LMDA should also look for conflicts generated by creating new laws with existing civil code.
- 1.2 Provide all new IMWG members a comprehensive briefing and plan of work in order for them to be knowledgeable program supporters.
- 1.3 The LMDA should address disincentives to including all adults on farms as shareholders to promote both land rights and appropriate receipt of pension benefits.
- 1.4 The LMDA should pay additional attention to increasing transparency in farm land taxation in terms both of suggesting and supporting long-term changes in governmental procedures and in near-term activity interventions to provide information to new or prospective farmers. If not already addressed under the LRFRP, the LMDA should consider policy-related efforts to encourage alternative payment timing and requirements, restructuring, or periods for repayment for pre-existing tax debts of *dehkan* farms transferred during the restructuring process.
- 1.5 The LMDA should consider amendments to the land code to allow exceptions for more-permanently anchored structures to store tools in wind-prone districts.

2. Study Tours

- 2.1 When planning for cost-effective domestic and neighboring-country study tours, the LMDA implementer should review the value of demonstrating models of service for other stakeholder groups aside from farm managers and registry offices.

3. Registration Offices / Legal Aid Centers

- 3.1 If not already part of the LMDA, attention should be paid to whether registration office operating budgets are set to sustain the current equipment. The LMDA also should review with SUEIP the advisability of including within the revised single-window service a step that involves receiving advice from other governmental entities, such as the district agronomist and consider assisting with setting rates appropriately.
- 3.2 In the event that the World Bank loan is not signed, USAID might consider, through the LMDA or a future FtF/T activity, addition technical assistance to SUEIP, in line with FtF/T's scope, to increase the capacity of SUEIP at the national level to implement single-window principles both inside and outside of the FtF/T target areas.
- 3.3 In considering how to increase sustainability of supporting farmers in understanding their legal rights, the LMDA should consider bolstering district-level registration office legal services, to the extent doing so falls within their mandate, as well as the model of free-lance lawyers.

4. Communications and Outreach

- 4.1 Special attention should be given to more frequent direct contact and land rights-related support in more remote villages to spread assistance to many of the poorest areas. For example, this could be done through the addition of more *tashabuskors* or higher remuneration for travel to remote areas.

- 4.2 The LMDA should consider deepening its work across media already used by the LRFRP and consider additional media, increasing the amount of materials distributed, and including Uzbek language sections in more communication pieces, such as the *AgroInform* newsletter. The LMDA also should look for ways to develop positive outreach messages supporting the benefits of land markets through mass media that could be used more broadly in Tajikistan to build support and protect momentum in developing land markets.
- 4.3 The LMDA and other FtF/T activities should develop products and training and round-table sessions on additional subject matter to include information on potential problems faced by new farms; finances and risks to smaller-sized farms and farms seeking credit lines, including risks of loans, options to avoid problems with mortgage repayment, and resiliency measures. These issues might be addressed through discussing cooperative models of farming and presenting not just success stories but also cautionary tales. The idea would be to focus farmer attention on both opportunities and risks and how to avoid pitfalls.
- 4.4 The LMDA implementer should broaden the group of stakeholders worked with under the LMDA to include specifically microfinance and banking institutions.
- 4.5 Although the issue of method of distributing information on sales and leases is not yet salient to stakeholders, to promote a smoothly functioning market, the LMDA may still consider exploring how to improve information flows on sales prices, leases, and loan terms under Task 2, "Introduce market-based principles for agriculture land use transactions." This could include working through traditional media, such as newspapers, and through digital media.
- 4.6 The LMDA should reinforce efforts to engage and coopt officials at the *jamoat* and *hukumat* levels to reduce the extent to which rights are broached and to which farmers need to go to court.
- 4.7 The LMDA should build on the LRFRP's efforts to increase transparency in farm land taxation. In the short term, the LMDA might provide direct assistance to new or prospective farmers to provide information specific to each property on taxation amount and timing when shifting land use rights (or ownership) type as well as generalized tables by common changes if not already generated. The LMDA also should suggest and support longer-term systemic changes in procedures to 1) provide this additional information by local level governments and 2) better align tax payments with the agricultural calendar.

5. *Tashabuskors*, Training, and Delivery Model

- 5.1 The LMDA should reexamine with *tashabuskors* and LACs, if LACs remain utilized to organize *tashabuskor* work and consider ways to better align implementer and *tashabuskor*'s expectations on roles and remuneration. The LMDA, with *tashabuskors* input, should come to an agreement on geographic boundaries and remuneration rates that account for realistic social norms, distances across districts, and expectations of assistance to fellow farmers and remuneration for direct expenses, especially on additional printed materials.

6. Educational Interventions

- 6.1 USAID should consider requesting FtF/T-funded activities include or add an indicator to performance monitoring and evaluation plans (PMEPs) measuring success of train-the-trainer model to better capture success of the frequently challenging second level of training. USAID also should encourage implementers to update their PMEPs to add additional indicators when interventions scale upward to improve ability to manage for results and reduce the reliance on anecdotes and success stories as evidence of outcomes.

7. Gender

- 7.1 The LMDA should try to address men's as well as women's gender-based issues in its materials and programming to make sure men are conscious of issues they are likely to face in land rights.

- 7.2 The LMDA should consider male-targeted information on the risk to male farmers of losing fallow land when working overseas.

8. Coordination across FtF/T

- 8.1 USAID should encourage its FtF/T-funded activities to better coordinate to provide more seamless assistance across activities to newer farm managers, especially single women, to improve the ability to manage farms. Key issues for newer managers and new farms include access to start-up capital, extension services, and input supply and care, which are important complements to any land reform program. *Dehkan* farmers who "graduate" from assistance with gaining their land certificates or who receive legal assistance provided by the LMDA could be purposefully directed to other FtF/T activities or other projects to support improved farm management and productivity, potentially passing along specific farmers or managers in cohorts of targeted assistance provision. USAID may wish to direct IPs to develop their own theories of change in their PMEPs, which would make apparent the need for such linkages, perhaps inspiring additional cross-activity work.

9. Sustainability

- 9.1 USAID and the LMDA should consider experimenting or acting creatively, and perhaps attempting multiple venues for promoting greater continuity of land market reform support. This could include working with independent lawyers, encouraging provision of basic legal advice relevant to registration through registration offices, and promoting establishment of a network of farm service centers.
- 9.2 USAID should revisit the "free-for-service" delivery model and consider requesting stakeholders receiving some services pay a possibly means-tested cost-share to reduce the extent to which it may inadvertently crowd out more-sustainable fee-for-service models of service delivery.

10. Critical Assumptions

- 10.1 The LMDA should review the "Tajikistan 2011-2015 Multi-year Strategy for FtF" and include or adapt relevant risks as critical assumptions for its upcoming performance monitoring and evaluation plan. For greater clarity, the LMDA should try to list all assumptions in concise format and avoid describing the context around the assumption through paragraph-formatted narratives.

ANNEXES

ANNEX A: EVALUATION STATEMENT OF WORK

SECTION C – DESCRIPTION / SPECIFICATIONS/STATEMENT OF WORK

C.1 TITLE

Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project Evaluation.

C.2 PURPOSE

The external evaluation comes at the end of the Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project, which is coming to a close in September 2016. It is an end of performance evaluation, formative evaluation whose objectives are to help determine what components and project aspects worked well and why, which perhaps did not and why, and to make informative decisions into work planning and implementation of the new follow-on activity, scheduled to be awarded by December 2016. The evaluation will help to inform the continuing progress of dehkan farm restructuring and recognition of property rights leading to a market in land-use rights.

C.3 BACKGROUND

C.3.1 PROBLEM/OPPORTUNITY ADDRESSED

The importance of land rights in Tajikistan

Accessible and secure land resources and rights are central to poverty alleviation, economic growth, and increases to social equity throughout the developing world. In many countries where land access rights have been distributed more equitably and tenure security has been strengthened, there have been related and measurable improvements in investment and growth, transition to democratic government, and improved resource usage. Conversely, where land rights are limited, land distribution is skewed or where land rights are insecure, poverty levels are frequently at their worst, marginalized groups are often excluded from social and economic opportunity, and the seeds of violent conflict are often present.

Tajikistan's agriculture sector is crucial to the national economy, employing half of the population, and providing nearly half of household incomes. A robust and well-implemented land policy is essential to the revitalization and health of Tajikistan's agriculture sector and rural economy as a whole. A series of efforts led by organizations such as the USAID and World Bank have addressed key issues in Tajikistan's land rights policy and usage to enable social and economic opportunities.

Historical perspective on key land issues

As a brief historical perspective, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Tajikistan became an independent country, it experienced a collapse of Soviet-style state and collective farms. Afterward, a decision was made to privatize land use rights in 1992, and was extended in 1996 to provide individuals and families with the opportunity to reorganize the state and collective farms into "dehkan" farms with the state/collective farm workers as shareholders (World Bank Tajikistan Land Policy Note, March 21, 2007). In the late 1990's, Tajikistan's civil war devastated agricultural production. In part, land

restructuring was seen as a way to provide new opportunities for the rural sector that would help minimize unrest.

In addition, climate change has posed a major threat to Tajikistan, which relies on snow melt for its water supply needs including irrigation, human consumption, and electricity generation. In rain-fed pasture and crop regions, uneven rainfall has stifled dehkan farm crop production.

Tajikistan's local employment base is linked to the country's land use policies and agricultural productivity. Due in part to the relative lack of employment opportunities at home, a large percentage of the Tajikistan adult male population works as migrant laborers abroad, mostly in Russia. This trend has led to undue hardship on women and children. The migration of working-age males has especially impacted the agriculture sector, which has seen a shift of the agriculture work from men to women.

With respect to productivity, Dehkan farming has been relatively labor-intensive and there is potential to derive higher productivity from increased mechanization of farming. However, this has been subdued by factors such as the inability to access and use tractors and other farming equipment, the inability to maintain the country's irrigation system pumps, pipes and canals, and the reduced access to capital available to invest in agriculture.

One of the key issues in land productivity is on selection of crop to cultivate. During Soviet times, farmers were forced to grow cotton. Part of the FtF Tajikistan strategy's theory of change states that if farm land is privatized, then cotton production would decrease and crop diversity would increase.

Land policy reforms underway in Tajikistan

Tajikistan's political will to address land issues via policy reform has been positive to date. On January 26, 2016, Chief Specialist of the Department on Agriculture and Environment Protection of the Executive Office of the President notified the Inter-Ministerial Working Group (WG) that the Prime Minister ordered the State Land Committee to prepare an official request for prolonging USAID Land Reform Project until 2020.

Two key documents are now under consideration by the Government of Tajikistan including:

- a) Draft Rules on Transacting with Land Use Rights in the Land Use Rights Market – the approval is planned in April - June 2016, and
- b) Draft of the Law on amendments to the Law on Registration of Immovable Property – the approval is planned in April - June, 2016.

The draft regulation on Granting Citizens the Right of Life-long Inheritable Land Use with the Right of Alienation is also under review, but the WG decided to revise this document according to the requirements of the Tajikistan Land Code. Specifically, the government will include provisions on other types of land, not only agricultural land, with the proposal of recognizing life-long inheritable land use rights without any compensation.

State Land Committee (SLC) representatives reported that their legal department is reviewing the Draft Land Reform Strategy, which includes a fifteen-year long term Land Policy Concept (2016- 2030) and five-year program implementation plan (2016-2020).

The Law on Dehkan Farms was approved on March 15, 2016.

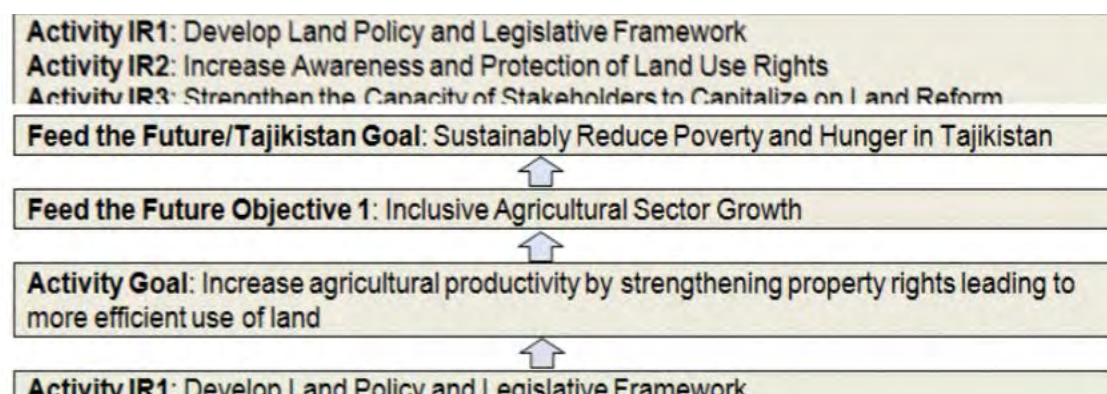
C.3.2 PROGRAM THEORY AND DESIGN OF THE INTERVENTION

Feed the Future Strategy

Reflecting the importance of agriculture to the Tajik economy, Tajikistan has been selected as one of 19 focus countries of the U.S. Government's Feed the Future (FtF) Initiative. The LRFRP has a strategic linkage to the Feed the Future Strategy for Tajikistan (FtF/T), specifically addressing pillar three of the 2012-2017 strategy, which targets "completion of effective agrarian reform, including changes in land and water rights, institutions, policies and incentives."

FtF/T is focused on 12 districts of Khatlon Province of Tajikistan, which have the highest rates of malnutrition and the largest proportion of the population living below the poverty line. At the same time, Khatlon Province possesses potential for increasing agricultural production and incomes due to its strategic location in the Vaksh River basin. USAID is supporting the Government of Tajikistan's (GoT) efforts to reform the agricultural sector in order to increase productivity through FtF initiatives related to strengthening land rights, expanding the availability of information and inputs, crop diversification, and the facilitation of market development.

The following results and components were identified as key to successful implementation of the LRFRP:



C.3.3 LRFRP PROJECT RATIONALE

Purpose of the project

The purpose of the Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project (LRFRP) is to support the continuing progress of dehkan farm restructuring and recognition of property rights leading to a market in land-use rights. The LRFRP focuses on policy and legal development, expanding awareness of land-use rights among rural government and citizen stakeholders, facilitating acquisition of land-use certificates, and building government capacity to effectively develop, monitor and implement the land reform process. There is also a significant gender component around ensuring that names of female farmers appear on land titling and assistance with conflict disputes.

LRFRP Tasks over the Life of Project

- a) Land Policy and Legislative Drafting
- b) Build Capacity of Government Officials, Farmers, Civil Society Organizations and Other Rural Stakeholders to Capitalize on Land Reform

- c) Land Rights and Farm Restructuring Public Information and Awareness (PIA)
- d) Support the Provision of Legal Advice and Other Assistance to Promote Farm Restructuring and the Development of a Market in Land-use Rights

Key Indicators (per Project's M&E Plan)

Project Purpose		
Increase agricultural productivity by strengthening property rights leading to the more efficient use of land Indicators: • Number of individuals that have obtained documented property rights as result of USG assistance • Number of improvements in laws and regulations affecting property rights of the urban and rural poor as a result of USG assistance • Number of people attending USG-assisted facilitated events that are geared toward strengthening understanding and awareness of property rights • Number of rural households benefiting directly from USG interventions • Number of food security private enterprises (for profit), producers organizations, water users associations, women's groups, trade and business associations, and CBOs receiving USG assistance		
Project Intermediate Result 1	Project Intermediate Result 2	Project Intermediate Result 3
Improved land policy and legislation Indicators: • Improvements in laws and regulations affecting property rights of the urban and rural poor as a result of USG assistance, by stage • Number of consensus-building forums (working groups, public-private dialogues, roundtables, etc.) held with project support • Percentage of laws targeted laws/policies/regulation that include gender considerations	Increased Awareness and Protection of Land Use Rights • Indicators: Number of local government officials supported by USG assistance related to land tenure and property rights in FtF zone of influence • Number of people attending USG-assisted facilitated events that are geared toward strengthening understanding and awareness of property rights • Percentage of cost of LAC services which are covered through fees • Number of individuals/groups that receive legal aid on land issues in the FTF target districts supported by USAID assistance • Number of collective dehqan farms reorganized with USAID assistance • Percent of disputes resolved to the benefit of the farmers supported by the project disputes resolved through mediation services • Number of previously existing land and natural resource-based conflicts resolved in areas receiving USG assistance for land conflict mitigation	Improved capacity of stakeholders to capitalize on land reform • Indicators: Number of local government officials supported by USG assistance related to land tenure and property rights in FtF zone of influence • Person hours of training completed by government officials or traditional authority related or individuals related to land tenure and property rights supported by USG assistance

See the Project M&E Plan for more detail and for additional indicators and critical assumptions that might be outside the scope of the above graphic.

Highlights of key successes of the project as of January 2016

- a) Legal Aid Centers (LACs) and activists provided 16,756 consultations to assist farmers to protect their rights to land.
- b) LACs protected farmers' rights through 17 court cases and resolved 97 land disputes through mediation.
- c) Farm restructuring: 52,221 farmers assisted in obtaining documented property rights; direct assistance provided to 2,447 of these farmers.
- d) Reorganized 131 large collective dehkan farms into 1,200 small family or individual dehkan farms of 2 to 5 hectares.
- e) Approval of two Government regulations facilitated:
 - Rules and procedures for registration of immovable property: approved on August, 2014.
 - Developed Regulation on Establishing Public (Involuntary) Easement: GoT approved on December 30, 2015; regulation gives a third party the right to have access to land for public and private use based on Servitude agreement
- f) New Law on Dehkan Farms approved.
- g) At final stage of approval: Draft Rules on Transacting with Land Use Rights in the Land Use Rights Market: submitted to the GoT for review and comments; final approval expected during April – June, 2016.

C.4 EVALUATION PURPOSE AND INTENDED USES

This external evaluation comes at the end of the Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project, which is coming to a close in September 2016. It is a qualitative, end-of-project performance/formative evaluation whose objectives are to help determine what components and project aspects worked well and why, which perhaps did not and why, and to make informative decisions into work planning and implementation of the new follow-on activity, scheduled to be awarded by December 2016.

USAID/Central Asia mission will benefit from reviewing effectiveness of its strategy and interventions, as well as in planning and implementing follow-on work. Also the evaluation will contribute to the design of instruments that would benefit USAID globally once the case study is completed.

The purposes of this evaluation are to:

- a) Assess Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project accomplishments within a context of the overall land market development in Tajikistan both at the local and national levels.
- b) Analyze specific results of the LRFRP objectives and tasks.
- c) Develop recommendations to the USAID team for designing and to the future implementer on implementing the follow-on activity.

C.5 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

There are three principal questions that are management priorities for understanding how the project performed, and for using that insight to inform future activity planning and implementation.

1. According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the USAID Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project (LRFRP) led to quality impact, or were a challenge for achieving quality impact?

By “quality impact,” USAID refers to the following aspects at a minimum:

- Results achievement - effective performance of the project in achieving progress toward its goals;
- USAID contribution incremental benefit to various stakeholders (e.g., from USAID team, host government, beneficiaries, other donors);
- Operational performance of the contractor and USAID team (particularly their management effectiveness and efficiency);
- Gender integration;
- Sustainability; and
- Unintended consequences, for better or worse.

2. What are the remaining policy and operational challenges in creating a working land market in Tajikistan according to stakeholders (e.g., GoT, end-users, business associations, other private sector and certification entities)?

3. What critical assumptions in LRFRP have changed given the current context? What risks or critical assumptions are missing from the LRFRP given the current context?

C.6 EVALUATION METHODS

The contractor shall have flexibility in proposing the most appropriate methodology to accomplish the tasks outlined in the most efficient way. At a minimum however, a suggested approach for data gathering will include the following components:

Task 1: Desk review

The contractor will conduct a desk review to provide a general overview of the current situation in Tajikistan, and will help identify areas that merit closer attention once the team begins its fieldwork. Reading materials will be available to the team prior to their arrival in Tajikistan. The contractor shall review also other relevant non-project related documents such as peer-review articles and other publications and incorporate the review findings into the data collection design and data analysis and interpretation.

Task 2: Draft description of overall methodology and workplan

Using the information gained from the desk review together with information provided in this SOW, in conjunction with USAID/Central Asia, the assessment team will develop a plan for conducting the fieldwork. The plan should clearly outline the methodological approach the team will use. The field work plan shall be submitted for review to the USAID/Central Asia COR for approval prior to arrival in country.

The workplan must contain at least the following elements:

- Conceptual framework and research design,
- Data collection methods,
- Sampling plan – if needed,
- Data collection instruments

- Data analysis plan, and
- Detailed evaluation and field work schedule.

Task 3: Conduct a field data collection

The in-country data collection will expand upon the analysis in the desk review. The tasks will include facilitated discussions through interviews, focus groups of sub-grantees/end-users, GoT, business associations, other private sector and certification entities and conduct field visits using other evaluation methods. The evaluation team will spend at least three weeks in-country to conduct the evaluation. The identification of key stakeholders and informants and the scheduling of in-person interviews/focus groups must be arranged in advance as much as possible to maximize efficient use of time while in the field. USAID/Central Asia will provide introductions and contact information to facilitate the data collection.

Upon arrival, the team shall meet with USAID/Central Asia staff in Tajikistan to discuss the approach and work plan. The team will then meet with the key stakeholders, including representatives of the international community, contacts recommended by these sources, and other informed experts. The team will also meet with a wide range of representatives from the GoT, political parties and non-governmental organizations.

The team will travel outside the capital, within a selection of the twelve target districts in southwestern Khatlon province. The districts will be sampled in consultation with USAID in order to collect data and/or obtain information from the LRFRP beneficiaries (e.g., male and female smallholder farmers, legal aid center staff, district and community officials) to get a better sense of the overall context within Tajikistan. The 12 districts, which are typically named after the district center town, are: Bokhtar, Jomi, Jilikul, Khuroson, Nosiri Khisrav, Qabodiyon, Qumsangir, Rumi, Sarband, Shahritus, Vakhsh, and Yovon. While there will be a good deal of emphasis on getting the context and input from officials and donors, equal attention, if not more attention, shall be given to the LRFRP end beneficiary and what they need in order to thrive.

END OF SECTION C

ANNEX B: EVALUATION TEAM COMPOSITION

The evaluation team is composed of the following individuals:

- **Dr. Marc Shapiro, Senior Evaluation Specialist and Team Leader:** Dr. Shapiro will be responsible for ensuring the overall technical delivery of the contract. This includes managing the development all of written deliverables and providing final review and sign off on the technical quality of all deliverables. Dr. Shapiro will be involved in all phases of the evaluation including the desk review, data collection, and the analysis and report writing. He will lead on writing the majority of the final report, but is also expected to delegate certain sections to other evaluation team members, reviewing and approving their written contributions before including them in the report.
- **Ms. Genowefa Cahill, Land Market Development Specialist:** Ms. Cahill will provide expertise in land reform to the evaluation design, qualitative data collection effort, analysis and drafting of the final report.
- **Mr. Iskandar Hadarovich, Land Reform/Development Specialist:** Mr. Haidarovich will bring to the evaluation design a land reform perspective and understanding of the local context, qualitative data collection effort, analysis and drafting of the final report.
- **Ms. Muminova Dilbar Ismoilovna, Interpreter and Logistician:** Ms. Ismoilovna will provide interpretation services and translation support for the evaluation team while conducting qualitative fieldwork. Ms. Ismoilovna will also be responsible for logistical support for the qualitative data collection team during data collection in Tajikistan.
- **Dr. Jennifer Mandel, Gender Specialist:** Based at SI HQ in Washington, DC, Dr. Mandel provides expertise in gender perspectives throughout the evaluation design, data collection and analysis, and drafting of the financial report.
- **Ms. Jean-Camille Kollmorgen, Project Director:** Based at the SI home office in Washington, DC, Ms. Kollmorgen will be responsible for the overall quality assurance of the contract. Ms. Kollmorgen will participate in check-in meetings with USAID, advise on data collection and analysis techniques, and comment on draft evaluation reports.
- **Ms. Carina Rosado, Project Manager:** Based in Washington, D.C. Ms. Rosado will play a coordination role for the entire evaluation process between the Mission, Evaluation Team and SI HQ and ensure quality assurance for the evaluation process.
- **Ms. Sierra Frischknecht, Project Assistant:** Based at SI HQ in Washington, DC, Ms. Frischknecht will provide research assistance and support logistical aspects of the contract, including, but not limited to, arranging travel, reviewing invoices, and also providing copy-editing and technical comments on the draft reports.

ANNEX C: EVALUATION DESIGN MATRIX

Evaluation Questions	Data Sources	Data Collection Tools	Data Analysis Method
1. According to stakeholders, what design and operational aspects of the LRFRP led to quality impact, or were a challenge for achieving quality impact?	1. Desk Review: LRFRP reports (annual, gender, other), LRFRP monitoring & evaluation reports 2. USAID staff; IP staff; Sub-grantees/LACs; National, regional, and local government officials; <i>tashabuskors</i> 3. Farmers; students and teachers	1. Desk Study 2. KII 3. FGDs	1. Content analysis 2. Pattern analysis
2. What are the remaining policy and operational challenges in creating a working land market in Tajikistan according to stakeholders (e.g., GoT, end-users, business associations, other private sector and certification entities)?	1. Desk review: LRFRP annual reports, LRFRP monitoring & evaluation reports, government reports, peer-reviewed publications 2. USAID staff; IP staff; Sub-grantees/LACs; National, regional, and local government officials; <i>tashabuskors</i> 3. Farmers	1. Desk Study 2. KII/Group Interview 3. FGDs	1. Content analysis 2. Pattern analysis
3. What critical assumptions in LRFRP have changed given the current context? What risks or critical assumptions are missing from the LRFRP given the current context?	1. Desk review: Regional Country Strategy; LRFRP annual reports, LRFRP monitoring & evaluation reports, government reports; peer-reviewed publications 2. USAID staff; IP staff; Sub-grantees/LACs <i>tashabuskors</i> 3. Farmers	1. Desk Study 2. KII/Group Interview 3. FGDs	1. Content analysis 2. Pattern analysis

ANNEX D: DISTRICT SELECTION CRITERIA AND MATRIX

Criterion #	Description
Criteria 1	Representation across sub-grantees for LACs: CBO supporting the Legal Aid Center in each district
Criteria 2	Beneficiary training as a percentage of district population: Percentage of district population participating in legal-aid trainings and other educational events
Criteria 3	Existence of LRFRP-supported pilot registration offices: Representation among districts with and without the model registration offices co-created by LRFRP and State Unitary Enterprise for Registration of Immovable Property (SUERIP) Office
Criteria 4	Favorable socio-economic conditions relevant to land reform: Extent to socio-economic conditions, such as infrastructure, transportation, yields, and landscape might influence progress of land reform
Criteria 5	Level of paid services delivered to farmers: Percentage of LAC operating budget generated from paid services
Criteria 6	Gender representation: Percentage of women participation in the land reform program/ legal aid training
Criteria 7	Existence of school trainings on land reform process: Representation among districts in which courses on land reform were given to high school students

District	Criteria 1: CBO supporting LAC ¹	Criteria 2: Beneficiary training as % of district population ²	Criteria 3: Existence of district registration office ²	Criteria 4: Socio-economic conditions (Good, Medium, Poor) ³	Criteria 5: Paid services for farmers as % of overall operating budgets ²	Criteria 6: Gender participation ²	Criteria 7: Land reform process courses at schools ²
Bokhtar	Illhom	5.1 %	Yes	G	11.5%	34.1%	Yes
Jomi	Illhom	7.6 %	No	M	12.0%	30.6%	No
Jilikul / Dusti	Tajagrofond	7.6 %	Yes	M	5.2%	28.8%	Yes
Khuroson	Arbitrazh	8.6 %	No	P	25.9%	23.4%	Yes
Nosiri Khisrav	Bonuvoni Fardo	25.2 %	No	P	3.5%	39.6%	Yes
Qabodiyon	Tajagrofond	5.3 %	No	P	4.5%	38.0%	No
Qumsangir⁴	Navzamin	10.0 %	No	M	14.4%	23.8%	Yes
Rumi / J. Balkhi	Navzamin	5.8 %	No	M	10.9%	35.8%	Yes
Sarband	Illhom	12.1 %	No	G	41.0%	41.2%	No
Shahrutus	Bonuvoni Fardo	11.0 %	No	P	10.3%	36.3%	No
Vakhsh	Mahubyba	4.8 %	No	G	28.9%	45.0%	No
Yovon	Arbitrazh	7.1 %	Yes	M	24.2%	14.4%	No

Note: selected districts are highlighted in red.

1 LRFRP Annual Report Year 2; LRFRP Final Report; 2 LRFRP Final Report; 3 ET criteria.

ANNEX E: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

SUERIP Emailed Questions

English	Russian	
	LAND MARKET PROGRESS & CONTEXT	
1	How well has land reform and farm restructuring progressed in the last four years to support full land rights in rural areas?	Насколько хорошо продвинулась земельная реформа в поддержку прав на землю течение последних четырех лет в сельской местности?
2	What are the remaining policy challenges and operational challenges hindering progress to create a land market in Tajikistan?	Какие оставшиеся стратегические проблемы и оперативные задачи сдерживают прогресс создания земельного рынка в Таджикистане?
3	Have women's issues being incorporated into land laws and regulations? How?	Были ли проблемы женщин включены в законы и правил о земле? Как?
4	What has been the effect on land rights of the creation of the new land registry offices?	Какое создание новых офисов по регистрации земли влияют на земельные права?
5	What, if anything, still needs to be done for land registry offices to function as well as you would like?	Что еще необходимо сделать для офисов по регистрации земли, чтобы они функционировали так, как Вам хотелось бы?
6	How has the overall context in Tajikistan changed in the last three years that affects improving land rights and creating land markets?	В общем контексте, что изменилось за последние три года в Таджикистане, что влияет на повышение прав на землю и создание земельного рынка?
	LRFRP/USAID	
7	In your view, what aspects of the Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project (LRFRP) project design and interventions or operations increased its success?	На ваш взгляд, какие аспекты разработки и мероприятия или функционирования проекта Земельной реформы и реструктуризации сельского хозяйства (LRFRP) увеличила его достижение успеха?
8	Was there anything that held back success?	Было ли что-нибудь, что сдерживало успех?
9	Were there any outcomes that were unexpected, and, if so do you believe the project responded appropriately?	Были ли какие-то результаты, которые оказались неожиданными? Если Вы уверены, что были такие результаты, то адекватно ли проект среагировал на них?
10	Did LRFRP do anything that helps its efforts to continue on even after the end of the project?	Сделал ли проект LRFRP что-либо, что помогает продолжать его усилия даже после окончания проекта?
11	For a future project like LRFRP, what should be the focus? What should be done differently?	Для будущего проекта, подобной LRFRP, на что оно должно сконцентрировать своё внимание? Что необходимо сделать по-другому?
12	How does your organization feel about USAID's support?	Как ваша организация относится к поддержке со стороны USAID?

Follow Up SUERIP

	English	Russian
1	You wrote that "It is necessary to develop a mechanism for land market creation and establish conditions that would allow the transfer of rights..."	В своих ответах на вопросы, Вы написали, что "Необходимо разработать механизм создания рынка земли и создания условий, которые позволили бы передача прав..."
2	Can you provide examples of mechanisms and conditions required?	Вы можете привести примеры необходимых механизмов и условий?
3	Is there resistance within government?	Существует ли сопротивление внутри правительства?
4	Does anything need to be done in laws or policies with respect to leasing land?	Необходимо ли внести какие-либо изменения в законы или в политику относительно аренды земли?
5	What more might need to be done to protect women's rights with respect to land? Anything for men?	Что еще необходимо сделать для защиты прав женщин на землю? Что еще необходимо сделать для мужчин?
6	Where are there currently challenges with the Inter-Ministerial Working Group on land reform issues?	В настоящее время, где существуют проблемы с межведомственной рабочей группой по вопросам земельной реформы?
7	Has SUERIP heard of cases where the single window has not fully worked as planned, with some other offices still needing to be visited?	Слышал ли ГУПРНИ о случаях, когда единое окно не сработало так, как оно было запланировано, все ещё необходимо посетить некоторые другие ведомства?
8	Should something be done to reduce variation in costs of registration across rayons?	Что должно быть сделано, чтобы сократить разницу затраты на регистрацию по районам??
9	How could registration office procedures be further simplified?	Как можно в будущем упростить процедуры регистрационных офисов?
10	How could costs be reduced?	Как можно сократить затраты на регистрацию?
11	What might need to be done at the national or regional levels to assure that USAID-sponsored land registrations are processed fully by district registration offices?	Что, возможно, необходимо сделать на национальном или региональном уровнях, чтобы удостовериться, что новые офисы по регистрации земли, спонсированные со стороны ЮСАИД были полностью осуществлены в регистрационных офисах районов?
12	Could you explain further the value of considering a regional training center for SUERIP representatives?	Не могли бы Вы пояснить значимость рассмотрение регионального учебного центра для представителей ГУПРНИ?
13	Where are there overlaps in responsibilities of the land committee and SUERIP given changes instituted?	С учётом изменений, где существует дублирование в обязанностях земельного комитета и ГУПРНИ?

Implementing Partner

#	English	Russian
1	Could you describe your role in the Inter-Ministerial Working Group and the project?	Не могли бы вы описать вашу роль в межведомственной рабочей группе и в проекте?
2	Do you feel that the WG and the project had good working relationship?	Вы чувствуете, что РГ и проект имел хорошие рабочие отношения?
3	Do you feel that the WG and the project had similar objectives?	Вы чувствуете, что РГ и проект были одинаковые задачи?
4	What do you see as the remaining challenges for land reform in Tajikistan?	Что Вы видите, какие проблемы ещё остались для проведения земельной реформы в Таджикистане?
5	In your opinion has the LRFRP done enough to promote change in land ownership?	На ваш взгляд имеет LRFRP сделали достаточно, чтобы продвигать изменения в собственности на землю?
6	What is the relationship between the WG and the LRFRP?	Какая связь между РГ и LRFRP?
7	Now that the project has been operating for few years can government continue the program on its own?	Теперь, когда проект поработал уже несколько лет, правительство сможет продолжить программу самостоятельно?
8	What are the biggest challenges the program faces?	Каковы основные проблемы, с которыми сталкивается программа?
9	What policies and laws are still required to have a functioning land market in Tajikistan?	Оглядываясь на то, что было сделано до сих пор, что бы вы изменили?
10	Looking back at what has been done so far what would you change?	Какую политику и законы по-прежнему необходимы для функционирования земельного рынка в Таджикистане?
11	What do you see as the greatest success of the project?	Что Вы считаете наибольшим успехом проекта?
12	What are the project failure or shortcomings so far if any?	Каковы неудачи или недостатки проекта, если таковые имеются?

Implementing Partner Lawyer

#	English	Russian
1	Could you describe your role in the Inter-Ministerial Working Group and the project?	Не могли бы вы описать вашу роль в межведомственной рабочей группе и в проекте?
2	Do you feel that the WG and the project had good working relationship?	Вы чувствуете, что РГ и проект имел хорошие рабочие отношения?
3	Do you feel that the WG and the project had similar objectives?	Вы чувствуете, что РГ и проект были одинаковые задачи?
4	What do you see as the remaining challenges for land reform in Tajikistan?	Что Вы видите, какие проблемы ещё остались для проведения земельной реформы в Таджикистане?
5	In your opinion has the LRFRP done enough to promote change in land ownership?	На ваш взгляд имеет LRFRP сделали достаточно, чтобы продвигать изменения в собственности на землю?
6	What is the relationship between the WG and the LRFRP?	Какая связь между РГ и LRFRP?
7	Now that the project has been operating for few years can government continue the program on its own?	Теперь, когда проект поработал уже несколько лет, правительство сможет продолжить программу самостоятельно?
8	What are the biggest challenges the program faces?	Каковы основные проблемы, с которыми сталкивается программа?
9	What policies and laws are still required to have a functioning land market in Tajikistan?	Оглядываясь на то, что было сделано до сих пор, что бы вы изменили?
10	Looking back at what has been done so far what would you change?	Какую политику и законы по-прежнему необходимы для функционирования земельного рынка в Таджикистане?
11	What do you see as the greatest success of the project?	Что Вы считаете наибольшим успехом проекта?
12	What are the project failure or shortcomings so far if any?	Каковы неудачи или недостатки проекта, если таковые имеются?

Implementing Partner Gender Specialist

#	English	Russian
1	What was your role as the gender specialist on the project?	Какова была Ваша роль в качестве Гендерного специалиста в проекте?
2	How would you describe your working relationship with the WG?	Как бы Вы описали ваши рабочие отношения с Рабочей Группой?
3	What were the biggest challenges you faced?	С какими большими трудностями вы сталкивались?
4	How has land ownership affected women status in the community?	Как повлияло собственность на землю на статус женщин в обществе?
5	Has the program design provided sufficient support to women?	Обеспечила ли дизайн программы достаточную поддержку женщинам?
7	In your opinion have women in Tajikistan better access to land than in the past?	По Вашему мнению, имеют ли женщины в Таджикистане лучший (облегченный) доступ к земле по сравнению в прошлом?
8	What further changes need to be made to the program and laws to enhance women's access to land rights?	Какие дальнейшие изменения должны быть внесены в программы и законы, чтобы улучшить доступ женщин к земельным правам?
9	What are the program successes regarding women's access to land rights?	Каковы успехи программы, относительно доступа женщин к земельным правам?
10	Is there sufficient government support for women's access to land rights?	Достаточно ли государство поддерживает доступ женщин к земельным правам?

District Land Committees and Registration Offices

#	English	Russian
1	How well has land reform and farm restructuring progressed to support land rights?	Насколько хорошо продвинулась земельная реформа в поддержку прав на землю?
a	Have reform and restructuring progressed to where it is needed for farmers to have full rights?	Имеется ли прогресс проекта земельной реформы и реструктуризации сельского хозяйства в Таджикистане там, где это необходимо для фермеров, чтобы иметь полные права?
b	What has facilitated the process?	Что способствовало облегчению процесса?
c	What holds back the process?	Где процесс сдерживался и почему?
d	What laws and regulations still need to be passed to develop land markets?	Какие законы и нормативные акты по-прежнему должны быть приняты в целях развития рынков земли?
2	What are the most difficult issues that remain related to land reform/privatization?	Каковы наиболее сложные вопросы, которые остаются связанными с проведением земельной реформы/приватизации?
a	Use of water for private farmers?	Использование воды для частных фермеров?
	Lack of sufficient infrastructure and rural input companies to serve new private farmers?	Отсутствие соответствующей инфраструктуры и сельских производственных компаний для обслуживания новых частных землевладельцев?
b	Land rights valuation?	Оценка прав на землю?
c	Land markets?	Земельные рынки?
d	How does these issues vary for men vs. women?	Права на землю в качестве залога для получения кредита?
3	How well are the legal aid centers working?	Насколько хорошо работают Центры Правовой помощи?
4	What support does government provide to help farmers in obtaining land rights?	Какую поддержку обеспечивает правительство, чтобы помочь фермерам в получении прав на землю?
a	Which departments are responsible for dissemination of information on land rights?	Какие ведомства отвечают за распространение информации о правах на землю?
b	How does the information reach farmers?	Каким образом информация доходит до фермеров?
c	Are specific measures taken to include land rights of poor farmers who can't pay? women? ethnic minorities?	Принимаются ли конкретные меры по включению прав на землю неимущих фермеров, которые не могут платить? Женщин? Этнических меньшинств?
5	Has the creation of the new office of land registry SUERIP improved registration of land rights?	Улучшилась ли регистрация прав на землю после создания нового управления земельного кадастра SUERIP?
a	Does the office have the capacity and resources to operate effectively?	Имеется ли потенциал и ресурсы у управления, для эффективной работы?
b	How does the Land Committee promote its services to the rural population?	Каким образом Комитет по землеустройству и геодезии продвигает свои услуги сельскому населению?
c	Is donor support still required? where?	Требуется ли по-прежнему поддержка со стороны доноров? Где?
d	Is there a clear division of responsibility between the Land Committee and the newly established SUERIP?	Существует ли четкое разделение ответственности между Комитетом по землеустройству и вновь созданным управлением SUERIP?
6	What was LRFRP contribution to the capacity building development of the organization?	Что послужило вкладом LRFRP в развитие потенциала организации?
7	What still needs to be done for SUERIP to function efficiently?	Что еще нужно сделать для SUERIP, чтобы оно функционировало более эффективно?

a	Does the office have the capacity and resources to operate effectively?	Имеет ли ведомство потенциал и ресурсы для эффективного функционирования?
b	How does the Land Committee promote its services to the rural population?	Каким образом Комитет по землеустройству и геодезии продвигает свои услуги сельскому населению?
8	What cooperation exists between your office and the LACs and NGOs that provide support to the farming community on land rights and land reform?	Какое сотрудничество существует между вашим управлением и частными организациями (ЛАС, НПО), которые обеспечивают поддержку фермерских общин в правах на землю и проведении земельной реформы?
a	Does the government provide information about changes in land rights i.e. registration?	Предоставляет ли правительство информацию об изменениях в области прав на землю, т.е. регистрации?
b	How do they reach farming communities?	Как она доходит до фермерских общин?
c	Do you support <i>Tashabuskor</i> , for example by providing up-to-date information on the new laws? If so, how do you do so?	Поддерживаете ли вы Ташабускор, например, путем предоставления актуальной информации о новых законах? Если так, как вы это делаете?
d	In your opinion, are <i>Tashabuskor</i> sufficiently knowledgeable to provide some legal advice to farmers?	На ваш взгляд, достаточно ли осведомлен Ташабускор, чтобы предоставлять некоторые юридические консультации для фермеров?
9	What has LRFRP done well?	Что проектом ЗРРЦХ/ЛФРПР было сделано хорошо?
a	What interaction existed between your agency and the LRFRP?	Какое взаимодействие существует между вашей организацией и проектом ЗРРЦХ/ЛФРПР?
b	Was the project support sufficient?	Была ли поддержка проекта соответствующей?
c	What worked well about project design?	Что работало хорошо, касательно разработки проекта?
d	How should project design been different?	Как следует разрабатывать проект по-другому?
e	What worked well about project operations?	Что работало хорошо, касательно рабочего процесса проекта?
f	How should the project have operated differently?	Как должен проект работать по-другому?
10	What should the project have done differently?	Что нужно сделать в проекте по-другому?
11	What impact do the large cotton collective farms have on land reform/privatization?	Какое влияние имеют большие хлопковые хозяйства на проведение земельной реформы/приватизации?
a	Are farmers hesitant to obtain land rights?	Фермеры не решаются получить права на землю?
b	What should have been done differently to address issues related to the collective farms? What should be done in the future?	Что надо было сделать по-другому, чтобы решить вопросы, связанные с колхозами? Что должно быть сделано в будущем?
12	Overall what do you think about the cooperation/integration and communication amongst the many government and private organizations?	В целом, что вы думаете о сотрудничестве/интеграции и коммуникации среди многих правительственных и частных организаций?
a	Cooperation of the project with government institutions?	Взаимодействие проекта с государственными структурами
b	Cooperation of NGOs and government institutions?	Сотрудничество неправительственных организаций и государственных учреждений?

Farmer Focus Groups

#	English	Russian
1	Is there anything you or your neighbors would like to do with your land that you can't do or that anyone tries to stop you from doing?	Хотели бы Вы или Ваши соседи сделать что-нибудь на Вашей земле, которую Вы не можете делать или кто-то пытается помешать Вам сделать?
2	Why don't some farmers have their land use certificates?	Почему некоторые фермеры не имеют сертификата пользования землей?
3	Are there obstacles for farmers to get appropriate <u>access</u> to your land shares?	Существуют ли препятствия для фермеров для получения доступа к своей земельной доли?
4	Are there obstacles to lease land shares?	Существуют ли препятствия для аренды земельной доли?
5	How do you feel about these changes? How	Как Вы относитесь к этим изменениям?
6	In what ways are men's and women's land rights given out or treated differently?	В каком смысле права мужчин и женщин на землю выдаются или применяются ли к ним неодинаковый подход?
7	Who in your district has helped people get rights to their land?	Кто в Вашем районе помогает людям получать права на своей земле?
8	How helpful were the <i>Tashabuskors</i> ?	Насколько полезной была деятельность Ташаббускоров?
9	Are there any problems your district registration office?	Существуют ли какие-либо проблемы в Вашем районном отделении по регистрации земли?
10	How do you feel about the work of the LAC?	Как вы относитесь к работе ЦПП?
11	How much do certificates cost?	Какова цена на земельные сертификаты?
12	How long does it take to get through the registration process now, without LRFRP?	Сейчас, как долго занимает время прохождение через процесс регистрации, без поддержки проекта LRFRP?
13	Have you heard about secondary school students teaching their families what they learned in schools about land rights?	Слышали ли Вы о студентах средней школы, которые обменивались своими знаниями со своей семьей, чему их обучали в школе о правах на землю?
14	Who (Tajik nongovernmental organization or institution) should carry on this work in the long-run? (Aside from external projects)	Кто (Таджикская неправительственная организация или учреждение) должен продолжить эту работу в долгосрочной перспективе? (Помимо внешних проектов)
15	Do you have any recommendations for a future project you have not already told us about?	Есть ли у Вас какие-либо рекомендации для будущего проекта, о которых Вы ещё не рассказали нам?

Tashabuskors

#	English	Russian
1	What support to land reform was provided by the donor community? a. What support was provided by international donors, specifically USAID?? b. What interaction existed between you and the LRFRP or LAC? c. Was the project support sufficient? d. What do you think was done well? How did your organization benefit from the LRFRP?	Какая поддержка была оказана при проведении земельной реформы со стороны донорского сообщества? a. Какая поддержка была оказана со стороны международных доноров, в частности USAID? b. Какое взаимодействие существует между вами и проектами ЗРРЦХ/LRFRP или LAC? c. Была ли поддержка проекта соответствующей? Как вы думаете, что было сделано хорошо? Какую пользу извлекла ваша организация из проекта ЗРРЦХ/LRFRP?
2	What support does government provide, to help farmers in obtaining land rights? a. Which departments are responsible for dissemination of information on land rights? b. How does the information reach farmers? c. What measures are taken to include land rights of women? ethnic minorities? poor farmers who can't pay? d. Is there still room for improvement for gender integration?	Какую поддержку обеспечивает правительство для помощи фермерам в получении прав на землю? a. Какие ведомства несут ответственность за распространение информации о правах на землю? b. Каким образом информация доходит до фермеров? c. Какие меры принимаются для получения прав на землю женщинами? Этническими меньшинствами? Неимущими фермерами, которые не могут платить? d. Есть ли еще возможности для улучшения гендерной интеграции?
3	What are the most difficult issues that remain related to land reform/privatization? a. Use of water for private farmers? b. Lack of sufficient infrastructure and rural industries to serve new private farmers? c. Land rights valuation? d. Land rights markets? Land rights used as collateral to obtain credit?	Каковы наиболее сложные вопросы, которые остаются связанными с земельной реформой/приватизацией? a. Использование воды для частных фермеров? b. Отсутствие соответствующей инфраструктуры и сельской промышленности для обслуживания новых частных фермеров? c. Оценка стоимости прав на землю? d. Земельные рынки? Право на земельный участок, используемый в качестве залога для получения кредита?
4	In your mind, has the creation of the new office of land registry SUERIP improved registration of land rights? a. Does the office have the capacity and resources to operate effectively? b. How does the Land Committee promote its services to the rural population?	На ваш взгляд, улучшило ли регистрация прав на землю после создания нового управления земельного кадастра SUERIP? a. Есть ли у управления потенциал и ресурсы, для эффективной работы? b. Каким образом Комитет по землеустройству продвигает свои услуги сельскому населению?

	c. Is donor support still required? If so, in which area? d. Have you used the services of the organizations? e. What still needs to be done, for the new organization to function efficiently? Is there any provision to help poor farmers, with free-of-charge registration?	c. Требуется ли по-прежнему поддержка со стороны доноров? Если да, то в какой области? d. Пользовались ли Вы услугами организаций? e. Что еще нужно сделать, чтобы новая организация эффективно функционировала? Есть ли какое-либо положение, чтобы помочь неимущим фермерам с бесплатной регистрацией?
5	In your opinion has the LRFRP contributed to improvement of agricultural production? How?	Как вы думаете, способствует ли проект ЗРПСХ/ LRFRP улучшению сельскохозяйственного производства? Как?
	a. Have <i>dehkan</i> and private farms become more efficient i.e. increased yields, increase in variety of products available in the markets? b. Has the creation of <i>dehkan</i> farms contributed to commercial farming?	a. Стали ли более эффективными дехканские и фермерские хозяйства, т.е. повысилась урожайность, увеличилось разнообразие продуктов, доступных на рынках? Способствовало ли создание дехканских хозяйств товарному сельскохозяйственному производству?
6	Is farm extension support available to the farming community?	Доступна ли поддержка расширения хозяйств для фермерских общин?
	a. Can female farmers receive equal extension services, that is, as male farmers receive?	a. Могут ли женщины-фермеры получать тот же уровень услуг по расширению, как и мужчины-фермеры?
7	What support you need to help farmers, especially women to obtain land rights?	Какая поддержка вам нужна, чтобы помочь фермерам, особенно женщинам для получения прав на землю?
	a. What information materials do you receive and from whom? b. In your opinion is the information provided to farmers sufficient? c. What do you think needs to be added? In your opinion, what needs to be done to encourage women to establish <i>dehkan</i> farms?	Какой информационный материал вы получите и от кого? По вашему мнению, является ли соответствующей информация, предоставленная фермерам? Как вы думаете, что еще нужно добавить? Как вы думаете, что нужно сделать, чтобы вдохновить женщин на создание дехканских хозяйств?
8	What impact do the large cotton collective farms have on land reform/privatization?	Какое влияние имеют большие хлопковые хозяйства на проведение земельной реформы/приватизации?
	a. Are farmers hesitant to obtain land rights? b. What difficulties do they face in working the land? c. Is there any opportunity for them to diversify their crops? d. Is there a competitive cotton buyers' market? What should have been done differently to address issues related to the collective farms? What should be done in the future?	a. Фермеры не решаются получить права на землю? b. С какими трудностями они сталкиваются при обработке земли? c. Есть ли возможность для них, чтобы разнообразить свой урожай? d. Существует ли конкурентоспособный рынок покупателей хлопка? Что нужно было сделать по-другому для решения вопросов, связанных с колхозами? Что должно быть сделано в будущем?

9	What financial resources exist to help farmers in improving their farm efficiency?	Какие существуют финансовые ресурсы, чтобы помочь фермерам повысить их производственную эффективность?
	a. Are credit rates offered by financial institutions favorable to farm development? b. What causes the high interest rate? How do the high interest rates affect the progress of land privatization?	a. Выгодны ли кредитные ставки, предлагаемые финансовыми организациями для развития хозяйства? b. Что является причиной высокой процентной ставки? Как высокие процентные ставки влияют на ход приватизации земли?

School Teachers

#	English	Russian
1	What motivated him to introduce the course to schoolchildren?	Что руководствовало им ввести курс для школьников?
2	Did he receive assistance from the project in developing the curriculum?	Получил ли он помощь от проекта в разработке учебной программы?
3	What input did he have from outside the project?	Какую помощь он получил за пределами проекта?
4	Was the school supportive?	Школа (руководство школы) поддерживала Вас?
5	How much time was devoted to the land tenure classes?	Сколько времени было потрачено на занятия по землевладению?
6	What ages of students were thought this subject matter?	Для учащихся какого возраста была намечена данный предмет?
7	How many students were thought in each school?	Сколько студентов должны были обучать данному предмету в каждой школе?
8	We know that the program became very successful. Why do you think it became such a success?	Мы знаем, что программа стала очень успешной. Как вы думаете, почему он стал таким успешным?
9	Do you believe that the program had a positive influence on the families of your students, if so how?	Вы верите, что программа оказала положительное влияние на семьи ваших студентов, если да, то как?
10	Do you have any examples?	Вы можете привести какие-либо примеры?
	What program design elements?	Какие элементы разработки программы сделало его успешной?
	What operational elements?	Какие элементы функционирования программы сделало его успешной?
	Did the LRFRP request women -focused focus? How?	Сделал ли проект LRFRP запрос на сфокусирования внимания на женщин? Как?
11	DO you see that the program will continue? If so for how long?	Вы верите, что программа будет продолжаться? Если да, то как долго?
	Were there any unexpected outcomes from the LRFRP's work with you?	Были ли у Вас какие-то неожиданные результаты во время работы с проектом LRFRP?
	If so, how did the LRFRP respond?	Если да, то как проект LRFRP среагировал на это?
12	Future recommendations:	Рекомендации для будущего проекта:
	Was there anything that let the students or teachers know this was funded in part from USAID? What?	Было ли что-то, что позволяло студентам или преподавателям знать, что этот проект финансируется со стороны USAID? Что?

LAC

#	English	Russian
	LAC Operations	Функционирование ЦПП
1	How is your LAC staffed?	Назовите сотрудников Вашего ЦПП?
2	What are the top three services that you provide?	Назовите основные три вида услуг, которые вы представляете?
3	Is your LAC still operating even though you no longer have direct support from the project?	Ваш ЦПП все ещё достаточно функционирует, хотя Ваш центр больше не получает прямую поддержку со стороны проекта?
4	Where does your operational budget come from?	Откуда идет операционный бюджет Вашего центра?
5	How are services financed?	Как Ваши услуги финансируются?
6	What percentage of your budget comes from fees?	Какой процент Вашего бюджета приходит от
7	How many people did you help last month? This calendar year?	Скольким людям вы помогли в прошлом месяце? В этом календарном году?
8	How did your clients learn about your services?	Как клиенты узнали про Ваши услуги?
9	How many <i>tashabuskor</i> do you work with?	Со сколькими Ташаббускорами Вы работаете?
10	What has changed in the context in which you operate over the last three years?	Что изменилось в контексте Вашего функционирования за последние три года?
11	How did the introduction of licensing for legal services affected your operations?	
12	What do you consider your greatest success?	Что вы считаете Вашим самым большим успехом?
13	What do you see is the greatest challenge facing your organization?	На Ваш взгляд, что является самой большой трудностью, с которым сталкивается Ваша организация?
	LRFRP	
14	How good was the cooperation and support you received from the LRFRP?	Насколько хорошей была сотрудничество и поддержка, оказанное со стороны проекта LRFRP?
15	Did the way LRFRP was managed or operated affect your work with LRFRP?	Влияла ли способ управления или функционирования проекта LRFRP на Вашу работу с проектом?
16	How would/do they get updated information after LRFRP ended?	Как вы получаете информацию об изменениях после завершения проекта LRFRP?
17	For a future project like LRFRP, what would you suggest it focus on?	Для будущего проекта подобной LRFRP, чтобы на что бы Вы хотели, чтобы проект сфокусировал свое внимание?
18	For a future project like LRFRP, what would you change? Why?	Для будущего проекта подобной LRFRP, чтобы на что бы Вы хотели поменять?
	General Context	

19	to what extent are there remaining policy challenges hindering progress to create a land market in Tajikistan?	В какой степени, оставшиеся проблемы в политике сдерживают процесс создания земельного рынка в Таджикистане?
20	to what extent are there remaining operational challenges hindering progress to create a land market in Tajikistan?	В какой степени, оставшиеся операционные проблемы сдерживают процесс создания земельного рынка в Таджикистане?
21	Are the land registries operating at the capacity required?	Функционируют ли офисы по регистрации земли в соответствии с требуемого потенциала?

#	English	Russian
1	In your opinion has the project achieved its objective, based on FtF/T goals? a. How has the project met inclusive agricultural sector growth? b. Has the project contributed to more effective land use? c. Given the frequent staff rotation in the government offices, to what extent was the project able to help in capacity building of the different governmental offices involved in land reform? d. How has the project moved forward, in spite of the staff changes within the government? What do you think has been the greatest LRFRP accomplishment?	По вашему мнению, достиг ли проект своей цели, основываясь на целях ПвБ (FtF) в Таджикистане? a. Как проект отвечает всеобъемлющему росту сельскохозяйственного сектора? b. Способствует ли данный проект более эффективному использованию земли? c. С учетом частой ротации персонала в государственных учреждениях, в какой степени проект сможет помочь в наращивании потенциала различных гос. учреждений, участвующих в проведении земельной реформы? d. Как проект продвигался вперед, несмотря на кадровые изменения в правительстве? Как вы думаете, что стало наибольшим достижением ЗРРЦХ/LRFRP?
2	What was the most challenging aspect, for the project to achieve? e. Building capacity of the government of Tajikistan and policies based on “freedom to farm”? f. Enhancing farmers’ awareness of land-related rights? g. Provision of technical training on rights issues to local government officials? Who are the winners and losers in the reform process in rural areas?	a. Наращивание потенциала правительства Таджикистана и политика, основанная на “сельскохозяйственной свободе”? b. Повышение уровня информированности фермеров, связанного с правами на землю? c. Обеспечение технической подготовки сотрудников местных органов власти по правовым вопросам? Кто является победителем и проигравшим в процессе реформы в сельской местности?
3	What were the roles and responsibility of different stakeholders? e. What have been the roles of: - Your organization? - District and local governments? - USAID? - Sub-grantees? What were the difficulties in coordination and communication with the various stakeholders?	Каковы роли и ответственность различных заинтересованных сторон? a. Какова была роль: - Вашей организации? - Района или местных органов власти? - USAID? - Получателей грантов?

		b. Какие были трудности в координации и взаимодействии с различными заинтересованными сторонами?
4	How would you evaluate the work of the sub-grantees (LAC, Association of Independent Media Tajikistan)?	Как бы вы оценили работу получателей грантов (LAC, Ассоциация Независимых СМИ Таджикистана)?
	e. Provision of services to farming communities on land reform and legal advice, including representation in court? f. What are the challenges in LAC sustainability? g. How will the “Law on Legal Profession and Legal Activity” impact LAC in delivering legal services? h. Will LACs only provide services for pay? i. How can disadvantaged members of the farming community be serviced? Where can the independent media obtain reliable information on land reform, in the future?	a. Оказание услуг сельским общинам по проведению земельной реформы и юридические консультации, включая представительство в суде? b. Какие проблемы в области устойчивого развития LAC? c. Как будет “Закон об адвокатуре и адвокатской деятельности” воздействовать на LAC в предоставлении юридических услуг? d. Будут ли LACи предоставлять только платные услуги? e. Как будут обслуживаться неимущие члены фермерских общин? Где независимые СМИ в будущем смогут получить достоверные сведения о земельной реформе?
5	In your opinion, to what degree, if any, has the project achieved sustainable access to information on land reform?	В какой степени, на ваш взгляд, проект достиг устойчивого доступа к информации о проведении земельной реформы, если таковой имеется?
	a. What are the resources from which the farming community will draw information on land reform and land rights? b. By what means can ongoing communication be funded?	f. Из каких ресурсов фермерские общины будут извлекать информацию о земельной реформе и земельных правах? g. За счет каких средств будет финансироваться постоянное взаимодействие?
6	Were the indicators sufficient, to gauge the reform progress and outcome?	Было ли достаточное количество показателей, чтобы оценить ход реформы и ее результаты?
	a. Could you expand on the first indicator, which shows underachievement? b. What do you think are the reasons for that underachievement?	a. Не могли бы вы подробно рассказать о первом показателе, который указывает на низкий результат? b. Какова на ваш взгляд причина низкого результата?
7	There are a number of laws still to be passed i.e. Land use rights legislation, Mortgage Laws, Law on Property registration, Civil Code improvements, Governmental Decree on Land Policy, Right of Alienation. Do you think that the legislature will pass them?	Существует ряд законов, которые до сих пор не приняты, такие как Закон о праве пользования земельными ресурсами, Закон об ипотеке, Закон о регистрации прав на собственность, Поправки к Гражданскому Кодексу, Постановление Правительства о Земельной

		Политике, Право на отчуждение. Как вы думаете, примет ли их законодательная власть?
	a. What holds back the process? b. What are the main obstacles in drafting and passing through or agreeing on any law or recommendations? c. What needs to be done?	a. Что останавливает этот процесс? b. Каковы основные препятствия в подготовке, принятии или согласовании любого закона или рекомендации? c. Что должно быть сделано?
8	How do you evaluate the work of the newly established SUEIP?	Как вы оцениваете работу вновь созданной SUEIP?
	a. What improvements are needed in the registration process? b. What further support is needed, if any? c. Do farmers have knowledge of the newly established SUEIP? d. What challenges have you faced in supporting the registry? e. Can they be self-sufficient? f. What is the role of the Land Committee in providing support to the organization?	a. Какая еще необходима поддержка, если таковая имеется? b. Информированы ли фермеры о вновь созданной SUEIP? c. С какими проблемами вы столкнулись при поддержке реестра? d. Могут ли они быть самодостаточными? e. Какова роль Комитета по землеустройству и геодезии в оказании поддержки организациям? f. Какие улучшения необходимы в процессе регистрации?
9	What LRFRP activity made the biggest impact, in delivering the project?	Какое наибольшее влияние оказала деятельность проекта ЗРРХ/ЛРФР при реализации проекта?
	a. Training? b. Study tour? c. Radio and TV messages? d. Other? To what specific would you attribute the biggest impact?	a. Обучение? b. Учебно-ознакомительные поездки? c. Теле-радио информация? d. Другие? К какой специфике вы бы отнесли наибольшее влияние?
10	Has USAID organized meetings related to integration that you and your organization participated in?	Организовывало ли USAID встречи, связанные с интеграцией, в которых принимали участие вы и ваша организация?
	a. All partner's meetings? b. District meetings? c. What did you get out of them? What would you suggest to improve the value of those meetings?	a. Все партнерские встречи? b. Районные встречи? c. Какую пользу вы извлекли из них? Что бы вы предложили, чтобы улучшить ценность этих встреч?
11	What lessons have you learned in implementing integrated activities in general?	Какие уроки вы извлекли при осуществлении комплексной деятельности в целом?

	a. Based on those lessons, what have you changed about how you are managing the implementation of this integrated activity?	a. Основываясь на этих уроках, что вы изменили в том, как вы управляете реализацией этой комплексной деятельности?
12	If you could further improve any current management processes and practices of this integrated activity, what would they be?	Если бы вы могли еще больше улучшить текущие процессы управления и практику данной комплексной деятельности, какими бы они были?
	a. How would these improvements enhance? - greater achievement of results? - the activity's effectiveness? - efficiency? - the activity's sustainability?	b. Как эти улучшения усилить: - Еще большим достижением результатов? - Эффективность деятельности? - Результативность? - Устойчивость деятельности?

ANNEX F: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

#	Dates of conducted interviews	Category of interviews	Respondent Type	Place of conducted interview
1	26.10.2016	GI	USAID	Dushanbe, USAID Office
2	27.10.2016	KII	LAC "Tajagrofond"	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
3	27.10.2016	KII (remote)	IP	Dushanbe
4	27.10.2016	GI	IP	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
5	28.10.2016	KII	LAC "Arbitrazh"	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
7	31.10.2016	KII	IP	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
8	01.11.2016	GI	Public officials from Vakhsh	Vakhsh, ffile of Land Committee
9	02.11.2016	GI	LAC "Mahbuba", Tashabbuskor, Female Stakeholder for Vakhsh	Vakhsh, Office of LAC "Mahbuba"
10	02.11.2016	FGD	Tashabbuskors from Vakhsh	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
11	03.11.2016	FGD	Male Stakeholders from Vakhsh	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
12	03.11.2016	FGD	Female Stakeholders from Vakhsh	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
13	04.11.2016	GI	Public officials from Sarband	Sarband, Office of Land Committee
14	05.11.2016	FGD	Tashabbuskors from Sarband	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
15	07.11.2016	FGD	Female Stakeholders from Sarband	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
16	07.11.2016	FGD	Male Stakeholders from Sarband	QT city, Bokhtariyon hotel
17	07.11.2016	KII	Business Association	QT city, NABWT Office
18	08.11.2016	GI	Public officials from Jilikul	Jilikul, Office of Land Committee
19	09.11.2016	FGD	Teachers from Jilikul	Jilikul, Office of "Dehqonobod" jamoat
20	09.11.2016	FGD	Tashabbuskors from Jilikul	Jilikul, Office of "Dehqonobod" jamoat
21	10.11.2016	FGD	Male Stakeholders from Jilikul	Jilikul, Office of "Dehqonobod" jamoat
22	10.11.2016	FGD	Female Stakeholders from Jilikul	Jilikul, Office of "Dehqonobod" jamoat
23	11.11.2016	FGD	Tashabbuskors from N. Khisrav	Shaartuz, Office of LAC "Bonuvoni Fardo"
24	11.11.2016	FGD	Male Stakeholders from N. Khisrav	Shaartuz, Office of LAC "Bonuvoni Fardo"

25	12.11.2016	GI	Public officials from N. Khisrav	N. Khisrav, Office of Land Committee
26	12.11.2016	GI	LAC "Bonuvoni Fardo"	Shaartuz, Office of LAC "Bonuvoni Fardo"
27	14.11.2016	KII	Public officials from Yovon	Yovon, Office of Immovable Property
28	15.11.2016	KII (remote call)	USAID	Dushanbe
29	15.11.2016	KII	LAC "Arbitrazh"	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
30	16.11.2016	GI	National public officials	Dushanbe, SUERIP Office
31	17.11.2016	KII	National public officials	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
32	17.11.2016	KII	IP	Dushanbe, Hyatt Regency
33	22.11.2016	KII	Other activities and projects	Dushanbe, Office of TAWA
34	22.11.2016	KII	Other activities and projects	Dushanbe, Office of Sarob

ANNEX G: REFERENCES

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ANNEX H: LRFRP AND FEED THE FUTURE/TAJIKISTAN CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND ANALYSIS

Table 4 on the following pages, provides the analysis for EQ 3 in tabular format. Some of the critical assumptions seem less critical than others to the LRFRP's or LMDA's outcomes. Therefore, the table includes the second column, which provides the evaluation team's judgement as to how critical is each assumption. Assumptions judged to be low in how critical they are were removed from the analysis on the basis of failing the criterion of being a critical assumption. The third column indicates whether the assumption still holds true. The table also provides the source or, if the source is the evaluation team's analysis, it indicates whether the assumption is missing or needs to be stated more directly.

Table 4: LRFRP and Feed the Future/Tajikistan Critical Assumptions and Analysis

Critical Assumptions Underlining Successful Outcomes	How Critical to Success	Assumption Holds	Source	Comment
I. Stable political, social, and economic environment				
Stable political and economic environment			LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	
Social stability persists	High	Yes	Implied, but not explicit	Internal social and political instability are not functions only of cross-border instability. Social stability could be fully stated as its own assumption or included in the above as "Stable political, social, and economic environments."
Civil disorder does not spill over from Afghanistan or elsewhere	High	Yes	FtF Strategy Risks	
Stable economic environment	Medium	Mixed	Derived from LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	Russian economy weakness affecting remittances, although the economic environment otherwise seems stable in the internal agricultural market.
No major climate-related disruptions to agricultural sector	Medium	Yes	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	
II. Government support of promoting rights at multiple levels is consistent	How Critical to Success	Assumption Holds	Source	Comment
GoT agrees with the statement of work for LRFRP substantially as drafted.	High	Yes	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	GoT approved extension of work through 2020
The national and regional governments and their representatives remain engaged in and committed to reforms	High	Mixed	Adapted from LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	Turnover in key ministry slowed progress, but expectation is positive
Legislative and regulatory processes move forward in timely ways	High	Mixed	Adapted from LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	Some progressed well (Law on Dehkan Farms, Regulation on establishing public easements, and Rules and procedures for registration). Law on Mortgages appears ready for passage. The remaining 10 laws

				and regulations are in various stages, awaiting approval or in draft stage.
Government of Tajikistan remains supportive of project outreach and training efforts	High	Yes	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	
Villages or jamoats cooperate	High	Yes	FtF Strategy Risks	
Government of Tajikistan establishes a functioning registry with World Bank support	High	Mixed	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	Upcoming World Bank loan intended to focus on continuing this unfinished work if the loan is signed.
World Bank Land Registration project continues to provide certifications	Medium	Mixed	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	Yes in past. In the future, WB will not provide certifications.
USAID funding is consistent	High	Yes	Missing assumption	Political and policy changes in the US may alter funding streams
Good donor coordination	Medium	Yes	FtF Strategy Risks	
Strong intra-USG activity coordination	High	No	Missing assumption	Increased income, yields, and quality of life depends on improved management, best aided by assistance the full suite of FtF activities can provide.
Project counterparts and grantees will fully cooperate in data collection	Medium	Yes		
III. Partners in implementation can function sustainably	How Critical to Success	Assumption Holds	Source	Comment
Government of Tajikistan clarifies rules for NGOs to provide legal services (in helpful ways)	High	No	LRFRP PMP Dec 2014	GoT clarified rules in way that reduces NGO ability to recover indirect costs creating questions of sustainability. Indicator should have been specified more clearly to indicate that the clarification be such that it would be expected to lead to positive outcomes for LACs.
Implementation sub-partners can maintain core land rights support functions during/post project			Missing assumption	

Legal Aid Centers	High	Mixed		Cannot maintain land rights-related funding through earned income, only through recovery of direct costs of lawyers. Insufficient cross-subsidies
<i>Tashabuskors</i>	High	Mixed		Post-project, <i>tashabuskors</i> continue to provide passive, remote assistance when called upon. Field-based assistance does not continue. Updating knowledge when laws and policy change might be inconsistent.
IV. Market conditions are appropriate for positive longer-term outcomes	How Critical to Success	Assumption Holds	Source	Comment
Regional trade not interrupted	Medium	Yes	FtF Strategy Risks	More relevant to the overall FtF strategy and longer-term outcomes than LRFRP and near-term security of land rights specifically
No value chain development difficulties	Medium	Yes	FtF Strategy Risks	

ANNEX I: DISCLOSURE OF ANY CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

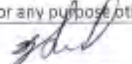
Disclosure of Conflict of Interest for USAID Evaluation Team Members

Name	Marc D Shapiro
Title	Team Leader
Organization	Social Impact
Evaluation Position?	☒ Team Leader ☐ Team member
Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument)	AID-176-TO-16-00006
USAID Project(s) Evaluated (Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)	Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project Evaluation
I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.	☐ Yes ☒ No
If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.	

Disclosure of Conflict of Interest for USAID Evaluation Team Members

Name	Mirzoev Iskandar Haiderovich
Title	Land Market Development Specialist
Organization	
Evaluation Position?	☐ Team Leader ☒ Team member
Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument)	Consulting agreement № Haiderovich - 2016-643
USAID Project(s) Evaluated (Include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)	
I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.	☐ Yes ☒ No
If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to: 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant (though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant (though indirect) experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.	

I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.

Signature	
Date	September 30, 2016

Disclosure of Conflict of Interest for USAID Evaluation Team Members

Name	Genowefa Cahill
Title	Land Market Development Specialist
Organization	Social Impact
Evaluation Position?	☐ Team Leader ☒ Team member
Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument)	AID-486-I-14-001 (ALME)
USAID Project(s) Evaluated (include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)	Tajikistan Land Reform and Farm Restructuring Project Chemonics
I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.	☐ Yes ☒ No
If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant though indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.	

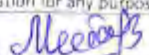
I certify (1) that I have completed this disclosure form fully and to the best of my ability and (2) that I will update this disclosure form promptly if relevant circumstances change. If I gain access to proprietary information of other companies, then I agree to protect their information from unauthorized use or disclosure for as long as it remains proprietary and refrain from using the information for any purpose other than that for which it was furnished.

Signature	
Date	03 October 2016

Disclosure of Conflict of Interest for USAID Evaluation Team Members

Name	Dilbar Muminova
Title	Mrs
Organization	The Performance Evaluation of the Tajikistan Land Reform and Restructuring Project
Evaluation Position?	☐ Team Leader ☒ Team member
Evaluation Award Number (contract or other instrument)	AID-486-I-14-0001 (ALME)
USAID Project(s) Evaluated (include project name(s), implementer name(s) and award number(s), if applicable)	Q015-176-1600006, The Performance Evaluation of the Tajikistan Land Reform and Restructuring Project
I have real or potential conflicts of interest to disclose.	☐ Yes ☒ No
If yes answered above, I disclose the following facts: <i>Real or potential conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:</i> 1. Close family member who is an employee of the USAID operating unit managing the project(s) being evaluated or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 2. Financial interest that is direct, or is significant though indirect, in the implementing organization(s) whose projects are being evaluated or in the outcome of the evaluation. 3. Current or previous direct or significant through indirect experience with the project(s) being evaluated, including involvement in the project design or previous iterations of the project. 4. Current or previous work experience or seeking employment with the USAID operating unit managing the evaluation or the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 5. Current or previous work experience with an organization that may be seen as an industry competitor with the implementing organization(s) whose project(s) are being evaluated. 6. Preconceived ideas toward individuals, groups, organizations, or objectives of the particular projects and organizations being evaluated that could bias the evaluation.	

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Signature 

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